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THE

CONTINUATION

Edward OF Dorset

Mr. RAPIN'S

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND;

From the REVOLUTION to the Present Times.

29666

By N. TINDAL, M. A.

Rector of ALVERSTOKE, in HAMPSHIRE, and Chaplain of the Royal Hospital at GREENWICH.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

MAPS, GENEALOGICAL TABLES, and the HEADS and MONUMENTS of the KINGS.

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MDCCLVIII.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XXX. PART I.

From the Year 1712. to the Death of Queen Anne.

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liament prorogued.—Remarks on the Queen's Speech.—Death of biſhop Sprat.—Duke d'Aumont's ambaſſy.—Letters in favour of the Pretender.—A dangerous miſtake rectified in regard to the regency-bill.—Affairs of Ireland.—Account of the book called Hereditary right.—*The criſis publiſhed.—The Queen's illneſs.—Run upon the bank.*

29. ANNE.

Great firmneſs of the

THE loſſes in the Netherlands created a great diſtraction in the counſels at the Hague, and it was expected by the courts of Great-Britain and France, that the turn of affairs in the field, after the misfortune at Denain, would occaſion an alteration in the negotiation at Utrecht; and that the Dutch would at laſt agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, for which the Britiſh miniſters made very preſſing inſtances. The Marquis de Torcy would have perſuaded the Britiſh court to force the States to come into their meaſures. In a letter to Mr. St. John upon the news of the earl of Albemarle's defeat at Denain, he took notice of the advantage which the Queen had at this time over the Dutch, and inſinuated, 'That ſhe might give the law to thoſe people, provided 'ſhe made the right uſe of Ghent and Bruges, which the 'duke of Ormond was in poſſeſſion of.' Marſhal Villars alſo at the ſame time ſent a letter to the duke of Ormond, about the action at Denain, wherein he aſcribes the victory to the ſeparation of the brave Engliſh, and inſults the allies as common enemies, who muſt be now ſenſible what wrong meaſures they had taken. He likewiſe deſires the duke to tranſmit this account to the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, and to make a thouſand compliments from him to lord Strafford. This letter the duke of Ormond cauſed to be made known to his army, ſeveral copies of it being handed about, which indeed ought rather to have been burnt; for it made thoſe, who wiſhed well to the allies, believe, he had not acted fairly by them (a). The Dutch, though

Report of the Com. of Sec.

(a) And, that there might be Torcy further propoſed, 'That
no part of the world, where it 'the Queen ſhould put a ſtop to
was in the power of the Engliſh 'count Staremberg's projects in
Miniſtry to aſſiſt their new friends 'Catalonia, by ſending orders to
at the expence of their old allies, 'her troops in Terragona not to
let

though the earl of Strafford continued to preſs them, and that with great imperiouſneſs, to agree to a ceſſation of arms, ſhewed on this occaſion a remarkable firmneſs. The ſtates of Holland and Weſt-Friſeland, having agreed to take upon them the paying moſt of the auxiliaries lately in Britiſh pay, and reſolved to treat of peace, ſword in hand, the States General ordered their plenipotentiaries at Utrecht to inſiſt upon ſeveral points, as further preliminaries of the treaty, particularly the reſtoring of Straſburgh to the Empire, and the demolition of all the fortified places poſſeſſed by France on the Rhine. The payment and ſubſiſtance of the German and Daniſh troops in the ſervice of Great-Britain, who had joined the forces under prince Eugene, being the moſt preſſing affair, ſeveral conferences were held about it between the miniſters of the Princes, to whom thoſe troops belonged, the deputies of the States, and the imperial miniſters. Theſe laſt were not wanting to repreſent the great difficulties, which their maſter had laboured under ſince the death of the late Emperor, his brother; and the vaſt charge he had been indiſpenſably obliged to be at by his coronation at Francfort and Preſburg, and other growing expences, for the preſervation of the principality of Catalonia, whereby the imperial treaſury was quite exhauſted. That, however, his Imperial Majeſty offered to contribute three hundred thouſand crowns towards the ſubſiſtance of the auxiliary troops, provided the city of Amſterdam would advance that ſum under the ſecurity of the States, for the payment of which he was willing to mortgage the funds in Sileſia, which had punctually anſwered both the principal and intereſt of the loan made ſome years before by the Engliſh. But, though no poſitive anſwer was then returned to the imperial miniſters, yet ſome months after their propoſal was cloſed with. The King of Pruſſia offered to maintain his troops at his own charge, provided the States would give him ſatisfaction as to his pretenſions to the inheritance of the late King William; and the elector of Hanover offered, in the firſt place, to maintain during the war, at his own expence, one half of the troops 1712.

' let the Germans into that ' place; and, not content with ' this, he further deſired, that ' expreſs orders might be ſent ' (and through France, as the ' ſhorteſt way) to the Engliſh ' men of war, that were then ' cruiſing in the Mediterranean, ' to ſuffer the French ſhips, that ' were then returning from the ' Levant, to paſs unmoleſted, ' which was immediately com- ' plied with.'

1712. he had in the ſervice of Great-Britain, beſides the regiment of dragoons of Bothmar, and to agree for the maintaining of the reſt upon eaſy terms. The King of Denmark took no leſs vigorous reſolutions than any of the Princes of the Empire, it being his intereſt not to diſoblige the Emperor and his allies, at a juncture, when he and the Czar of Muſcovy were threatened with a powerful confederacy of France, Spain, Great-Britain, and Sweden, in order to reſtore the King of Sweden to all his dominions.

Admiſſion of King Philip's miniſters to the congreſs refuſed.

On the other hand, the Britiſh miniſters in Holland propoſed and inſiſted on the admiſſion of King Philip's plenipotentiaries to the congreſs at Utrecht; and it was given out, that, if this was not ſhortly agreed to, the congreſs would be transferred to a town, where the Spaniſh miniſters might repair without any oppoſition; and Dunkirk was ſaid to be the place. But, the States not thinking it their intereſt to diſoblige the Emperor ſo far, as to yield a point ſo derogatory to his title to the Spaniſh throne, the court of Great-Britain reſolved to purſue other meaſures, to bring the Dutch to compliance; or, if that failed, to conclude the peace upon the ſcheme near agreed on with France and Spain. To this end, it was judged neceſſary to renew the ſuſpenſion of arms, now expiring; and, the lord Bolingbroke having had the chief management of the preſent negotiation, he was pitched upon to go incognito to the court of France, 'to remove, as his inſtructions expreſſed it, 'all difficulties and differences, that might obſtruct the general ſuſpenſion of arms between England and France 'from taking place, or ſettling the treaty of peace in 'ſuch a courſe, as may bring it to a happy and ſpeedy con-'cluſion. But to declare, that he does not imagine there 'will be any poſſibility to prevail with the Queen to ſign 'the peace with France and Spain, unleſs full ſatisfaction 'be given to the duke of Savoy, and unleſs they can take 'him along with them in the doing thereof. He is there-'fore to take particular care to ſettle his barrier, and to pro-'cure Sicily for him; to ſettle the renunciation in ſuch a 'manner, that there may be as little room left as poſ-'ſible for diſpute or delay: That the elector of Bavaria 'may have Sardinia, and be reſtored to his dominions in 'the Empire, except the Upper Palatinate, and the firſt 'electorate (b); and, when he has had ſatisfaction in 'theſe

Bolingbroke ſent to France. Report of the Com. of Sec.

(b) It ſeems the French had demanded Sicily alſo for the elector of Bavaria, as appears from the following particulars: The

'theſe points, he is to proceed to ſpeak to ſuch articles, as 1712.
'relate particularly to the intereſt of Great-Britain, and en-
'deavour to have ſuch of them, as there may appear to be
'any doubt concerning, explained in the moſt advantage-
'ous

The conſtant compliances in the Engliſh miniſtry encouraged monſieur de Torcy to believe, that they would now ſtick at nothing, that could be propoſed. He preſſed, on the 18th of July, the concluding the ſeparate peace between England and France, as what they both agreed in to be the moſt effectual way to make the reſt of the allies comply. He deſires, that the troops in Flanders, under the command of the duke of Ormond, may be left there to make a good uſe of the towns, which he was in poſſeſſion of; but as the King of France could not conſent to the duke of Savoy's having Sicily, except the elector of Bavaria had alſo the Netherlands beſides his electorate, he thinks the Queen's having a good army in Flanders, under the duke of Ormond, may render this very practicable; and, as the Queen has done a great deal for her own ungrateful allies, it will be for her glory now to contribute to the good of a Prince of ſo much merit as the elector of Bavaria, whoſe acknowledgments will be equal to the benefits he ſhall receive. But this would not paſs, even with the miniſtry of Great Britain. The giving Flanders to the elector of Bavaria was not only contrary to all the propoſitions of peace, that had been made between England and France, but was what would abſolutely engage England in a new war, to oblige the Imperialiſts and Dutch to agree to it: And they could not think it for the honour or intereſt of the Queen, to make war upon her allies, as ungrateful as they had been, in favour of the elector of Bavaria; and eſpecially, conſidering, that, although Ghent and Bruges were for him, the allies had yet an army in Flanders ſo conſiderable, both for the number and goodneſs of their troops, that they were able to defend the conqueſts they had made. And to give him Sicily, which was likewiſe demanded, lord Bolingbroke hoped, that it would not be inſiſted on; 'becauſe it might be the 'occaſion of continual jealouſies; it might, in particular, 'be the ſource of diſputes and 'quarrels betwixt England and 'France, whoſe ſtrict union 'and indiſſoluble friendſhip 'were the points in view, to 'which all our meaſures had 'been directed for ſo long a 'time. The Queen's miniſters think, that, when the King of France has made all reaſonable efforts for his allies, he muſt do ſomething for the love of peace, and that a particular intereſt ſhould yield to the general. 'You cannot, ſays lord Bolingbroke, but feel the force of 'this argument, becauſe you are 'not at all ignorant, that this 'negotiation was begun and 'carried on upon a ſuppoſition, 'that the Queen muſt defiſt

1712. 'ous manner. And then he is to do his beſt to diſcover 'upon the ſeveral parts of the general plan of peace, what 'the real ultimatum of France may be; and, when the peace 'between England and France ſhall be ſigned, that it may 'be expedient to fix the allies a time to come in, wherein 'the Queen will uſe her good offices, but will not be under 'any obligation to impoſe upon the allies the ſcheme offered 'by France, or to debar them from obtaining better terms 'for themſelves.' By theſe inſtructions it appears, that lord Bolingbroke was impowered to conclude a ſeparate peace with England, France, Spain, and Savoy: That at this time there was ſome doubt concerning ſeveral articles relating to the particular intereſts of Great-Britain, which he was to endeavour to get explained; but no inſtruction, if his endeavours prove ineffectual in behalf of Great-Britain, not to conclude the treaty, which in theſe very inſtructions is expreſsly provided for in favour of Savoy; and he is ordered to do his beſt to diſcover the ultimatum of France, which hitherto, it ſeems, the miniſtry were ignorant of; but, whether France condeſcended ſo far or not, as to let him into this ſecret, the treaty was concluded; and the miniſtry ſeemed to think, they had ſufficiently diſcharged their duty, in declining to be engaged to impoſe what terms France ſhould think proper upon the allies, thoſe allies, to whom the Queen was bound by the faith of treaties, and all the moſt ſolemn engagements and public declarations, to procure all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction, according to their ſeveral alliances. But now it ſeemed ſufficient, that the Britiſh miniſtry did not debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain ſtill better terms for themſelves.

'from many conditions, which 'in right ſhe was obliged to 'procure for her allies.' He very ſtrongly urges the neceſſity of concluding immediately the peace between England, France and Spain; but abſolutely inſiſts upon Sicily for the duke of Savoy; which at laſt the King of France conſented to, upon certain conditions, wherein very ample proviſion was made for ſatisfaction to the elector of Bavaria; and one expreſs condition was, that a peace be concluded between England, France, Spain, and Savoy. In anſwer to this letter, lord Bolingbroke acquaints monſieur de Torcy, that he had received the Queen's orders to go immediately to France; and he hoped, under the auſpices of the abbot Gaultier, in a week's time, to ſalute him at Fontainebleau. *Rep. of the Com. of Sec.*

With

With theſe inſtructions the lord Bolingbroke ſet out for Dover on the ſecond of Auguſt, accompanied by Mr. Prior and the abbot Gaultier. The next day he landed at Calais, and was received with all imaginable demonſtrations of joy from the inhabitants, and particular marks of reſpect from the governor. On the 17th of Auguſt, N. S. he arrived at Paris, and alighted at the houſe of the marquis de Torcy, where an apartment was prepared for him. The French miniſter received the Britiſh with uncommon civility, and aſſured him, 'That the King his maſter had 'ever entertained a great eſteem and reſpect for the Queen 'of Great-Britain; to which ſentiments he now added ſo 'perfect a friendſhip, that, notwithſtanding the late ſucceſſes of his arms in Flanders, he was ſtill willing to make 'her Britannic Majeſty the umpire of the general peace.' Compliments being paſſed on both ſides, the two miniſters entered upon buſineſs, and having adjuſted the principal intereſts of the duke of Savoy, and of the elector of Bavaria, and ſettled the time and manner of the renunciations, agreed to a treaty for a ſuſpenſion of arms between Great-Britain and France, both by ſea and land, for the ſpace of four months. The next day the lord Bolingbroke was conducted by the marquis de Torcy to Fontainebleau, where the King of France then was with his court; and the apartment formerly belonging to the marſhal de Boufflers was magnificently fitted up for him, and he was received with greater marks of diſtinction than were ever ſhewn to any perſon of his character, who made no public appearance. He was the next morning introduced to a private audience of the King, to whom he preſented the Queen's letter. The French King received him in a very gracious manner, and aſſured him, 'That he ever had the higheſt 'eſteem for the Queen: That ſhe had proceeded in ſuch a 'manner, as to turn that eſteem into the ſincereſt friendſhip; 'and he hoped, ſhe was ſatisfied he had done every thing on 'his part, which might facilitate the peace: That he was 'pleaſed to find it ſo near a concluſion: That there were 'ſome indeed, who uſed all endeavours to obſtruct it; but 'that, God be praiſed, they would not be long able to do 'ſo; and that the ſucceſs of his arms ſhould make no 'alteration in him; for he would make good all he had 'offered.' The elector of Bavaria, who arrived at Paris on the 16th of Auguſt, and repaired to Fontainebleau the ſame day, the lord Bolingbroke went thither, was alſo in conference with him, whom he deſired to recommend both his and his brother the elector of Cologne's con-

1712.

Aug. 19. N. S.

Aug. 21.

1712. concerns to her Britannic Majeſty. The French courtiers, in imitation of their ſovereign, vied with each other, who ſhould beſt entertain the Britiſh miniſter; and, among the reſt, the duke of Noailles gave him a moſt magnificent ſupper, to which the perſons of the firſt rank were invited; as was alſo general Stanhope, who, being lately exchanged for the duke of Eſcalona, took Fontainebleau in his way to England. The lord Bolingbroke offered that general to preſent him to the king of France; but Mr. Stanhope thought fit to decline it. What was tranſacted in the private conferences between the King, or his miniſters, and the lord Bolingbroke, beſides the treaty for a ſuſpenſion of arms, was kept very ſecret; except only, that it was agreed, that the court of Great-Britain ſhould pay the annual ſum of threeſcore thouſand pounds by way of dower to the late king James's Queen; and that the chevalier de St. George ſhould retire out of France. On the 27th of Auguſt, N. S. the lord Bolingbroke took his leave of the king of France, who preſented him with a fine diamond-ring, valued at about 4,000 *l.* ſterling, which formerly belonged to his ſon the Dauphin, and on the 25th his lordſhip returned to Paris, being ſtill accompanied by the marquis de Torcy.

Suſpenſion of arms proclaimed at Paris.

On the 24th of Auguſt, N. S. the ſuſpenſion of arms for four months was proclaimed at Paris with the ſame ceremonies uſually obſerved at the proclaiming of peace, except that there were no public rejoicings. Two days after, one of the Queen's Meſſengers, who attended the Lord Bolingbroke, brought the treaty to Whitehall; and, the

Aug. 18. O. S.

Lord-Treaſurer, having, the next day, carried it to the Queen at Windſor, to be ratified, her Majeſty, in council, ſigned a proclamation, 'declaring the ſuſpenſion of 'arms, as well by ſea as land, and injoining the obſervance thereof.' This proclamation was publiſhed both by itſelf, and in the London Gazette, in which an order of council was ſubjoined, importing, 'That for preventing 'any inconveniencies, to which her Majeſty's ſubjects might 'be liable, by miſapprehending the purport or effect of this 'proclamation, and for the improvement and ſecurity of 'the commerce of her loving ſubjects, her Majeſty was 'pleaſed to declare, that, as ſoon as paſſes could be inter-'changed, they would be delivered to ſuch of her ſub-'jects, as ſhould deſire the ſame.' Upon peruſal of this

[illegible] which laid the Engliſh Merchants under a neceſſity of having French paſſes, many were at a loſs to diſcover wherein

wherein the benefit of the ſuſpenſion conſiſted, unleſs it were in gratifying the avarice of the ſecretaries of ſtate, who ſold, at a dear rate, what had coſt them nothing. Beſides, it is obſervable, that, the French court not having ſent over the paſſes ſo ſoon as the Engliſh miniſters tranſmitted theirs, it happened, that ſeveral French ſhips, which were taken by Sir Thomas Hardy, were releaſed upon producing of the Engliſh paſſes, while ſeveral Engliſh ſhips were, at the ſame time, made prize for want of French paſſes. This good diſpoſition of lord Bolingbroke to the French Nation appears from his own letter to Mr. Prior, of the 29th of September, wherein he ſays, 'I have got at laſt 'the affair of the Griffin [a rich French Eaſt-India ſhip] 'compounded, not without very great difficulty: And 'tho' the ſum paid to the captors was ſo large as 35,000 *l.* 'the ſhip was plainly prize, and the paſs, ſent over hi-'ther, might have been proved to have been numerically 'one of thoſe I delivered at Fontainebleau, four days af-'ter the Griffin was in Sir Thomas Hardy's power; tho' 'Gaultier was ready to ſwear, that he received it ſome 'months before; which part of the abbot has, I confeſs 'to you, done him no good, in my opinion.' Hence it appears, that, though this paſs was none of them, paſſes had been granted ſome months before the ſuſpenſion was concluded. 1712.

Various reports about the Pretender.

It may here be obſerved, that while the peace was negotiating, various reports were ſpread about the Pretender, who, after the ſtile uſed in the Queen's ſpeech of the 6th of June, was now called, 'the perſon, who has pretended to 'diſturb the ſettlement of the proteſtant ſucceſſion of the 'houſe of Hanover.' About the latter end of June, the public was informed from Utrecht, that he had been obliged to leave St. Germain's, and was already on his way to Lorrain. However, about the middle of Auguſt, he made a viſit to the king of France at Fontainebleau; but, upon the news of lord Bolingbroke's landing at Calais, it was thought fit, that the Chevalier ſhould again retire from St. Germain's, without his ordinary guard, and go to the caſtle of Livry. Not many days after he came to Paris, and, going to the opera, ſat in the French king's box, which had been appointed for the lord Bolingbroke, who thereupon ſat in another box; which, when known, occaſioned no ſmall noiſe in England. It was alſo advited from Paris, that the Britiſh miniſter had a private interview with the Queen-dowager of England; which, together

1712. ther with the rumour of the chevalier's taking upon him the title of duke of Glocester, and retiring to Rheims in Champagne, occasioned various speculations. Whatever ground there was for these and other reports, it is certain, that the pretender's friends in Great-Britain were, at this juncture, extremely elated with the hopes of his restoration; and some news-writers in Holland, and, after them, others in London, did not scruple to take notice of what was said in Paris, 'That the pretender was to be associated 'with her Majesty in the sovereignty.'

On the 19th of August, the lord Bolingbroke set out from Paris, where he left Mr. Prior to take care of some private affairs still under negotiation; and with Mr. Hare, and the abbot Gaultier, proceeded to Dunkirk, and, imbarking for England, arrived at London the 21st of August.

A stop put to the proceedings at Utrecht.

France was now become intire master of all future negotiations, and did not fail to make use of the power put into their hands: And upon occasion of a trifling quarrel, which happened at Utrecht between the servants of monsieur Mesnager, and of count Rechteren, one of the Dutch plenipotentiaries, the French made use of it as a pretence to keep the negotiations in suspence, as long as it served their purpose (c). The Venetian ministers immediately offered their mediation to accommodate the matter; and at the same time messieurs de Randwyck and Buys engaged the bishop of Bristol to interpose his good

(c) It seems, as count Rechteren was passing by the house of monsieur Mesnager, his footmen were laughed and hissed at by Mesnager's servants that were standing at the door: Which being complained of by count Rechteren, Mesnager promised the servants should be confronted; but afterwards sent word, he had examined his domestics, and that they denied the fact. Upon this, Rechteren insisting that the servants should be confronted according to his promise, and Mesnager still refusing it, the count told his people, since he could get them no reparation, they might decide their own quarrels themselves. Presently after, one of count Rechteren's footmen struck one of monsieur Mesnager's, and owned the fact, saying, It was true, he had given him a blow or two on the face; but that it was also true, he was one of those who had hissed at him: which was not denied by the other. This was so highly resented by the French king, and such reparation demanded, that the Dutch would not comply with it: So a full stop was put to all the proceedings at Utrecht for some months.

offices

offices in this affair. But the French miniſters having conſulted together, refuſed to hearken to any private accommodation, before they had received inſtructions from their court; by which they were directed to inſiſt upon a public ſatisfaction, and on the recalling of count Rechteren; and appointing another plenipotentiary in his place. The States not thinking it conſiſtent with their dignity to ſubmit to thoſe demands, the negotiations at Utrecht were ſuſpended, whilſt the earl of Strafford, and ſome other miniſters, uſed their endeavours at the Hague to find out an expedient to remove that obſtruction; but, the French king's pride being now again in exaltation, he was intractable. On the other hand, the States ſeemed reſolved not to comply with ſo extravagant a reparation, being deſirous of drawing this diſpute into length, that they might avoid entering into a negotiation of peace, which they thought muſt be detrimental to their intereſt, and the common cauſe, and ſtill hoping, that ſomething might happen, which would occaſion ſome favourable turn in the affairs of Europe. To this purpoſe it was obſerved, that at the opening of the aſſembly of the ſtates of Holland on the 13th of September, N. S. penſionary Heinſius, in a very pathetic ſpeech, ſhewed 'the impoſſibility of concluding a 'peace at this juncture, without loſing the fruits of all 'the blood and treaſure they had expended in the preſent 'quarrel, and expoſing their country and the liberties of 'all chriſtendom, to imminent danger: Urging, that as, 'of two evils, they ought to chuſe the leaſt, ſo they muſt 'make extraordinary efforts to carry on the war, till a 'ſafe and honourable peace ſhould be obtained: And 'concluding, that, thanks to the Almighty, they were not 'wholly deſtitute of means for that purpoſe, provided 'they would act with the ſame conſtancy and harmony, 'which the republic had exerted on ſo many occaſions.' This ſpeech had its effect, both with the ſtates of Holland, and the States-General; for the earl of Strafford having ſignified to them, 'That the Queen was willing to 'endeavour to engage France to admit them, or any other 'of the allies, into the ſuſpenſion of arms;' they anſwered they could not reſolve any thing upon it, without the Emperor and the other allies; and that it would be too great a diſgrace to the confederacy, to aſk a ſuſpenſion of arms, without being aſſured of obtaining it. As to the earl of Strafford's propoſition of granting paſſports to the plenipotentiaries of king Philip, the States alledged, they could

1712.

The Penſionary's ſpeech againſt a peace.

1712. could not comply with it, without doing a manifeſt injury to the Emperor, who had at leaſt an equal title with king Philip to the crown of Spain.

Inſult on the Marquis del Borgo and the earl of Strafford.

About this time another accident happened at Utrecht, which was like to prove a new obſtruction to the negotiation of peace. The earl of Strafford had, by his lofty carriage, made himſelf very obnoxious to the Dutch; and, it being given out, that the duke of Savoy had abandoned the allies, and agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms, ſome of the common people, in the night-time, broke the windows, both of the marquis del Borgo, one of the duke's plenipotentiaries, and of the earl of Strafford; and, as a farther indignity to the earl, they ſet up a wheel on the rails before his houſe, with a paper on it, in which was written the Dutch word, Straff-art, alluding to the earl's name, and implying, that he deſerved the puniſhment denoted by the wheel; the word Straffen in Dutch ſignifying, to puniſh or chaſtiſe. This inſult was highly reſented by the Britiſh plenipotentiaries; but the magiſtrates of Utrecht having publiſhed a reward of four hundred gilders to any one, who ſhould diſcover the authors of it, and that the name of the informer ſhould be concealed; the Britiſh court thought fit not to take any notice of the affront at this juncture, the rather, becauſe it was by many ſuſpected, that the French emiſſaries were at the bottom of this inſult, in order to irritate the Britiſh nation againſt the Dutch.

The French inſiſt on the reſtitution of Tournay. Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

The aſcendant, which France had now gained in all the negotiations of peace, was evident from their inſiſting upon the reſtitution of Tournay, which deſerves to be particularly ſet forth. On the 30th of Auguſt the Britiſh plenipotentiaries at Utrecht acquainted the lord Bolingbroke, that in ſome diſcourſe with the miniſters of the allies they had carried matters ſo far as to tell them, that though her Majeſty would endeavour to promote their intereſt in a peace, and obtain for them the beſt terms, that ſhould be poſſible; yet, if thoſe endeavours ſhould not procure more than the contents of her Majeſty's ſpeech, or even in ſome degree fall ſhort of that plan, the fault would be intirely theirs, who had rendered things difficult and uncertain, which otherwiſe would have been eaſy and practicable. And, having thus far complied with their late orders to lay all the blame upon the allies, they further informed his lordſhip, that they had however obtained the conſent of the miniſters of the allies to come to a conference with thoſe of France, in order

der to renew the negotiations; the time to be fixed between the Britiſh and French plenipotentiaries, who, meeting to have ſome diſcourſe previous to the general conferences, parted without coming to any concluſion. The occaſion of their difference, that prevented renewing the conferences, aroſe upon propoſals made by the Britiſh miniſters in relation to Tournay. They, in a letter of the 2d of September, N. S. to lord Bolingbroke, ſtate the caſe in this manner: 'In her Majeſty's ſpeech it is expreſſed, 'That the Dutch are to have the *intire* barrier, as demanded in 1709, except two or three places at moſt.' The French miniſters inſiſt, that they muſt have Liſle as an equivalent for Dunkirk; and that the ſame is not to be underſtood as one of the three places mentioned in the ſpeech; and conſequently that they muſt, in all, have four of the places mentioned in the demands of 1709. This to us appears to be altogether inconſiſtent with what her Majeſty has declared; and we accordingly think it contrary to our duty to bring on a conference, in which ſuch an explication is to be made. The French miniſters, on the other hand, have ſhewed us their orders, which poſitively require them to inſiſt upon the reſtitution of Tournay as well as Liſle; and that they can by no means conſent to the ceſſion of Maubeuge or Condé. The Britiſh miniſters then preſſed the French to ſpeak at firſt in terms as general, as their propoſal was conceived in; but the French thought it neceſſary to be particular and expreſs in that point above all others, becauſe they ſhall otherwiſe have tied themſelves up, and given the Dutch an advantage. The reſult of this debate was, not to proceed to a conference, till this point be determined; the French inſiſting, that their orders were ſo plain, as neither to need nor admit any explication; and the Britiſh miniſters thinking the matter as plain on their ſide. They hoped, their zeal for her Majeſty's honour would be graciouſly approved, and deſire to be directed what further they are to do in this matter, which they apprehend to be of a deciſive conſequence; becauſe they find even thoſe among the Dutch, who appear to be moſt cordially diſpoſed to ſuch a peace, as may re-eſtabliſh a good harmony between her Majeſty and the States, as abſolutely neceſſary for their mutual preſervation, fully reſolved, either to retain Tournay, and have Condé yielded to them; or to take one of theſe two courſes, either to come into any terms, that France offers, or to continue the war at all hazards. The language, which our plenipotentiaries had uſed to the allies, 1712.

1712. allies; is very much approved of by lord Bolingbroke, in his letter of the 26th of Auguſt, who ſays, they had ſpoke the ſentiments of the Queen's heart, in what they declared the 30th of Auguſt, N. S. and that, if the allies did fall ſhort of the plan laid down in the Queen's ſpeech, the fault was intirely their own. His lordſhip ſays, 'Sure 'it is, that this plan was nothing more than an ultimatum 'of what France would offer; but he wiſhed, that the 'Imperial and Dutch policy had not rendered it the ulti-'matum of what France will grant. The ſame general 'reflections might be applied to the particular caſe men-'tioned in their lordſhips letter. France would have 'yielded Tournay, though much againſt the grain. If 'France has now any advantage, and refuſes flatly to yield 'what ſhe only begged to have reſtored, the fault is in-'tirely theirs.' But the diſpatch of the plenipotentiaries of the 2d of September, relating to Tournay, having not yet been conſidered by the lords of the council, his lordſhip could not give any poſitive inſtructions about it till the next opportunity; but, in the mean time, recommended to them two conſiderations: That the keeping of the Dutch in hopes of her Majeſty's good offices will prevent them from taking any deſperate reſolutions; and the French inſiſting to have count Rechteren diſavowed, before any further treaty, will put off, for ſome time, the deciſion of that great point. The earl of Strafford, in the mean time, by his letters of the 13th and 16th of September, N. S. repreſented the States, 'as mightily ſunk with their 'misfortunes, and not knowing well what meaſures to 'take; but that they inſiſted upon Tournay as ſo eſſential 'to their barrier, that they had actually none without it: 'And his lordſhip was ſo much of that opinion, that he 'wiſhes they might have Tournay, though they were 'forced to truck Ypres, for it: That if he could poſi-'tively aſſure them they ſhould have Tournay, he believed 'they would ſubmit to the plan of the Queen's ſpeech.' This opinion of his lordſhip is not very eaſily reconcileable to what he afterwards wrote to Mr. Prior upon this ſubject, Octob. 12, 1712: 'If we had a mind to have 'Nick Frog ſign with us, we might, for he is ready to do 'it for Tournay; which, if we ſign together, we cannot 'well refuſe him: But I expect you will cut that matter 'ſhort, and I long to hear from you.' But this affair of Tournay was not ſo ſoon ſettled in England; although the difficulty does not ſeem to be, whether the French or

Dutch

Dutch were to have it; but in what manner it was to be procured for France, without a manifeſt contradiction to what was ſaid by the Queen, in her ſpeech concerning the Barrier. Lord Bolingbroke, on the 10th of September, O. S. writes three letters upon this ſubject, to monſieur de Torcy, to Mr. Prior, and to the plenipotentiaries. In that to monſieur de Torcy, he deſires him to remember the propoſition, which was often laid down by him when in France, and inſiſted upon as a fundamental in all their future proceedings upon the general peace: That the conduct of the Queen, in regard to the intereſts of her allies, was in a great meaſure determined by their behaviour: That the violent meaſures, which they had taken to obſtruct the peace, had put the Queen in a condition to make her peace, without waiting for their concurrence; in which caſe the Queen would declare, that ſhe had ſigned the treaty with France and Spain, and would propoſe the plan brought over by abbot Gaultier, and delivered the 29th of April 1712, for the allies to treat upon, and could do no more than by her good offices, as a common friend to both parties. But, in caſe the Dutch in particular, or the other allies, ſhould, before the concluſion of her peace with France, enter into concert with her Majeſty, we ſhould have more meaſures to keep with them; the compaſſion of our people would be moved in their behalf; and the Queen's miniſters obliged to make ſome ſteps, which otherwiſe they would abſolutely refuſe to do. Upon this foundation, continues his Lordſhip, the King's miniſters ſeem to exact ſomething more, when they inſiſt the Queen's miniſters ſhould propoſe the holding a conference, in which the firſt propoſitions ſtarted would appear, in ſome meaſure, contrary to what the Queen ſaid in her ſpeech, touching the barrier of the ſtates. The point in diſpute between your plenipotentiaries and ours is not to know, Whether Tournay ſhall be reſtored to the king or not? For, to obtain that place, it is not neceſſary you ſhould begin by making this ſpecific declaration. But the queſtion is, Whether the Queen ought formally, and at preſent, to declare that Tournay ſhall be reſtored to France? Which would be to conſent to the explanation, which your miniſters give to this article of the Queen's ſpeech. His lordſhip then ſays: 'Not to ſwell my letter too much, which 'may already ſeem tedious, I refer myſelf to what Mr. 'Prior ſhall have the honour to explain to you upon this 'point; and I ſhall content myſelf with ſaying, that as it 1712.

1712. ‘ is not difficult to find a temperament, I hope we ſhall
‘ avoid all things, that may occaſion a diſpute between the
‘ miniſters of Great-Britain and France.’ This temperament is to be found in his letter to Mr. Prior of the ſame day, which he ſays, ‘ is to be looked upon only as a letter
‘ from Harry to Matt, and not the ſecretary to the miniſter.’ He ſends him incloſed an extract of his letter to Monſieur de Torcy, ‘ which, he ſays, relates to a matter, that has
‘ given lord treaſurer and himſelf no ſmall trouble in the ca-
‘ binet. He likewiſe ſends him a copy of the plenipoten-
‘ tiaries diſpatch of the 2d of September upon the ſame
‘ ſubject; wherein, as he will obſerve, their lordſhips are
‘ very warm about the diſputes. He can aſſure him, we
‘ have thoſe, who are not a jot cooler. His lordſhip goes
‘ on: The ſolution of this difficulty muſt come from you;
‘ which is a matter of management and appearance, more
‘ than of ſubſtance. The method of doing it is by mak-
‘ ing monſieur de Torcy ſenſible of the propoſition ſettled
‘ between them in France, that the Queen can never do
‘ any thing, which ſhall look like a direct reſtraint on her
‘ allies from demanding what they judge neceſſary; but as
‘ long as they act the part, which they now do, ſhe can
‘ very juſtly be paſſive and neuter as to their intereſts.
‘ This his lordſhip thinks is advantage enough for France,
‘ and ſuch a one, fairly ſpeaking, as a year ago they
‘ would have given more than Tournay to be ſure of.
‘ They muſt not therefore preſs us to go further than this,
‘ nor to do any thing, which may ſeem contradictory to
‘ what the Queen delivered from the throne. In a word,
‘ the uſe, which the French will make of the unaccount-
‘ able obſtinacy of the Dutch, and the other allies, may,
‘ in ſeveral reſpects, and particularly, for aught I know,
‘ in the inſtance of Tournay, give them an opportunity
‘ of ſaving and gaining more than they could have hoped
‘ for; and the Queen may in the preſent circumſtances
‘ contribute paſſively to this end, but actively ſhe never
‘ can in any circumſtances.’ His lordſhip then very plainly gives his advice how this matter is to be managed, in theſe words: ‘ I think in my opinion, and I believe I
‘ ſpeak the Queen's upon this occaſion, it were better the
‘ French ſhould in the courſe of the treaty declare, that,
‘ whatever they intended to have given the Dutch, when
‘ the Queen ſpoke from the throne, their conduct has
‘ been ſuch, and the ſituation of affairs is ſo altered, that
‘ the King is reſolved to have Tournay reſtored to him:

‘ I

'I ſay, I believe this were better, than to expect, that 1712.
'we ſhould aſſent to an expoſition of the Queen's words,
'by which her Majeſty would yield the town up. Let
'the conferences begin as ſoon as they will, I dare ſay,
'buſineſs will not very ſpeedily be diſpatched in them.
'We ſhall go on to ripen every thing for a concluſion be-
'tween us and Savoy, France, and Spain, and this is the
'true point of view, which the French ought to have be-
'fore their eyes.' This ſcheme being concerted here, and tranſmitted to France, lord Bolingbroke on the ſame day writes to the plenipotentiaries, in anſwer to theirs of the 2d of September, N. S. upon which he had before told them, he could give no inſtructions, till their letter was conſidered by the lords of the council; neither does his lordſhip now ſend them any directions, but inlarges upon the ſame general topicks of imputing all the miſchiefs, that had happened, and in particular this affair of Tournay, to the obſtinacy of the allies. His lordſhip obſerves, 'That, in the plan brought over by abbot Gaultier,
'tho king of France begged for Tournay, rather than
'inſiſted upon it; but was now encouraged to refuſe what
'he only endeavoured to ſave: And, in ſhort, that France
'had now gathered ſtrength by our diviſions, and was
'grown ſanguine enough to make that plan the ultimatum
'of her conceſſions, which was at firſt nothing more than
'the ultimatum of her offers; but that the Dutch had no
'body to blame for all this but themſelves.' His lordſhip adds, 'Her majeſty is very ſenſible of the concern you ex-
'preſs for her honour, and will not, you may be ſure,
'ſuffer herſelf to be a party to any thing, which may ap-
'pear contradictory to what ſhe has once advanced: And
'although perhaps the yielding of Tournay might be re-
'conciled to the terms of her ſpeech; yet, ſhould the
'queen conſent to this expoſition of it, ſuch conſent
'would be almoſt a formal reſtoration of this place to
'France: And this, my lords, is what her majeſty will
'avoid. But I hope the ſolution of this difficulty will come
'from France; and that, when they have ſo many other
'quarrels to decide, that court will go back from a mea-
'ſure, which muſt involve them in a diſpute with the queen.'
Among Mr. Prior's papers, the committee of ſecrecy in 1715 found one, which ſeemed to be the draught of a letter from him to monſieur de Torcy, purſuant to what lord Bolingbroke had written to him upon the ſubject of Tournay; which is in ſubſtance the ſame, and almoſt in the

1712. very words of lord Bolingbroke's letter to Mr. Prior of the 10th of September, with this addition, that it begins thus: 'There is more appearance than ſubſtance in this 'affair, that is now under agitation at Utrecht; and my 'lord-treaſurer does not at all doubt but the court of 'France will find a remedy.' And his lordſhip was not miſtaken in his expectations. For monſieur de Torcy very readily followed the advice, that was given by the Engliſh miniſtry; and on the 27th of September, N. S. ſends lord Bolingbroke a declaration to be made by the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, wherein the king's miniſters are ordered to declare to thoſe of Great-Britain, 'That 'the king did conſent to treat of the peace upon the plan 'laid down in the queen's ſpeech to her parliament; but 'at the ſame time they were to ſay, that the Dutch hav-'ing refuſed to conform to the ſentiments of that prin-'ceſs, having rejected the ſuſpenſion of arms, and given 'opportunity to the ſeveral changes in affairs, that had 'happened; it is but juſt, that his majeſty ſhould be re-'compenſed for the expence he has been obliged to make 'during the courſe of this campaign. Upon this founda-'tion his majeſty orders his plenipotentiaries not to ſign a 'peace but upon condition, that Tournay ſhould be re-'ſtored to him, beſides the other places, which he has 'demanded, and which he had reaſon to believe the queen 'of Great-Britain did deſign to comprehend in her ſpeech.' However the meaſures and counſels relating to this affair were afterwards altered upon great conceſſions made to France, and advantageous terms procured for the elector of Bavaria. But that Tournay was, at laſt, obtained for the Dutch, was principally owing to the firmneſs and reſolution of the States, and to the aſſiſtance of the earl of Strafford, who refuſed to ſign the treaty without the ceſſion of that place to the States, on which account he received their ſolemn thanks.

Mr. Prior plenipotentiary at Paris.

Mr. Prior having been left by lord Bolingbroke at Paris, as the queen's plenipotentiary, he was introduced by the marquis de Torcy to a private audience of the king; and obtained a favourable interpretation of a clauſe inſerted in the late treaty for a ſuſpenſion of arms, which had raiſed a clamour among the merchants in London. For it having been ſtipulated, 'That none of the queen's men of war, 'or merchants ſhips, ſhould tranſport or convoy into Por-'tugal or Catalonia, or any of the places where they made 'war at preſent, any troops, arms, cloaths, proviſions,

'or

'or ammunition:' The Engliſh traders were juſtly appre- 1712.
henſive, that under that pretence they might be debarred from their uſual traffic of corn and fiſh, of which there are great demands at Liſbon and Barcelona, in time of peace as well as in war.

The French deſtroy our ſugar-iſlands. Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

While Mr. Prior was in France, news came, that a French ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies was taking the ſugar-iſlands belonging to the Engliſh, deſtroying their plantations, carrying away their negroes, and making hoſtages of the planters. Upon notice of this invaſion of the Leeward-iſlands by the French, the lord Bolingbroke wrote thus to Prior, September the 19th, O. S. 'This proves a 'very untoward contretempts. It gives a theme to the 'whigs, and ſerves to awaken the paſſions that were al-'moſt lulled aſleep. We expected that Coſſart's ſquadron 'might have gone to the coaſt of Brazil, or to Surinam; 'but we never imagined our colonies would have been at-'tacked by him, at a time when we were knitting the 'bonds of friendſhip between the two nations with all poſſi-'ble induſtry. Could this ill opinion of our new friends 'have entered into our heads, I do aſſure you, he ſhould 'have been accompanied by a fleet of the queen's, which 'would have kept him in reſpect.' He remembers the orders that were ſo punctually and chearfully obeyed by the duke of Ormond, which, as he thinks, ſaved the French a beating, and then adds: 'In a word, we depended ſo much 'upon the good underſtanding, which we thought eſtab-'liſhed, and were ſo earneſt to prevent any thing, which 'might break in upon it, that we not only avoided to forti-'fy our ſquadron, as we might have done, but we alſo 'neglected to put in execution ſome deſigns, which would 'have annoyed the French and Spaniards perhaps more 'than any which have been effected in the courſe of the 'war.'

Prior returns to England. Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

Mr. Prior was ſo entirely devoted to the French court, that, towards the latter end of October, without either leave or orders from the queen, he came over into England, at the deſire of the king of France, who thought him a proper perſon to be intruſted with the great ſecret of prevailing with the queen, by her credit, to obtain what he demanded for the elector of Bavaria; for which purpoſe he brought a credential letter to the queen, importing 'That his con-'duct was very agreeable to that monarch.' About the middle of November he was ſent back to France with new inſtructions, wherein the propoſal of a neutrality in Italy

1712. was one of the chief articles: And, that he might have a perfect knowledge of the queen's present resolutions and counsels, in relation to the present treaty of peace, a copy of the last instructions to the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht was given him, that, as occasion should require, he might act in all things conformable to the queen's intentions therein expressed. He carried likewise a letter from the queen to the king of France, wherein, among other things, it is said that, Mr. Prior continuing to behave himself so, as that his conduct may be intirely agreeable to the king of France, he does but literally execute the order the queen had given him, and is a proof of his duty and zeal for her service.

Endeavours to bring the duke of Savoy into the queen's measures.

About this time, in order to conquer the obstinacy of the Dutch, it was industriously given out in England and Holland, that the duke of Savoy had agreed to a suspension of arms; which report had, as yet, no other foundation, than the earnest endeavours of the British ministers to bring him into the queen's measures; for which the emperor's backwardness to give him satisfaction about some claims, not ill-grounded, gave them a very plausible handle. The differences, which had been long depending between the courts of Vienna and Turin, having been very prejudicial to the confederate interest, because the duke of Savoy rather chose to stand still, than, by going into the field, to promote the interest of an ally, who still put off the performance of his engagements to him: The maritime powers used their utmost endeavours to put an end to these fatal disputes. Both parties were at last prevailed with, to refer the controversy to the arbitration of the queen and the States, whose envoys, Mr. Stanyan and monsieur Vander Meer, having met at Milan the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and the duke of Savoy, and maturely weighed the allegations on both sides, they agreed on a sentence of arbitration, importing in substance, that either the town of Vigevano, or an equivalent for it, should be given to the duke, together with several other districts. The duke of Savoy readily acquiesced in this decision, for which he returned thanks to the British and *Dutch ministers; but the imperial commissioners solemnly protested against it; which was very ill relished at the court of Great-Britain.* While this affair was depending, *the duke of Savoy* ordered count Maffei, his first plenipotentiary at Utrecht, to repair, about the middle of May, to London, to solicit the arrears of subsidies due to him; and, the better to succeed in his negotiation, that

June 27. N. S.

that miniſter did not fail inſinuating, that his maſter was inclinable to enter into the Britiſh meaſures. Upon this hint, Mr. St. John, who ſeized all opportunities to mortify the houſe of Auſtria, ſtarted the propoſal of giving the kingdom of Sicily to the duke of Savoy, in order to engage him in his views. And therefore, though the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht had early offered that iſland to the emperor, yet the Britiſh miniſter declared to the marquis de Torcy, that the queen abſolutely demanded it for the duke of Savoy. It is, however, obſervable, that the duke was ſo far from reliſhing this propoſition, that he declared to the earl of Peterborough at Turin, 'That he was not ſo vainly impatient for the title of a 'king, as to loſe or hazard any real intereſt for an empty 'name; but that he thought it much more extraordinary, 'that a prince defeated ten years together by his enemies, 'ſhould remain, at laſt, with the prize contended for, and 'which ſo often, by parliament, had been declared the 'juſt and unavoidable motive of the war.' To calm the uneaſineſs of mind the duke of Savoy was in, the earl of Peterborough repreſented in a memorial to him, 'That, 'in refuſing thoſe offers, he muſt fall out with the queen 'and the Engliſh miniſters, whom he endeavoured to ex'cuſe from the reproaches caſt upon them, as if they were 'perſons devoted to France. That, for the ſupport of 'what was propoſed, a ſufficient fleet would be furniſhed, 'either by England or France, or by both powers jointly; 'and that he ſhould be guaranteed and protected againſt 'any power, that ſhould oppoſe this project, or ſhould inſult him for having accepted theſe offers.' The arguments of the Britiſh miniſters prevailed at length with the duke; and, if their deſign was effectually to diſable the emperor from ſupporting himſelf againſt France, after the ſeparation of the Engliſh, by forcing into the intereſt of France an ally ſo conſiderable as the duke of Savoy, theſe meaſures were certainly extremely well calculated for ſuch an end. This forwardneſs of the Britiſh miniſtry to make England a guarantee for conditions advantageous only to France, and which muſt naturally have engaged the nation in a war with the emperor, was the more extraordinary, in that, during the whole courſe of this negotiation, no endeavours were uſed to procure a guaranty of the allies to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion, which had been addreſſed for by both houſes of parliament. While the earl of Peterborough was alluring the duke of Savoy with 1712.

1712. the promiſe of Sicily, the French endeavoured to draw him off by open force. But the duke of Berwick, after an unſucceſsful attempt to ſurprize fort Edmund and Conti, and the plundering of the neighbourhood of Saluſſes, which occaſioned a warm ſkirmiſh, was obliged to repaſs the Alpes with an inconſiderable booty. On the other hand, count Maffei having, with great addreſs, obtained from the Britiſh court a large ſum of money, in part of the arrears due to his maſter, he returned to his poſt at Utrecht, towards the end of September, O. S. by which time the emperor had ſent orders to his miniſters at Milan, to give the duke of Savoy intire ſatisfaction. But this condeſcenſion had no effect upon a prince, who was already biaſſed by the gold and promiſes of Great-Britain.

The elector of Hanover refuſes to come into the Britiſh meaſures.

The Engliſh miniſters, and their agents, were not equally ſucceſsful in ſome courts of Germany. Mr. Thomas Harley, a near relation of the lord treaſurer, who, about the beginning of this year, had been appointed to go to Hanover with a ſecret commiſſion, having ſtaid ſome months in Holland, to watch the progreſs of the Negotiations at Utrecht and the Hague, ſet out, at laſt, about the beginning of July for Germany. On the 12th of that month, N. S. he arrived at Hanover, accompanied by Mr. St. John, brother to the lord Bolingbroke, and ſome other young Engliſh gentlemen, who were all entertained at the elector's expence. Three days after, Mr. Harley, who from the ſtation of coadjutor to the ſecretary of the treaſury, was now raiſed to the character of ambaſſador extraordinary, had a public audience of the elector, and afterwards of the princeſs Sophia, electreſs dowager, and of the electoral prince and princeſs, by whom he was received with diſtinguiſhing marks of favour, as one ſo nearly related to the prime miniſter of Great-Britain. The deſign of this embaſſy was to perſuade the elector to come into the Britiſh meaſures, which Mr. Harley preſſed ſtrongly, and, amongſt other arguments, told him, 'That the contrary 'would do him an injury in the minds of the people, who 'were ſet upon peace.' But the elector remained firm in the ſentiments, which he formerly expreſſed in the memorial preſented about a year before by baron Bothmar, and anſwered Mr. Harley to this effect: 'I do not put myſelf 'upon the foot of one pretending immediately to the 'throne of Great-Britain.' The queen is a young wo- 'man, and, I hope, will live a great many years. When 'ſhe dies, my mother is before me. Whenever it pleaſes

'God

'God to call me to that ſtation, I hope to act as becomes 1712.
'me, for the advantage of the people. In the mean time,
'ſpeak to me, as to a German prince, and a prince of the
'empire. As ſuch, I muſt tell you, I cannot depart from
'what I take to be the true intereſt of the empire and the
'Dutch.' Mr. Harley, having continued above two months at Hanover, ſet out from thence to return to Great-Britain.

Endeavours were likewiſe uſed about this time to bring the king of Pruſſia into pacific meaſures, with no better ſucceſs than at the court of Hanover. But, notwithſtanding theſe and other diſappointments, the Britiſh miniſters purſued their ſcheme with ſteadineſs and reſolution; which being chiefly founded on king Philip's renunciation of the crown of France, the lord Lexington was appointed to go to Spain, to preſs and be witneſs of the performance of that important preliminary.

New ſcheme of peace propoſed by the Dutch.

Though the public negotiation at Utrecht was, for ſome months, at a ſtand, upon account of the diſpute between Meſnager and Rechteren; yet, ſome private ſteps were made in the mean while for bringing the war to a concluſion: For on the 9th of October, N. S. the miniſters of the States declared to thoſe of Great-Britain, 'That, for 'the good of peace, the States were willing to yield Liſle 'to France, and recede from their pretenſions to have Do-'way, Valenciennes, and Maubeuge, which they had 'hitherto inſiſted upon; provided Condé and Tournay 'were included in the barrier, the Tariffs of 1664 reſtor-'ed, and that Sicily be yielded to the emperor, and Straſ-'burg to the empire.' This propoſal was immediately tranſmitted to the court of Great-Britain, where it was looked upon as more reaſonable than any of the former ſchemes. On the other hand, the imperial miniſters finding the States inclined to yield up Spain and the Weſt-Indies to King Philip, to which they knew their maſter was unwilling to conſent, count Zinzendorf propoſed a plan, according to which the emperor, and the States of the empire ſhould furniſh four millions of crowns, which were ſuppoſed to be ſufficient to put their forces in a condition to act offenſively, and to maintain moſt of the auxiliaries lately in the Britiſh pay. But, it having been found by long experience, that there was no great dependance to be made on ſuch promiſes, ſome of the princes, to whom thoſe troops belonged, reſolved to recall them upon various pretences.

On

1712. On the 4th of October, one of the queen's meſſengers arrived at Utrecht with diſpatches for her miniſters; and after a conference with thoſe of the States, the earl of Stratford, the next morning, ſet out for England, and on the 13th arrived at Whitehall.

The earl of Strafford comes to England.

Various conjectures about it.

The earl's ſudden departure from Holland occaſioned various conjectures both at home and abroad. The general opinion was, that he was ſent for to give the Queen and her miniſters a verbal account of the diſpoſition, in which he left the Dutch as to peace and war, and to receive the Queen's inſtructions in relation to their late ſcheme. But thoſe, who obſerved what paſſed at court, aſcribed his coming over to a miſunderſtanding, which, about this time, appeared to be among the Queen's ſervants. It is evident (from the lord-treaſurer's account of public affairs, ſent to the queen in Auguſt 1714) that there had been ſeveral miſunderſtandings between him and the lord Bolingbroke. He obſerves particularly, that, when it was found neceſſary to create ſome new peers in the ſeſſion of parliament in 1711, ſo many having been brought formerly out of the houſe of commons of thoſe, who uſed to manage public affairs, it was propoſed to Mr. ſecretary St. John, that, if he would be contented to ſtay in the houſe of commons that ſeſſion, the queen would create him a peer, and he ſhould not loſe his rank: accordingly, after the ſeſſion was ended, the queen ordered a warrant for him to be a viſcount; which put him into the utmoſt rage againſt the lord-treaſurer and lady Maſham. It availed but little to tell him, how much he had got in place; for, had he been created with the other lords, it would have fallen to his ſhare to have come next after lord Trevor. But the treaſurer, with great patience, bore all that ſtorm, of which lady Maſham was often a witneſs; and Mr. Arthur Moore, a conſiderable time after, told the treaſurer, that lord Bolingbroke ſaid to him, he owed him a revenge upon that head. This diſcontent continued, till there happened an opportunity of ſending him to France, of which there was, ſays the treaſurer, not much occaſion; but it was hoped, this would put him in good humour; which it did, till, in October 1712, there were knights of the garter made; which occaſioned a new reſentment from lord Bolingbroke, which frequently broke out in outrageous expreſſions publicly againſt all then made; who were the dukes of Beaufort, Hamilton, and Kent; the earl Paulet, and the earls of Oxford and Strafford. The duke of Hamilton made a private appli-

Miſunderſtanding at court.

application to the queen, desiring, he might be permitted to wear both the garter and the order of the thistle; but was answered, the same was unprecedented; and that the duke of Argyle had laid down the thistle, upon his being made knight of the garter. 1712.

The lord Lexington, who was appointed to go to Spain, to press the renunciation of king Philip to the crown of France, having embarked at Portsmouth on the 15th of September, arrived, October the 7th, at Madrid, where he was received with great marks of honour and distinction. Before his arrival, upon information, that Sir——Burke resided there, as minister of the king of England, whose arms he had set up before his house; the lord Lexington complained of it to the court, and demanded, that he should depart from Madrid, which he was immediately ordered to do. The lord Lexington had then several conferences with king Philip's ministers about that prince's renunciation; which being drawn up in form, and agreed to, his majesty signed it on the 5th of November, N. S. and swore upon the holy evangelists, to observe it, in presence of the council of state, and of the chief nobility. The cortez, or states of Spain, having been summoned to meet at Madrid, in order to enact this renunciation into a law, king Philip, attended by the president of Castile, and council of state, went to that assembly, and told them, 'That the efforts, which the nation made with so much 'zeal and fidelity, to secure his crown in two perilous occasions, were of such a nature, as never to be forgot. 'And to shew his gratitude, to procure peace for his people, 'and to be never separated from them, he renounced all 'pretensions, which either himself, or his issue, might 'have to the crown of France; and desired them to give 'their consent to it.' Upon this the cortez confirmed and approved the renunciation, and the crown of Spain, after king Philip's posterity, was limited to the house of Savoy. The queen, and prince of Asturias, and the lord Lexington, were present at the whole solemnity. But it is to be observed, that his lordship did not yet take upon him any character; and that some time before king Philip sent orders to the marquis de Monteleone, who was then at Paris, to repair to the court of Great-Britain. King Philip's renunciation to the crown of France. Hist. of Eur.

The like renunciation was made some months after, by the princes of France to the crown of Spain: and king Philip was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. It was something strange, to see so much weight laid

1712. laid on these renunciations, since the king of France had so often, and so solemnly declared (upon his claiming, in the right of his queen, the Spanish Netherlands; when the renunciation made by his queen before the mariage pursuant to the treaty of the Pyrences, of all rights of Succession to her father's dominions, was objected to him) that no renunciation, which was but a civil act, could destroy the rights of blood, founded on the laws of nature: But this was now forgot, or very little considered.

The Spaniards invade Portugal.

While these things were transacting, endeavours were used to bring the crown of Portugal into the present measures of peace; and, lest persuasion should fail, it was thought proper to use more forcible arguments. The marquis de Bay, who commanded king Philip's forces in Estremadura, marched with his army, and encamped within half a league of Elvas. To encrease the jealousy, which by this march he had given the Portuguese, as if he designed to besiege that place, he went to take a nearer view of it, and then returned to his camp, On the other hand, the Portuguese, deceived by these appearances, worked hard in repairing the fortifications of Elvas, and conveyed into it two batallions, drawn out of Campo-Major; which being the town the marquis de Bay had a design upon, he marched with the whole army, and invested that place. This irruption of the Spaniards, to the number of near twenty thousand men, at a juncture, when Great-Britain (the main support of Portugal for many years past) had reduced all her forces in that country, except two regiments, could not but make the court of Portugal very uneasy. Their consternation was very much encreased, upon the news, that the Spaniards had invested Campo-Major, the most regular fortification on the frontiers of Portugal; but which, at that time, was not provided either with a sufficient garrison, or with ammunition and provisions for a long siege. However, on this occasion, the Portuguese exerted themselves with vigour and resolution, which was in great measure owing to the conduct of major general Hogan, an Irish gentleman, and of brigadier Massey, an experienced French protestant engineer, who formed, in conjunction with the count de Ribeira, and several other officers of note, the design of getting into Campo-Major, which was executed with very good success at the head of two or three hundred Portuguese grenadiers, a day or two after the enemy had opened the trenches. Hogan having also got into the town with a supply of four or five hundred men,

Sept. 22. N. S.

men, the count de Ribeira, who commanded there in chief, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to defend the place to the laſt extremity, and was ſo well ſeconded by the officers and troops under him, that he obliged the marquis de Bay to raiſe the ſiege. Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the expedition of the Spaniards had the effect deſired by the courts of France and Great-Britain. For, the Portugueſe finding they were like to be left by England, if they continued the war againſt Spain, the count de Tarouca, the Portugueſe miniſter at Utrecht, was prevailed upon by the biſhop of Briſtol to come into the queen's meaſures, and ſign the ſuſpenſion of arms the 7th of November. He excuſed this proceeding to the miniſters of the allies as a pure effect of neceſſity. 1712.

Thus ended the war in Portugal. As to the army in Spain, the latter end of September, brigadier Price, who commanded the Engliſh, received a letter by a trumpeter of the enemy, from Mr. ſecretary St. John, with orders from the queen to leave immediately the army of count Staremberg, and march to the ſea-ſide near Barcelona, and there to wait the arrival of Sir John Jennings, who was to tranſport them to Port-Mahon. This ſurpriſing news (ſays the author of the manuſcript account) cauſed a great conſternation among our confederates, and very much enraged the Catalans, who found, they were going to be forſaken by thoſe they had moſt reaſon to truſt. To prevent the effects of their reſentment, and our being moleſted upon our march by the miquelets and other country people, the queen of Spain ſent four perſons of diſtinction, to be as ſafe-guards to us, and to take care we ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions. We came to Barcelona and encamped by the ſea-ſide, on the very ſpot of ground where king Charles landed with the troops, when he beſieged and took that city. Here we continued ſome time before Sir John Jennings arrived. With him came over colonel Kane, with a commiſſion to break Lepel's regiments, that they might ſell their horſes, and to ſee the men on board, with the regiments of foot, and the train of artillery; which orders were executed in a very ſhort time, and we were all carried to Port-Mahon. The forces in Spain called home. M. S.

The duke of Hamilton (who had been made maſter of the ordnance, vacant by the death of earl Rivers) was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of France. The choice of the duke for that ambaſſy gave melancholy ſpeculations to thoſe who thought him much in the preten- Duke Hamilton ambaſſador to France. Burnet.

der's

1712. der's intereſt, and knew, that he was conſidered, not only in Scotland, but likewiſe in England, as the head of his party. On the other hand the king of France named the duke d'Aumont, firſt gentleman of his bed-chamber to go into England with the ſame character of ambaſſador extraordinary: which was likewiſe agreeable to the pretender's friends, to whoſe intereſt he was openly attached.

All this while the duke of Ormond continued in his quarters in Ghent, where one of the Dutch field-deputies came to him the 7th of September, N. S. being ſent by his collegues, to ſound him upon ſeveral points. He aſked firſt, Whether the Engliſh troops were to ſtay at Ghent and Bruges the winter, or how long? To which the duke anſwered, He could not tell, but ſaw no appearance of their being withdrawn as yet. He aſked next, Whether the duke would conſent to the States putting ſome of their troops into Ghent, to take care of their convoys, and eſcorte them to their frontier garriſons? The duke ſaid, He thought himſelf obliged not to ſuffer any troops, but thoſe of the queen, to continue in the town. However he had no intention, by taking or keeping poſſeſſion of that place, to obſtruct their convoys; and that the Dutch troops might ſtill come to the counterſcarp of the town, and receive whatever was to be carried to the camp, as had been practiſed ever ſince Ghent was in our hands. The deputy's next queſtion was, Whether the duke would let part of the Dutch troops take their winter quarters in Bruges, as they had done ever ſince the reduction of that place? The duke anſwered, He could not admit of any troops whatever, beſides thoſe of the queen, either in Ghent or Bruges, till he had her majeſty's orders. The lord Bolingbroke highly applauded the duke's conduct on this occaſion, and told him in a letter, 'That the queen had re-
Sep. 9. O. S. 'ceived ſo much ill uſage with reſpect to the commerce of 'her ſubjects in the Netherlands, and had ſo much reaſon 'to expect more of the ſame kind, that ſhe was reſolved 'to treat upon that head with thoſe pawns in her hand.' But, upon recollection, the lord Bolingbroke, in a ſecond letter, acquainted the duke, 'That the poſitive order, con-
'tained in his firſt, was not ſent to prevent the admiſſion of 'other troops beſides her majeſty's, into Ghent and Bruges. 'That the queen was enough ſatisfied, that his grace 'would take effectual care to preſerve thoſe cautionary 'places, which could alone ſecure to her any tolerable 'conditions, with reſpect to the Netherlands, in the terms

Conference between the duke of Ormond and a Dutch deputy.

Cond. of the duke of Ormond.

'of

'of peace. But he confeſſed he thought, it could be no 1712.
'ways unneceſſary to give his grace a very poſitive and
'clear order, in an affair, which might perhaps make a
'great deal of noiſe.' The duke not only punctually obeyed the orders, which he received from England, but was alſo very forward in aſſiſting the queen's new friends, the French, even at the expence of her old allies. For being informed of a deſign, which the Dutch, from the late ſucceſs of their enterprize upon fort Knocque, had been encouraged to form, for ſurpriſing Newport or Furnes; and that the fortifying Dixmuyde was made uſe of as a pretence for drawing together a body of troops ſufficient to put the deſign into execution, the duke knew not, but the queen might think it for her ſervice, that the deſign ſhould not ſucceed, ſince, if the Dutch were not ſuffered to take poſſeſſion of thoſe garriſons, the queen would not only have a greater influence towards ſettling the commerce of the Netherlands on a good foot, but would be able to ſecure, what was of the higheſt conſequence at that time, a free communication between her troops, which were in Ghent, Bruges, and Dunkirk. He therefore, in a letter of October the 21ſt, acquainted the ſecretary with this affair; and left his lordſhip to judge of the importance of it, and the uſe, that was to be made of it. But, if the queen thought it moſt for her ſervice to prevent it, he was humbly of opinion, ſome means ſhould be found out to give advice of it to the marſhal de Villars, who might poſſibly think, we owed him that good office, in requital of ſome informations, his lordſhip knew had been ſent by the marſhal, with a deſign to ſerve her majeſty and the nation. The queen was of the ſame opinion concerning the uſe to be made of the intelligence mentioned in this letter; but, the campaign being by this time at an end, the duke aſked and readily obtained leave to return to England; and, having taken a view of Dunkirk, embarked there, landed at Dover the firſt of November, arrived in London the next day, and on the fourth waited on the queen at Windſor, where he met with a moſt gracious reception (d).

An

(d) Burnet ſays, our army *continued this winter about Ghent and Bruges; and we kept a fort of garriſon in Dunkirk*: but that was ſo ill ſupplied with artillery and ammunition, that it was viſible they were not in a condition to keep the place, any longer than the French were willing to let them ſtay in it.

And,

1712. An accident happened about this time, which the ministers laid hold of, to improve a private animosity, if not into a conspiracy against the government, at least into a party quarrel. A law-suit, which for about eleven years had been depending between the duke of Hamilton and the lord Mohun, had created a great animosity between these two noblemen; so that, on the 13th of November, at a meeting at Mr. Orlebar's, a master in Chancery's chambers in the rolls, the duke having reflected on Mr. Whiteworth (father of lord Whiteworth, late ambassador to the czar) who was examined as a witness on the lord Mohun's side, saying, He had neither truth nor justice in him; the lord Mohun thought himself obliged to vindicate that gentleman, which he did, by saying, He had as much as his grace. The duke having made no reply, all seemed to end amicably; for they both continued in the same place above half an hour, and, at parting, the duke, going out first, made a low bow to the lord Mohun, who, in like manner, returned his civility; so that none of the persons there present suspected any consequence from what had passed. But, the next day, general Maccartney went twice to the duke of Hamilton's house, with a challenge to him from the lord Mohun; and, in the evening, the duke, accompanied by colonel John Hamilton, went to meet general Maccartney at the Rose-Tavern, and was a few minutes in private with him; whilst the lord Mohun and the colonel were in separate rooms, Mr. Maccartney went several times between the duke and lord Mohun; from which, and other circumstances, his enemies took occasion to give out, that he had rather inflamed, than endeavoured to compose the quarrel. But all that can be fairly conjectured is, that the time and place of the duel were there fixed and agreed on. The lord Mohun and general Maccartney lay that night at the Bagnio in Long-Acre; and, on Sunday the 15th of November, about seven o'clock in the morning, went in a hackney-coach to the lodge in Hyde-park, where being soon after met by the duke of Hamilton, and his second colonel Hamilton, they all leaped over a ditch, into a place called the nursery. Lord Mohun would not have had the seconds engage; but the duke insisted, that Mr. Maccart-

Duke Hamilton and lord Mohun killed in a duel.

And, during that time, they were neither allowed to have a place to worship God, nor to bury their dead in, though by a mortality that raged there some thousands died. *Burnet*, II. 615.

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ney ſhould have a ſhare in the dance; from whence the general's enemies ſtrengthened their ſuggeſtion, that he had been the inſtigator of the duel. All having drawn, the two principals made ſuch violent and deſperate paſſes at each other, being rather intent to give than to parry thruſts, that they ſoon fell down, both mortally wounded; ſo that the lord Mohun died on the ſpot; and the duke, as his ſervants were carrying him to his coach (e). The two ſeconds did not fight at all, as one of the witneſſes depoſed, or fought with ſuch caution that colonel Hamilton received only a ſmall wound in the inſtep, which, he ſaid, happened by his own ſword, as he was parrying down a full paſs, that Maccartney made at him (f). 1712.

The

(e) Burnet, on this occaſion, ſays: I will add no character of him: I am ſorry I cannot ſay ſo much good of him as I could wiſh, and I had too much kindneſs for him, to ſay any evil without neceſſity. Nor ſhall I make any reflections on the deplorable effect of thoſe unchriſtian and barbarous maxims, which have prevailed ſo univerſally, that there is little hope left of ſeeing them rooted out of the minds of men; the falſe notions of honour and courage being too ſtrong, to be weighed down by prudent or religious conſiderations. Burnet, II. 612.

(f) The high-church men and the Jacobites were ſo ſenſibly touched with the loſs of one of their principal champions, that they charged this unfortunate duel on the whole Whig party; ſuggeſting, 'That, 'having tried all other methods 'in vain, they returned to their 'expedient of murder, and employed treachery and violence 'at once. That their general '[the duke of Marlborough] 'ſet the example of party duels, which was only to give 'them a ſanction; and deputed 'that infamous meſſenger of 'his challenge to be the general bully of the faction. That 'the preſent lord treaſurer had 'almoſt miraculouſly eſcaped 'their laſt engine of aſſaſſination '[meaning the band-box.] That 'the bravo, Maccartney, who 'depended for his ſupport on 'the lord Mohun, was forced 'to keep up his patron's courage with wine, till within a 'very few hours of their meeting in the field: and that the 'mortal wound, which the duke 'received, after his adverſary 'was run through the heart, 'could not be given by any but 'Maccartney.' This laſt accuſation being like to lay an indelible odium on the Whigs, great induſtry, and indeed all indirect means were uſed to propagate the belief of it. In order to that, colonel Hamilton depoſed before the privy-council, 'That, ſeeing lord Mohun 'fall, and the duke upon him, 'he ran to the duke's aſſiſtance; 'and, that he might with the 'more eaſy help him, he flung 'down both their ſwords; and, Examiner. Nov. 20.

1712. The earl of Godolphin died of the ſtone, on the 15th of September, this year. He had ſerved in conſiderable employments under four princes of very different tempers and deſigns. Oppoſite opinions have been delivered of his merit and character. Great abilities and integrity have been aſcribed to him by ſome; while others have freely cenſured

Death and character of the earl of Godolphin.

' as he was raiſing the duke up, ' he ſaw Maccartney make a ' puſh at his grace.' Upon which an advertiſement was publiſhed by the government, for the diſcovery of lieutenant general Maccartney, ſuggeſting, that it had appeared upon oath, that the wound, whereof the duke died, was given him by Maccartney. On the other hand it was alledged, in vindication of the whigs in general, and of general Maccartney in particular, ' That the duke of ' Hamilton and the lord Mohun ' purſued their private animoſi- ' ties, occaſioned by the law- ' ſuit before-mentioned, which ' had been depending many ' years; which plainly appear- ' ed from the duke's having ' often been forewarned to ' avoid the lord Mohun's com- ' pany. That the latter might ' probably have been inclined ' to decide the matter by the ' ſword, upon an apprehenſion, ' either that the duke would at ' laſt remove the cauſe to the ' houſe of peers, where he might ' hope to ſupply by friends and ' intereſt what he wanted in ju- ' ſtice and equity; or that, up- ' on his return from his am- ' baſſy in France, he might beg ' and obtain from the crown ' the late earl of Macclesfield's ' eſtate, which was the prize ' contended for, upon a pre- ' tence, that the outlawry a- ' gainſt that earl was not rever- ' ſed in due form.' As to the ſuggeſtion, that general Maccartney ſtabbed the duke of Hamilton, the falſity of that horrid imputation ſufficiently appeared, both from the ſeveral depoſitions taken at the coroner's inqueſt, and from the reports and declarations of two or three eminent ſurgeons, who were unanimous, ' That the ' wound the duke received in ' his right arm, and which was ' allowed on all hands to have ' been given by the lord Mo- ' hun, was the immediate oc- ' caſion of his Grace's death.' Colonel Hamilton foully prevaricated at his trial on account of this duel, and perſiſted in accuſing general Maccartney. But his ſilence at the place where they fought, and where they both continued a conſiderable time, taking care of their reſpective principals, raiſed an unanſwerable objection to the colonel's evidence, and fixed upon him an infamous character, either for charging a murder upon an innocent man, or for ſuffering the murderer of the noble perſon, whoſe ſecond he was, to make his eſcape, when it was in his power to ſecure him. Under this juſt imputation colonel Hamilton lived obſcurely the remainder of his days, becoming ſo odious to all men of honour, that he was obliged

cenſured him for notorious defects in the latter, and allowed him to have been great by the chance of place and diſtinction. The treaſurer's ſtaff was attended with the ill-will and averſion of the tories; for his rival, the earl of Rocheſter, by his turbulent zeal, had gained the higheſt place in their favour. As he had commonly acted in oppoſition to the whigs, they likewiſe entertained great fears and jealouſies of him. His whole miniſtry was embaraſſed with both theſe circumſtances; and even prudence, good-temper, and ſucceſs, could not ſecure him a general good-will and confidence. However, the objections which have been made to him, will, when every thing is duly weighed, be ſilenced, or perhaps turned to his advantage. He had concurred with the worſt of king Charles II's miniſters, and adhered to the laſt to king James. In theſe two reigns he gave no oppoſition; but the ſame active and paſſive obedience was not practiſed by him under king William. This was aſcribed to his retaining principles, very inconſiſtent with an intire approbation of his government; to which has been added a paſſionate admiration of and attachment to king James's queen. The higher eſteem therefore ſeems due to his memory, when we review his conduct in the fulneſs of his power: in this ſituation it will appear, how truly ſuperior he became to all prejudices and prepoſſeſſions. His deliberations were conſtant and determined for our proſperity at home, and our ſucceſs abroad. If his difficulties and diſadvantages, particularly thoſe with the queen, were duly explained, his attention to the welfare of the nation would be the ſubject of great admiration. The union of the two kingdoms was his work; and, though this tranſaction has been often condemned by great numbers of both parties, yet that does not leſſen the merit of the performance. All 1712.

obliged to ſell his company in the guards, and died October the 17th, 1716, of a ſudden vomiting of blood, which could not be ſtopped. Strict ſearch was made after lieutenant general Maccartney; and, beſides the five hundred pounds promiſed by the queen's proclamation, three hundred more were offered by the dutcheſs of Hamilton, as a reward to whomſoever ſhould diſcover him. But Mr. Maccartney having, after the fatal duel, walked to Kenſington, and thence to Chelſea, went from thence to the duke of Richmond's houſe in the Privy-Garden, near Whitehall; lay there that night; and, early the next morning, croſſed the Thames; and then, in a diſguiſe, went over to Flanders.

1712. changes and alterations, tho' conducted with the utmoſt honeſty and ſkill, muſt be attended with ſeveral inconveniencies; and it is too common with mankind to inſiſt only upon theſe, while they paſs over in ſilence the moſt ſubſtantial advantages. By means of this union, the proteſtant ſucceſſion was ſecured; the influence of France on the affairs of Scotland was much weakened; many occaſions of feuds and animoſities were removed; and the benefits reſulting to the whole iſland were immediate and important, and likely to be perpetually increaſing. Our accounts of the manner of carrying on this affair are not ſufficiently full and exact; for which reaſon the great inſtrument of it cannot have his juſt praiſe. Alliances, and the force of recommendations, impoſed upon him in ſome inſtances; but his great concern was to employ men of capacity and integrity; and ſuch were ſure of his kindeſt regards. This became the more remarkable, becauſe another great man was not ſo ſkilful and cautious, or very unlucky. He had a true ſenſe of the nation's welfare, and of the proper methods of promoting it. Rude and inſolent reproaches from a certain quarter, on the account of his former attachments and correſpondencies, were clear proofs of his having renounced them. No perſon was more earneſt and ſkilful in projects for annoying the enemy by attempts on France, Spain, Dunkirk, and the Weſt-Indies; but many of them were defeated by winds, and other accidents. Late and expenſive experiments have convinced us of the difficulties and hazards of Weſt-India expeditions; and ſuch attempts became improper, when encouragement was given to ſend king Charles into Spain. Had we ſecured that monarchy for the houſe of Auſtria, when it was in our power, we ſhould have been intitled to advantages ſuperior to any conqueſt. The piece upon the management of the war, and the four anſwers to the conduct of the allies, have clearly proved, that there was no partiality to the duke of Marlborough; but that every part of the war was attended to in the moſt proper manner; and we have there accounts given of the advantages of the miniſter's treaties, and our alliances with Savoy and Portugal. Our military co-operations with Portugal were embarraſſed with many difficulties and inconveniencies. But what muſt have been the caſe, had the French party prevailed there? No impreſſions could have been made on Spain; which would have been a great diſadvantage to the common cauſe. Without their ports, our fleet muſt have

have been expoſed to many dangers and diſtreſſes. The prodigious benefits of the commerce then opened are well known, but have not been ſufficiently acknowledged. Thoſe, who ſtudy detraction, obſerve how many circumſtances concurred to his ſucceſsful management of the treaſury. The ſecurity and ſafety of the bank, punctual payments, and the ready command of money in the funds, had been experienced ſeveral years, and moſt effectually ſilenced popular objections. Many defective ways of raiſing the ſupply in king William's time had ſuggeſted proper methods of caution; but, above all, our great ſucceſs abroad was the life and ſupport of public credit. But might not our advantages in ſome degree be aſcribed to the treaſurer's exact care in payments? By his attention to our trade and commerce, did not he lay the foundation for a due and full ſupply? When all the marks of prudence and regularity are attended with ſucceſs, the chief conductor hath a fair claim to a large portion of merit. He is ſaid to have preſerved great appearances of wiſdom by ſilence and reſerve, which are particulars of behaviour ſuppoſed to be inconſiſtent with a great and generous mind. But this was not owing to any thing mean and unworthy; for in all conſultations on buſineſs, he diſcovered a ſurprizing greatneſs of courage, and a quick and moſt exact diſcernment. His kind, equal, and obliging temper indeared his memory to all, who had the pleaſure and advantage of his converſation. His behaviour to the queen was ſo faultleſs, that, when ſhe was influenced to diſmiſs him, ſhame and concern would not allow her to admit him into her preſence; and, therefore inſtead of permitting him to reſign into her hands the treaſurer's ſtaff, a letter was ſent to order him to break it. Unbecoming inſtances of behaviour may be produced in the lives of great men of all ages and all imployments. Had this been duly conſidered, ſuch ſevere reproaches had not been caſt upon this miniſter for his love of play and horſeraces; by which indeed he became too much, and too frequantly engaged with the moſt worthleſs of men, gameſters and jockies. But after all, when this objection is thoroughly examined, nothing will appear but a faulty choice of improper amuſements; and there were no imputations upon him of any fraudulent practices, tho' ſuch were then not unfamiliar to perſons of his rank. Nor did his love for theſe diverſions ever draw him off from the duties of his high ſtation. Complaints have perhaps been too juſtly made againſt thoſe, who

1712.

1712. who have the chief power in diſpoſing of places, that the merit of perſons of low rank, though very ſignificant, is ſeldom duly conſidered. And, therefore inſtances of this kind ſhould not be deemed the peculiar fault of this great man. His letter to the queen juſt before his diſmiſſion furniſhes us with the fulleſt ideas of his worth and character; and time hath abundantly verified the repreſentations, which he therein made with dignity and decency, a becoming warmth, and an honeſt freedom. Such a ſenſe of affairs, and ſuch expreſſions, could only proceed from a mind truly great and truly good.

The duke of Marlborough retires beyond ſea. Burnet.

Upon his death the duke of Marlborough reſolved to go and live beyond ſea. He went away in the end of November, and his Ducheſs followed him in the beginning of February following. This was variouſly cenſured; ſome pretended it was the giving up and abandoning the concerns of his country; and they repreſented it as the effect of fear, with too anxious a care to ſecure himſelf. Others were glad he was ſafe out of ill hands; whereby, if the nation ſhould fall into the convulſions of a civil war, he would be able to aſſiſt the elector of Hanover, as being ſo intirely beloved and confided in by all our military men; whereas, if he had ſtaid in England, it was not to be doubted, but, upon the leaſt ſhadow of ſuſpicion, he would have been immediately ſecured; but now he would be at liberty, being beyond ſea, to act as there might be occaſion for it.

There were two ſuits begun againſt him: the one was for the two and a half per cent. which the foreign princes were content ſhould be deducted for contingencies, of which an account has been given. The other was for arrears due to the builders of Blenheim-houſe. The queen had given orders for building it with great magnificence; all the bargains with the workmen were made in her name, and by authority from her; and in the preambles of the acts of parliament, which confirmed the grant of Woodſtock to him and his heirs, it was ſaid the queen built the houſe for him. Yet now, that the tradeſmen were let run into an arrear of 30,000 l. the queen refuſed to pay any more, and ſet them upon ſuing the duke of Marlborough for it, though he had never contracted with any of them. Upon his going beyond ſea, both thoſe ſuits were ſtaid, which gave occaſion to people to imagine, that the miniſtry, being diſturbed to ſee ſo much public reſpect paid to a man, whom they had uſed ſo ill, had ſet theſe proſecutions on foot, only to render his ſtay in England uneaſy to him.

The

The duke set out for Dover the 24th of November; imbarked on board the North-Britain packet boat; and, on the 1st of December, landed at Ostend, under a triple discharge of all the cannon on the ramparts. At his landing, he was received by general Cadogan and Brigadier de Caris, governor of the place, and conducted by a vast concourse of people to captain Brown's, where he dined. He supped with the governor; lay that night at the burgomaster's; and, the next day, set out for Antwerp. He was received with extraordinary marks of respect in all the Dutch garrisons, particularly at Maestricht, from whence he repaired to Aix la Chapelle. But general Cadogan paid dear for the civilities, he shewed the duke, being soon after dismissed from all his employments. 1712.

Upon the death of duke Hamilton, it was for some days uncertain, who should succeed him as ambassador to the court of France, the lord Bolingbroke being very much against the duke of Shrewsbury's being employed in that station; but, however, he was named by the queen for that employment, and went over to France in the end of December. The same yatcht, which carried him to Calais, brought over the duke d'Aumont, the French ambassador, who was a good-natured and generous man, of profuse expence, throwing handfuls of money out of his coach, as he went about the streets. He was not thought a man of business, and seemed to employ himself chiefly in maintaining the dignity of his character, and making himself acceptable to the nation. The duke of Shrewsbury Ambassador to France. Burnet.

On the 20th of November, the earl of Strafford was sent back to the Hague with the French plan, which came to be called the queen's new plan of peace (g). The substance of The earl of Strafford proposes a new plan of peace to the States. Annals of Q. Anne.

(g) A deputation being made to him on the 8th of December, N. S. (to whom were added the pensionary and the register Fagel) the earl of Strafford assured them, 'That he was 'never more pleased with being 'there than on this occasion, 'as wishing nothing more, than 'to see the antient friend- 'ship and good correspondence 'between her majesty and that 'State revived; and flattering 'himself, that as he was char- 'ged with orders and instruc- 'tions, which tended to pro- 'cure a good peace for all 'Europe, and the firm security 'of that State; so a solid and 'lasting friendship and corre- 'spondence might thereby be 'established between her ma- 'jesty and their high mighti- 'nesses. That he could not for- 'bear saying, he wished the 'love of war, and the private

1712. of this plan is contained in the concluſion of what the earl ſaid to the deputies of the States and the penſionary, 'preſſing for a ſpeedy reſolution, whether the States were willing or not to ſign the peace jointly with her majeſty, immediately

'intereſts of ſome perſons, had never given occaſion for a coldneſs in that friendſhip, which might have proved, and ſtill might prove fatal to that State, if the laſt offers now to be made on the part of her majeſty ſhould not be accepted. That the reflecting on what had paſſed might ſerve to prevent inconveniencies for the future, ſince the refuſal to agree to the ſuſpenſion of arms propoſed by her majeſty might have brought ruin on that State, and had coſt them ſo dear; and that there was reaſon to fear much greater evils, in caſe their high mightineſſes ſhould now refuſe to conclude the peace jointly with her majeſty. That the laſt propoſition or overture about peace, made by their high mightineſſes, contained one point, which was contrary to the engagements her majeſty had before entered into; namely, that Sicily ſhould be given to the duke of Savoy. That, as to ſome other points, inſurmountable obſtacles had now ariſen, which might have been got over, had not ſo ſtrong oppoſition been made to her majeſty's meaſures, and had not her majeſty been conſtrained to agree ſeparately to a ſuſpenſion of arms. That the irreſolution of that State had been attended by very unhappy accidents; and therefore her majeſty was very deſirous they would at length come to fix upon ſome propoſitions, reaſonable in themſelves, and of ſuch a nature, that, in the unlucky conjuncture, wherein affairs now ſtood, they might be obtained of France. That her majeſty had given him permiſſion to declare further, That he well knew, her majeſty was determined to inſiſt upon, and even to procure from France, the ceſſion of Tournay, to ſtrengthen the barriers of that ſtate with a place of ſo great importance; but that he knew likewiſe, that her majeſty's conduct in this matter would wholly depend upon that of the States; And that, after the making ſo conſiderable a ſtep in their favour, it was expected, that, on their part, they ſhould forthwith concur with her majeſty in concluding the peace, without ſtarting new objections, and without making other demands. And that as ſoon as that ſtate ſhould declare themſelves in an authentic manner, ſo that her majeſty could depend upon it; then her majeſty would cauſe a declaration to be made in full congreſs, that the article of the ceſſion of Tournay ſhould be one of the conditions of peace, ſine qua non. That he was likewiſe to inform their high mightineſſes

'mediately and without delay; for otherwiſe her majeſty 1712.
'would be obliged to ſign her peace, without waiting for
'them to come into it any longer than a fortnight or three
'weeks at fartheſt. That her majeſty, aſſuring herſelf
'that

'mightineſſes, that the king of
'France had made very ſtrong
'inſtances for his ally, the elec-
'tor of Bavaria; and that the
'leaſt, which his moſt chriſtian
'majeſty pretended to aſk for
'him, was, that the ſaid elec-
'tor ſhould continue in the poſ-
'ſeſſion of Luxemburg, Na-
'mur, and Charleroy; ſubject
'however to the terms of the
'barrier for the States general,
'till the ſaid elector were reſto-
'red to his electorate of Bava-
'ria (excluſive of the upper
'Palatinate) and placed in the
'rank and dignity of ninth
'elector. That the king of
'France would alſo propoſe,
'that the kingdom of Sardinia
'be given to that elector, for
'effacing, by the title of king,
'the diſgrace and mortification
'of being degraded from the
'rank of firſt elector: and that
'her majeſty judged, that this
'point might be granted; that
'ſo the poſſeſſion of Tournay
'may be ſecured to the States,
'and a peace made, which will
'be ſafe and laſting. That he
'was alſo to repreſent to their
'high mightineſſes, in her ma-
'jeſty's name, that her majeſty
'was deſirous both to re-eſtabliſh
'and to maintain an intire union
'between her and that ſtate;
'and hoped and aſſuredly be-
'lieved, that their High Migh-
'tineſſes were of the ſame ſen-
'timents with her in this mat-
'ter. That therefore it was
'neceſſary, without any loſs of
'time, to remove all, that that
'State might ſeem to have
'gained, either to the immedi-
'ate prejudice, or to the future
'danger, of her majeſty's and
'her kingdoms intereſts. That
'he had brought with him a
'plan of a new treaty of ſuc-
'ceſſion and barrier; and muſt
'inſiſt, that it might be ſigned
'before the concluſion of the
'peace. That, upon a diſcuſ-
'ſion of the now exiſting bar-
'rier treaty, he would make it
'appear to the miniſters of this
'State, that many things were
'therein inſerted, which in Eng-
'land were looked upon as diſ-
'advantageous to her majeſty's
'ſubjects, and which certainly
'could not be reconciled either
'to the letter, or the deſign of
'the grand alliance; nor were
'conformable to any principles
'upon which the preſent confe-
'deracy was made, and the war
'begun. That he would fur-
'ther ſhew, that the alterations
'and additions now propoſed
'were only ſuch, as were ne-
'ceſſary to rectify the miſtakes,
'and explain what was du-
'bious, and to ſupply ſome
'omiſſions in that treaty, and
'to take away ſome obſtruc-
'tions thence ariſing to the
'commerce of Great-Britain.
'That, the particular guaranty
'of the ſucceſſion and barrier
'being thus explained and rec-
'tified, it would not only be an
'additional ſecurity for both
'nations, and be cordially exe-
'cuted,

1712. 'that the States would not delay to conclude the peace 'with her, would procure Tournay for them, which, with 'many other places, were not to be expected from France, 'if the queen ſhould ſign her peace ſeparately. That, as 'to the empire, there would be no alteration in what is 'contained in the queen's ſpeech relating thereto, nor in 'any thing with reſpect to the emperor, only that Sardinia 'ſhould be given to the elector of Bavaria, and that the 'duke of Savoy ſhould have Sicily. That her majeſty was 'very deſirous to have the concurrence of the States in all 'that related to that duke, as well as to the elector of Ba-'varia, and to oblige the emperor to conſent to the neutra-'lity of Italy, and to withdraw his troops from Catalonia. 'That ſhe further deſired, that the plenipotentiaries of the 'States at Utrecht might be furniſhed with full powers to 'conclude forthwith the new treaty of barrier.' This new barrier treaty, of which he delivered a copy to regeſter Fagel, and by which the former was to be ſet aſide, was deſigned

'cuted, whenever the occaſion 'ſhould happen, but would 'unite the two nations in ſtrict-'er bonds of friendſhip and af-'fection: whereas, on the other 'hand, that ſtate could not but 'expect a ſlow execution of a 'treaty, which, by the Britiſh 'nation, had been declared 'diſhonourable and diſadvanta-'geous to it. And, in ſhort, 'that to pretend to hold the 'the ſaid nation under an en-'gagement of ſuch a nature as 'this could have no other ef-'fect, than to foment jealouſy 'and miſunderſtanding, which, 'one time or other, might 'break out into an open rup-'ture. That, among the terms 'of the new plan, the fourth 'article of the treaty of barrier 'imported, that her majeſty 'conſented to the States putting 'garriſons, providing, chang-'ing, augmenting, or diminiſh-'ing them, as they ſhould think 'fit, in the following places; 'namely, Furnes, Fort Knocque, 'Ypres, Menin, the town and 'caſtle of Tournay, Mons, 'Charleroy, the town and caſtle 'of Namur, the caſtle of Ghent, 'the forts Pearl, Philip, and 'Damme: That fort St. Dhona 'being joined to the fortifica-'tions of Sluys, ſhall be yielded 'in propriety to the States; and 'that the fort of Rodenhuyſen, 'on this ſide of Ghent ſhall be 'razed. That in the ninth ar-'ticle it is ſtipulated, that all 'the revenues of the places to 'be yielded up by France, 'which did not belong to the 'crown of Spain, at the time 'of the death of king Charles II, 'ſhall be given to the State, to-'wards maintaining the barrier, 'except only ſo much as is ne-'ceſſary for the civil govern-'ment of the ſaid towns, places, 'and caſtellanies; as alſo a mil-'lion of guilders yearly out of 'the cleareſt revenues of the reſt 'of the Spaniſh Netherlands.

'That

ſigned for drawing the States in the more. By it the States were to maintain the ſucceſſion to the crown, when required by the queen, but not otherwiſe. This gave ſtill new occaſion for jealouſy. For, whereas, by the former treaty, they were ſtrictly bound to maintain the ſucceſſion, ſo that they were obliged to oppoſe any attempts they ſaw made againſt it, they were by this treaty obliged to ſtay till they were ſent to: And, if our miniſters ſhould come to entertain ill deſigns that way, they would take care no notice ſhould be given to the States. 1712.

The new plan being communicated to the States of the reſpective provinces, the members of thoſe aſſemblies were variouſly affected. The ceſſion of Tournay, after the treaſurer and ſecretary in England had put France upon inſiſting to have it reſtored, was a great bait to the Dutch; and the threat, that they would looſe it, with ſeveral other places, if the queen ſigned her peace ſeparately, changed the minds of many of them, and diſpoſed them to give a favourable ear to The States conſent to it.

'That what related to Bon, Huy, and Liege, ſhould be ſetled with the miniſters of the emperor and the empire: but that her majeſty's opinion was, that the firſt of thoſe places ſhould be garriſoned by the Imperialiſts, and the other two by the States. That, in the laſt place, notwithſtanding all the provocations, and all the delays on the part of that State, the queen had hitherto kept the negotiation open: that her majeſty thought ſhe had retarded it long enough, and poſſibly too long in good policy. That therefore the offers, which her majeſty now made by him, were her ultimate reſolutions: and that this was the laſt time ſhe would addreſs herſelf to their high mightineſſes, in caſe they ſhould form new delays, and not anſwer her majeſty's good intentions for their own intereſts. That, in the mean while, her majeſty had judged herſelf obliged, in conſideration of the great ſervices done by the duke of Savoy for the common cauſe, and of the danger, to which he was expoſed by his firm adherence thereunto, to take care, not only for his ſecurity, but likewiſe for his grandeur, by procuring for him Sicily, and the tracts of the country on this ſide the Alps; which were neceſſary to ſecure Exilles and Feneſtrelles, and to cover Piedmont. That his ſucceſſion, after that of king Philip, was acknowledged by the renunciation. That her majeſty deſired the concurrence of this State in all that had been promiſed to his royal highneſs; and that her majeſty deſired likewiſe, that the States ſhould join with her, to oblige the emperor to a neutrality for Italy, and to with-

draw

1712. to the lord Strafford's propoſals. That lord went incognito to Amſterdam, where he had ſeveral ſucceſsful conferences with the leading magiſtrates. Amſterdam has always great influence on the ſtates of Holland, as the ſtates of Holland have on the States-general, and the diſpoſition of that city is generally a rule for the cities and provinces in the affairs of war and peace. But the ſtates of Utrecht (where the biſhop of Briſtol was not idle in the abſence of lord Strafford) were the firſt that conſented to the new plan, for the peace and the barrier; and nine days after the ſtates of Holland did the ſame; by which time the other provinces had tranſmitted their ſeveral opinions to the States-general on that ſubject. All of them were unanimous in one point, to come in to the queen's meaſures, but every province (except Utrecht) gave their conſent with ſome reſtrictions. Upon this the States wrote a letter to the queen, ſignifying their reſolution to enter into her meaſures, and to conclude and ſign a peace jointly with her, as alſo to take with her new engagements on the proteſtant ſucceſſion and barrier treaty. However they deſired her to interpoſe for reſtoring Strasburg to the empire, for adding Condé to their barrier, and for ſettling

Dec. 29. N. S.

'draw his troops from Catalonia: And that her majeſty was 'reſolved to make the neutrality a condition of tranſporting 'the ſaid troops, which her 'majeſty would do at her own 'expence; for, without that 'neutrality, the emperor might 'diſturb all Italy, and particularly the duke of Savoy, on account of his treaty in the year '1703; one of the imperial miniſters having already threatened a miniſter of the duke of 'Savoy therewith, which would 'certainly engage the queen 'and the States in the troubles 'and wars in Italy.' Then the earl of Strafford communicated to the deputies an anſwer, on the part of her majeſty, to the laſt memorial of the emperor's miniſter in England, by which her majeſty's ſentiments in this matter were confirmed. His lordſhip further repreſented, 'That her majeſty, being informed of the preſent diſorders 'in the Spaniſh netherlands 'had ſent over the earl of Orrery to the Hague, to redreſs 'them, to concert thereupon 'with the deputies of this State, 'and to reſume the adminiſtration in common with their 'high mightineſſes deputies, 'and to keep the ſame, till the 'emperor ſhould accept the 'Netherlands on the conditions, which the queen and 'their high mightineſſes ſhould 'agree upon:' adding, 'That 'the earl of Orrery had orders 'not to do any thing in this affair, but according as he 'ſhould find a diſpoſition in 'their high mightineſſes to act 'in concert with the queen.' Annals of queen Anne.

the

the commerce on the foot of the ancient tariff*; as also for obtaining more reasonable terms for the emperor: But things were so fixed between the courts of France and Great-Britain, that there was no room for intercession. The demand of Strasburg was rejected by the French with so positive an air, that the British court did not move in it more; nor did it appear that we obtained any one condition of the French, but was offered in their own project. 1712.

* Of 1664.

In conclusion, the States were forced to yield in every particular; and then our ministers, to give some seeming content to the nation, and to bring the States into some confidence with them, ordered the new barrier treaty to be signed: And it was given out by their creatures, that the French were highly offended at their signing this; making it previous to a general peace, and a sort of guaranty for it. Thus, after all the declamations that were made on the first barrier treaty, the ministers came in to a new one, which, though not so secure as the former, yet was liable to all the objections, which were made against that (h). The barrier treaty signed.

Soon

(h) Those readers, that desire a larger account of what passed at Utrecht, may see it in the following particulars:

The plenipotentiaries of the four associated circles of Germany laid, the same day, a proposition before the British ministers at Utrecht, wherein they represented, 'That they entered into the grand alliance, 'upon an invitation of king 'William, by a solemn treaty 'concluded at Nordlingen, and 'afterwards ratified by the pre'sent queen of Great-Britain. 'That the circles had, on their 'part, punctually performed all 'the conditions of that treaty, 'and had borne all the calami'ties of so bloody and ruinous a 'war at their own expence, 'without troubling her majesty 'for one penny subsidy, with 'an intire confidence, that, as 'she always declared her satis'faction with the firmness and 'conduct of the circles, her ma'jesty would not fail remem'bring the good services they 'did the public; and that they 'should reap the fruits of their 'labours, sufferings, and expen'ces: But that, notwithstand'ing her majesty's gracious as'surances, they heard with 'grief, that she persisted in the 'opinion, that an universal 'peace might be made, without 'the circles enjoying the least 'comfort or effect of their alli'ance; no amends, no barrier, 'no security; which would 'bring the utmost desolation 'pon the Circles, and leave a 'fatal remembrance to poster'ity. Wherefore they made 'their addresses to the justice 'and goodness of her majesty, 'to the wisdom and equity of 'her ministers, and to the ge'nerosity and honour of the 'whole Complaint of the four associated circles.

1712. Soon after the ſigning of the barrier treaty, the Pruſſian miniſters at Utrecht received advice, that their king, who for ſome time had been indiſpoſed, but afterwards was thought out of danger, had a relapſe, and his diſtemper increaſed to ſuch a degree, that on the 25th of February, about noon, he expired as he was ſpeaking to the prince his ſon, and ſome of his miniſters; having preſerved his ſenſes to the very laſt. He was in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, the

The king of Pruſſia dies.

Anſwer of the Britiſh miniſters.

'whole Engliſh nation, not to 'abandon ſo good and faithful 'allies, nor leave them in the 'miſerable condition, in which 'they had been plunged by former treaties.' To this repreſentation the Britiſh miniſters returned the following anſwer, 'That if the aſſociated Circles 'did not obtain all they deſired, and all her majeſty could 'wiſh them, the blame was by 'no means to be laid at her 'door: Firſt, becauſe, during 'the war, the empire had very 'much neglected the proſecution of it on that ſide; and the 'emperor and other princes and 'ſtates had been very deficient 'in furniſhing their reſpective 'quota's of troops, and other 'neceſſaries; which if they had 'done, the war had been long 'ſince at an end, and they in 'poſſeſſion of that, which was 'now impoſſible to obtain: 'But that they had left the 'whole burden of the war to 'fall upon her majeſty and the 'States-General in Flanders; 'the getting whoſe money, by 'exorbitant bargains for their 'troops, they ſeemed to have 'more at heart, than the providing their contingents for 'their own army. That, beſides their negligence and remiſſneſs in the proſecution of 'the war, the oppoſition, they 'had made to her majeſty's 'meaſures for peace, had put it 'out of her power to ſerve 'them. That, when a ceſſation of arms was found neceſſary, they were told from her 'majeſty, that, if they ſhould 'enter into it, the allies being 'united in their counſels, might 'have obtained from the enemy any thing they could reaſonably have inſiſted upon; 'but that they rejected that 'propoſal, and deſerted her 'majeſty, to follow prince Eugene's chimerical projects, 'which had already been, and 'might prove more fatal to the 'common cauſe, if they did not 'prevent another campaign by 'reaſonable propoſals of peace. 'That her majeſty's caſe was 'therefore very hard, that, 'while ſhe proſecuted the war 'with the utmoſt vigour, ſome 'of the allies acted with almoſt 'as much coldneſs and indifference, as if they had been at 'peace, or had no concern in 'the war; and, when ſhe found 'a peace neceſſary, they ſhould 'then only begin to think of 'war: And, after all, when by 'this unaccountable way of 'acting, they had brought 'themſelves into inextricable 'difficulties, they ſhould cry out, 'that they were deſerted, and 'endeavour to throw the odium

'and

the twenty-fifth of his government, as elector of Brandeburgh, and the thirteenth of his reign as king of Prussia. Four days before his death he gave a signal instance of his compassion for the persecuted protestants of France, whom he recommended to the queen of Great-Britain's protection by a very moving and affectionate letter. He was a virtuous man, and full of zeal in the matters of religion. He raised above two hundred new churches in his dominions. He was weak, and much in the power of his ministers and flatterers; 1712.

His character. Burnet.

'and blame of it upon her, 'But, that, nevertheless, she 'would still do for the four 'Circles, as well as for the rest 'of her allies, all that she was 'obliged to by treaty, and 'whatever more they had, by 'their conduct left in her pow'er.' Both from this answer, and the late steps of the States, it was generally believed, that the negotiations at Utrecht would speedily be brought to a conclusion: But some unforeseen difficulties, started by the court of France, made it necessary to renew the cessation of arms for four months longer; which was done by an agreement signed at London the 26th of November, and Versailles the 14th of December, N. S.

'their lives to her majesty; 'for, had the war continued, 'there was not one true Spa'niard, who would not have 'spent the last drop of his 'blood in his master's quarrel.' The queen thanked her brother, the king of Spain, for this compliment, and said, 'She thought 'herself very happy in being 'able to contribute to the safe- 'ty of so brave a nation and 'so loyal a people.'

The cessation of arms prolonged.

The marquis de Monteleone, appointed by king Philip to be one of his plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, being about this time come to London, and the queen returned from Windsor to St. James's, he had the next day a private audience, wherein he told her, 'That his master had 'sent him to return her a thou'sand thanks for the great pains 'she had been pleased to take 'to procure peace to Europe. 'And that the whole Spanish 'nation in particular owed

In the mean time, the queen being informed, that the electoral prince of Saxony was expected at Rome in order to make there public profession of the popish religion, she thought proper to renew her good offices with king Augustus, to persuade him to recall his son out of Italy, and dismiss the popish servants about him; and at the same time invited the king of Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and the States-General, to join their efforts with her's to engage his Polish majesty not to induce his son to change his religion. But all these endeavours were rendered fruitless by the powerful allurements offered by the Roman catholics to engage the young prince, namely, the prospect of a marriage between him and one of the archduchesses, which

The queen tries to prevent the prince of Saxony turning papist.

Monteleone comes to London, Dec. 3.

1712. flatterers; but was ſo apt to hearken to whiſpers, that he changed twice the whole ſet of his miniſtry. His aſſuming the title of a king, and his affecting an extraordinary magnificence in his court, brought a great charge on himſelf, and on all about him, which made him a ſevere maſter to himſelf, and ſet him on many pretenſions, chiefly thoſe relating to the prince of Friſeland, which were not thought well grounded. He was ſucceeded in his dignities by his only ſon, father of the preſent king of Pruſſia.

Though

which would open him the way to the imperial throne, in caſe the preſent emperor ſhould die without male iſſue.

Negotiations at Utrecht. Annals.

The expreſs ſent by count Zinzendorf to Vienna, with the queen's laſt plan of peace, being returned to Utrecht on the 3d of January N. S. the emperor's plenipotentiaries had, at their own deſire, a long conference with thoſe of Great-Britain, in which they declared, that their maſter was very well diſpoſed to promote a general peace; and the ſame day they acquainted alſo the miniſters of the States with the emperor's intentions. The ratifications of a treaty for a ſuſpenſion of arms between France and Spain on the one ſide, and Portugal on the other, were now exchanged, having been delivered into the hands of the Britiſh plenipotentiaries, who long before this time had little elſe to do in the congreſs, than to act as mediators. In this capacity they had, on the 8th, a long conference with the plenipotentiaries of France, in which they delivered to them the draught of a project for bringing the empreſs home from Barcelona, and withdrawing the imperial troops out of Catalonia. On the 15th count Zinzendorf had a long conference with the Portugueſe miniſters, about the terms of peace offered by France to that crown, which the emperor did not intirely approve. The marſhal de Bieberſtein arriving at Utrecht the 17th, from the court of Berlin, had a long conference with the earl of Straſford, by particular orders from the king of Pruſſia his maſter. The ſame day the miniſters of France were in conference with thoſe of Great-Britain; and the next day monſieur Buys was alſo with the Britiſh miniſters, by whoſe interpoſition the difference between monſieur Meſnager and count Rechteren was brought into a fair way of being accommodated, in order to the reſuming of the general conferences. There was alſo that day a conſultation at the biſhop of Briſtol's houſe, between the proteſtant miniſters, about the abolition of the clauſe relating to religion in the fourth article of the treaty of Ryſwick, and the meaſures to be taken, that the Proteſtants in Sileſia and Hungary might, for the future enjoy intire liberty of conſcience. The miniſters of Great-Britain preſſed this affair more earneſtly than all the reſt, and exclaimed againſt the imperial court for perſecuting the proteſtants

Though the treaty of peace was now almoſt concluded, yet the advantages, which Great-Britain was to expect from her endeavours to aſſiſt and ſupport the cauſe of France, were in a great meaſure unſettled and undetermined. France began to cavil, and, as lord Bolingbroke ſaid, go back from what the king had promiſed the queen; and his lordſhip could not be perſuaded, as he told Mr. Prior, 'That the French acted either fairly or wiſely. They preſs 1712. The French try to elude their engagements to Great-Britain. Rep. of the com. of ſecr.

ſtants of the empire and Hungary. But they ſpoke in a leſs vehement ſtile of the perſecutions, which the proteſtants had ſuffered in France. Soon after the Britiſh plenipotentiaries conferred with the imperial miniſters, who ſeemed at laſt inclined to come into the queen's meaſures for procuring a general peace. To that end, count Zinzendorf drew up ſome propoſals for ſetting on foot a negotiation between the imperial and French miniſters, which were delivered to the latter by the lord privy-ſeal, who the next day acquainted that count and baron Kirchner, how far they had proceeded in that affair. The plenipotentiaries of Pruſſia had alſo a long conference with the Britiſh miniſters, in which they expreſſed their maſter's inclination to conclude a peace, whenever the queen ſhould think fit. On the other hand, the miniſters of Savoy returned thanks to the Britiſh plenipotentiaries on the behalf of their maſter, for the great care, that had been taken of his intereſts; and gave aſſurances, that they were ready to concur in whatever ſteps the queen of Great-Britain ſhould judge proper for the bringing the peace to a happy concluſion.

All this while the miniſters of the proteſtant powers continued their private conſultations about the abolition of the clauſe relating to religion, in the fourth article of the treaty of Ryſwick; and were very preſſing with the Roman catholic miniſters on that affair. But the imperial and French plenipotentiaries (agreed, perhaps, in this point only) found means to draw it out into length, referring it from the one to the other. The former pretended, it was the French inſerted that clauſe into the treaty, and therefore ought to get it aboliſhed: To which the French anſwered, 'That, it being an 'affair, which concerned the 'empire, it was the buſineſs of 'the imperialiſts to look after 'it.' The Roman catholic miniſters of the empire having demanded, that the proteſtants ſhould, by a deputation, communicate to them the reſolution they had taken about that affair, the counts Wertheren and Metternich were named to repreſent to them the juſtice of aboliſhing that clauſe, and put them in mind of the diſputes, jealouſies, and other ill conſequences, with which it had been attended in the empire. Count Zinzendorf ſignified, he was ready to return them an anſwer on Annals.

1712. 'preſs us, ſays he, to conclude, that they may have others 'at their mercy; and at the ſame time they chicane with 'us concerning the moſt eſſential article of all our treaty, 'and endeavour to elude an agreement made, repeated 'and confirmed.' The two great points of moment, in diſpute, were concerning the fiſhery at Newfoundland, and in what manner the ceſſion of Cape-Breton was to be made. The other was about the treaty of commerce. As to

the part of the emperor; and, a meeting being held for that purpoſe, he aſſured them, 'That 'his maſter did not intend to 'oppoſe the abolition of the 'clauſe, but would acquieſce in 'the relief, that ſhould be 'given to the proteſtants in a 'general treaty of peace.'

Jan. 25. N. S.

The ſame day the queen of Great-Britain's anſwer to the letter of the States-General arrived at the Hague, but, being directed to her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, it was not brought to the aſſembly of the States till the next day, when it was read there, and alſo in the aſſembly of the States of the province of Holland, wherein were the following paragraphs:

'By the real and ſolid proofs 'we have given of our friend-'ſhip for your ſtate; by the 'continued efforts we have 'made to defeat the intrigues 'of thoſe, who, either through 'private paſſion or intereſt, 'have endeavoured to divide 'you from us; and, laſtly, by 'the grief we have been afflic-'ted with, when any attempt 'has been made to break the 'good intelligence, that was be-'tween us and your republic, 'it will be eaſy for you to 'judge of the ſatisfaction, which 'your letter of the 29th paſt 'has given us.

'Our conduct has ever run 'upon the conſtant principle of 'a ſincere deſire of preſerving 'the balance of Europe, and 'to procure, not only the ſafe-'ty, but alſo the augmentation 'of your ſtate.

'Your reſolution to enter 'with us into new engagements 'about the ſucceſſion and bar-'rier, to make a new treaty 'thereupon, and to conclude 'and ſign it before the peace, 'cannot but be attended with the 'beſt conſequences. And, when 'all occaſions of diſpute about 'the reciprocal intereſts of the 'two nations ſhall be removed, 'we ſhall then be in a condition 'to concert with you the pro-'viding for thoſe of our allies, 'and to treat more effectually 'with the potentates, againſt 'whom we have made war.

'The declaration you have 'lately made, that you are re-'ſolved to join with us, to en-'ter into the meaſures we have 'taken for a peace, and to 'conclude and ſign it jointly, 'and at the ſame time with us, 'will, in ſome meaſure, make 'amends for the misfortunes, 'that have been occaſioned by 'the diſunion of the allies, and

pre-

to the firſt, it is to be obſerved, that, in the queen's inſtructions to the duke of Shrewſbury, he is directed to propoſe, as the queen's laſt reſolution, that ſhe will conſent to give and yield up to his moſt chriſtian majeſty the entire poſſeſſion and propriety of the iſland of Cape-Breton; but, with this expreſs condition, that his majeſty ſhall, on his part, in conſideration of the ſame, relinquiſh all manner of right to fiſhing and drying fiſh on the coaſt of Newfoundland, 1712.

' prevent thoſe, that were to
' be feared for the future.
' We ſhall take your inter-
' eſts to heart equally with our
' own; and we ſhall be ready
' to do all that lies in our power
' to advance them, being ſorry,
' that we are not in a condition
' to ſupport both yours and thoſe
' of our common allies, as ef-
' fectually as we could have
' done the laſt ſpring. Done
at our court at St. James's the $\frac{7}{18}$ of January 1712-13.

ANNE REGINA.

This letter quickened the paces of the negotiation; but, previous to the general conferences, it was abſolutely neceſſary, that the difference, which had ſo long obſtructed them, ſhould be adjuſted; which, by the mediation of the Britiſh miniſters, was at laſt brought to paſs on the 29th of January in this manner: Three of the plenipotentiaries of the States, viz. monſieur Vanderduſſen, the baron de Renſwoude, and count de Kniphuyſen, went to the marſhal d'Uxelles's houſe; where, in the preſence of the three plenipotentiaries of France, they were to declare, that the diſpute between monſieur Meſnager and count de Rechteren had happened without the knowledge or approbation of the States General. But monſieur Vanderduſſen, who was the ſpokeſman, had ſcarce with gravity pronounced theſe words, ' Our maſ-
' ters, the States General,' when the marſhal d'Uxelles interrupted him, and told him, ' Sir,
' the king, my maſter, is tho-
' roughly perſuaded, that meſ-
' ſieurs the States General had
' no knowledge of monſieur de
' Rechteren's behaviour; and
' that they have too much re-
' ſpect for his majeſty to ap-
' prove it.' This difficulty being removed, the Dutch plenipotentiaries went to the lord biſhop of Briſtol's houſe, where they were in conference with him and the earl of Strafford from eleven at night till between four and five the next morning, when the new treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion was ſigned by the miniſters of Great Britain, and thoſe of the States-General; and, about an hour after, Mr. Harriſon was ſent over to England with it, for her majeſty's ratification and approbation of ſome explanations, that were inſerted by the Dutch plenipotentiaries. The next day, January the 31ſt, the emperor's plenipotentiaries had for the firſt time a private conference with

1712. land, or any part, reſerved to his ſubjects by the articles ſigned at London the 27th of September, and 8th of October, 1711.

Several repreſentations were ſent backward and forward, ſhewing the fatal conſequences of what was demanded by France: and though lord Bolingbroke, in his letter to Mr. Prior of the 19th of January, 1712-13, inſiſted, that the queen had never yielded what France pretended to, which then remained an unſurmountable difficulty; yet, in his

thoſe of France at the biſhop of Briſtol's houſe, where an agreement was propoſed concerning the tranſporting of the empreſs, the evacuation of Catalonia, and the amneſty for the Catalans: ſo that all things ſeemed now to tend to a general peace.

On the 4th of February, N. S. the plenipotentiaries of France and Pruſſia met, for the firſt time, at the lord privy-ſeal's houſe, and the following days the miniſters of the emperor and the queen of Great-Britain had ſeveral conferences together, in which count Zinzendorf communicated a ſecond plan, which was ſaid to come very near the contents of the queen's ſpeech from the throne. The 9th the plenipotentiaries of France were in conference with thoſe of Portugal, and afterwards with the miniſters of Savoy, at the houſe of the lord privy-ſeal. But the negotiations were for ſome days put to a ſtand by the ſudden departure of the abbot de Polignac, who the night between the 10th and 11th of February ſet out for the court of France, on pretence of his being lately named cardinal by the pope, at the recommendation, as was ſaid, of the chevalier de St. George. Before his departure, he received from the Britiſh plenipotentiaries a propoſal of the emperor and empire, importing, 'That 'Catalonia ſhould be evacuated, upon condition, that the 'inhabitants had a full pardon, 'and a confirmation of all their 'privileges. That the elector 'of Bavaria ſhould have the 'title of king, but not the iſland 'of Sardinia; and that his electorate (but not the Upper Palatinate) ſhould be yielded to 'his electoral highneſs's ſon; ſo 'that he himſelf ſhould not ſet 'foot in the empire. That the 'electorate of Bavaria ſhould 'be the laſt of the nine. That 'Landau ſhould remain to the 'empire: and, in the laſt place, 'that France ſhould demoliſh 'Saar-Louis, and ſeveral other 'places?' Which monſieur de Polignac promiſed to lay before the king his maſter.

The plenipotentiaries of France had almoſt from the beginning of the negotiations demanded paſſports of the Dutch for the admiſſion of the duke of Oſſuna, the marquis de Monteleone, and the count de Bergheyk to the congreſs, as plenipotentiaries of Philip V. king of Spain; which the States-General had ſtill declined to grant, for fear of diſobliging the emperor,

his letter to the duke of Shrewsbury of the ſame date, he tells him, 'if the French cloſe with the overture he then 'made them with regard to the diſputes concerning com- 'merce, the queen is willing to accept the laſt expedient, 'propoſed by monſieur de Torcy for adjuſting our diffe- 'rences about North-America, and to conſent, that the 'king, in the ceſſion of Newfoundland, do reſerve to his 'ſubjects a right of fiſhing and drying on the coaſt of 'Newfoundland from Port Riche, north about, to Cape 'Bonaviſta.' And here no direction is given concerning Cape-Breton, of which the French got the entire ceſſion and propriety, although, in the duke of Shrewſbury's inſtructions, it is declared, 'That the queen looked upon 'Cape-Breton to belong to her; and reckoned that iſland a 'part of the ancient territory of Nova Scotia, which is by 'this treaty reſtored to her.' But, if the duke could not prevail upon them to agree with him in the article of commerce, he was to declare, that neither would the queen agree with them in their propoſition concerning Newfoundland. As to commerce, the great diſpute about it is thus repreſented in the lord Bolingbroke's letter to the duke of Shrewsbury: in Torcy's anſwer to lord Bolingbroke's memorial of the 24th of May, 1712, it was, among other things agreed, that Britain and France ſhould grant to the ſubjects of each reciprocally the ſame privileges and advantages, which they ſhall either of them grant to the

1712.

peror, with whom it was their intereſt to keep firmly united. But the imperial miniſters having by this time conſented, in their maſter's name, to the evacuation of Catalonia, and neutrality in Italy, which was a kind of tacit acknowledgment of king Philip's title to the crown of Spain and the Weſt-Indies; the States General, by the mediation of the Britiſh miniſters, were at laſt prevailed with to grant the paſsports. The paſsports, which the French plenipotentiaries demanded alſo for the electors of Cologne and Bavaria, were granted with leſs difficulty, and delivered to them about the middle of March.

The courier, ſent to the French court, being come back to Utrecht, the negotiation for evacuating Catalonia, and for a ceſſation of arms in Italy, was on the 19th of February ſet again on foot. On the 27th the imperial and French miniſters were together in conference, in the preſence of the Britiſh, by whoſe mediation, they at laſt agreed upon the ſubject of evacuating Catalonia, and a convention was ordered to be drawn up for that purpoſe. On the ſecond of March, the miniſters of France and Savoy conferred about a convention for the neutrality in Italy. See *annals of queen* Anne.

1712. subjects of any other nation whatsoever. Upon this foundation was established the principle of treating and being treated, as gens amicissima; and, pursuant to this principle, the tariff of 1664, which was granted to Holland (except the four species of merchandize) was likewise to be granted to England; and by the eighth and tenth articles of the project of the treaty of commerce it was so settled. But France, pretending now, that this tariff would be too beneficial to the English, refused to grant it, till another tariff should be made in Great-Britain, exactly conformable to that of 1664, whereby the British duties should be reduced as low as theirs were in France by that tariff. 'This (lord Bolingbroke in his letter to the duke 'of Shrewsbury says) is an open violation of faith; and 'by this (adds he) they are removing a corner-stone, 'which was laid early in the foundation of a building 'brought almost to perfection; the fall whereof must prove 'at last of as fatal consequence to them as to us.' He confesses, 'I was strangely surprised, when I saw the prece-'dent of the Ryswick treaty quoted, to persuade us to re-'fer our commerce, as the Dutch then did theirs, to com-'missioners, to be treated of after signing the peace. The 'behaviour of the French on that occasion has given us 'warning; and it is from thence we have learned, that 'whatever is referred is given up; and they must have a 'mean opinion of those, whom they would persuade to 'pursue the same method to get the tariff of 1664, by 'which the Dutch then lost it.' But it is very remarkable, that his lordship on the 24th of May, had himself proposed, 'That, several points relating to commerce, requiring a 'longer discussion than that crisis would admit, commissa-'ries should be appointed to settle and adjust the diffe-'rences.' Indeed in his letter to the duke of Shrewsbury, he offers an expedient, which was to solve all the difficulties; and tells his grace, ''I am commanded to acquaint 'you, that, having fully opened to the French ministers 'her majesty's sense of the king's engagements to her upon 'this head, you are to propose to them, to strike out of 'the project of the treaty of commerce the ninth and tenth 'articles, and, instead thereof, to insert one to the effect 'of that, which I have drawn, and which comes here in-'closed.' And, as the acceptance of this amendment was to put an end to all differences, and, at the same time, gave such ample advantages to France, the French readily agreed to it; and inserted this article verbatim, as it was

Jan. 19. O. S.

sent,

ſent, in the treaty of commerce, which makes the ninth article of the treaty, as it now ſtands, and is the ſame, that was afterwards rejected by the parliament. And this article, which has been ſince ſo univerſally condemned, appears to be the work of the Engliſh miniſtry, and the price, for which they ſold to France the fiſhery of Newfoundland. 1712.

This treatment of France could not but give the miniſtry the greateſt uneaſineſs, though their apprehenſions, leſt the circumſtances they were in ſhould be known, far exceeded their concern at the diſappointment, which Great-Britain was like to meet with. They had ſigned a ſeparate treaty with France in September 1711, upon this ſingle principle, that the intereſts of Great-Britain were in the firſt place to be adjuſted; and, as long as they had this to ſay, they were unconcerned at all other events. They had gone on for fourteen months together, and acted in every thing as the inſtruments of France, and were at laſt in danger of being diſavowed by France in the moſt eſſential part of all their treaty. One of the chief inducements and principal conditions, upon which the fatal ceſſation of arms was granted, was, that no privileges or advantages relating to commerce with France ſhall be yielded to any foreign nation, which ſhall not, at the ſame time, be granted to the ſubjects of her Britannic majeſty; but France had now reaped the full benefit of the ſuſpenſion, and were at liberty to diſpute the principle of gens amiciſſima.

In theſe circumſtances were the Engliſh miniſters in January 1712-13; and to extricate themſelves, they gave up all points in diſpute in North-America, and the fiſhery of Newfoundland, upon the ſingle conſideration of the ninth article of the treaty of commerce, which (as will be ſeen) the parliament, with a juſt indignation, rejected. However, to bring France to a compliance, even upon theſe conditions, the duke of Shrewsbury, in the ſame letter, was inſtructed to prevail with France to come to this reſolution, without the loſs of one moment's time. The parliament was ſuddenly to meet; and it would be neceſſary for the queen to communicate to both houſes the preſent ſtate of the negotiation. The duke is then to repreſent to Torcy, How ſmoothly every thing would glide along, if the queen was able to ſpeak of her own intereſts as abſolutely determined with France; and, on the other hand, what travels we ſhall be expoſed to, and what confuſion may ariſe, if our negotiation appears to be ſtill open, and

1712-13. if the secret comes to be divulged, that France refuses to make good in the treaty the full effect of former promises to the queen. His lordship having finished what he had to say concerning her majesty's particular interests, he proceeds upon the general plan of peace, and instructs the duke what he was to inform the French ministers would be the measure of her majesty's conduct, and what they might expect from her. 'That as the French ministers 'desire, that the queen would precipitate the conclusion of 'her peace, and leave all the confederacy at their mercy; 'they must be told, that, when the mutual interests of 'France and England are settled, as they will be, if the 'propositions contained in the first part of this letter are 'accepted, the plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain shall 'publicly declare in the congress, that they are ready to 'sign with those of France, and shall call upon the allies 'to quicken the negotiations, and conclude without loss 'of time. But, if they seek unnecessary delays, or make 'unreasonable demands, her majesty, who had induced 'them to treat, will, by the same measures, engage them 'to conclude, or at least she will sign without them. And, 'the queen having once declared her interests to be settled, 'and her treaty ready to be signed, the general peace be-'comes from that moment sure, and the remainder of 'the negotiation easy. It is therefore wise for the French 'to comply with her majesty.'

The great distraction, the ministry was in, appears sufficiently from this long letter of lord Bolingbroke's to the duke of Shrewsbury; but still more, from two letters written by him about this time, and upon this subject, to Mr. Prior; one of January the 19th, the other of the 22d, O. S. The first was of the same date as his letter to the duke, wherein he says to Mr. Prior, 'I have exhausted all 'my stock of arguments in the long letter, which, by the 'queen's order, I write to the duke of Shrewsbury. To 'you I can only add, we stand upon the brink of a preci-'pice, but the French stand there too. Pray tell mon-'sieur de Torcy, from me, that he may get Robin and 'Harry hanged; but affairs will soon run back into so 'much confusion, that he will wish us alive again. To 'speak seriously, unless the queen can talk of her interests 'as determined with France; and unless your court will 'keep our allies in the wrong, as they are sufficiently at 'this time, I foresee inextricable difficulties. My scheme 'is this: let France satisfy the queen; and let the queen

'imme-

'immediately declare to her parliament, and in the con- 1712-13.
'greſs, that ſhe is ready to ſign; and, at the ſame time,
'let the French plenipotentiaries ſhew a diſpoſition to con-
'clude with all the allies.' And then he enumerates the ſeveral offers, which he would have France to make to the ſeveral allies; and, though theſe were very general and inſufficient, he ſays, 'If ſuch overtures as theſe '(made to the allies) were not inſtantly accepted, our 'ſeparate peace would, the parliament ſitting, be ad-'dreſſed for and approved; and the cauſe of France, for 'once, become popular in Britain. If they were accept-'ed, let monſieur de Torcy ſit down, and conſider, what 'a bargain would be made for France. Let him remem-'ber his journey to the Hague, and compare the plans of '1709 and 1712. Monſieur de Torcy has a confidence in 'you: make uſe of it once for all upon this occaſion, and 'convince him thoroughly, that we muſt give a different 'turn to our parliament and our people, according to their 'reſolution at this criſis.' The next letter from lord Bolingbroke to Mr. Prior was upon the ſame ſubject, and of the ſame ſtrain: 'We are now (ſays he) at the true cri-ſis of our diſeaſe: We die at once, or recover at once. Let France depart from that ſhameful expedient, by which they thought to bubble us out of the advantages, which they had ſolemnly yielded, and all is well; other-wiſe, by God, both they and we are undone. The queen can neither delay the meeting of the Parliament longer than the 3d, nor ſpeak to the houſes till we hear from you. My compliments to monſieur de Torcy. Let him know, that, if they do not agree with the queen, I may, perhaps, be a refugee. If I am, I promiſe before-hand to behave myſelf better in France, than the French refugees do here. Make the French aſhamed of their ſneaking chicane. By heaven, they treat like pedlars, or which is worſe, like at-tornies.'

As all theſe public tranſactions paſſed through the hands of lord Bolingbroke, who, although he was ſecretary of ſtate, acted extra-provincially in all his correſpondence with France; ſo it appears, at the ſame time, that he was not the only perſon in the ſecret, but that a greater influence chiefly directed and governed all theſe councils; and the lord-treaſurer was in this tranſaction, as well as in the affair of Tournay, the chief conductor; as may very reaſonably be concluded from ſeveral letters, which Mr. Prior wrote about this

1712-13. this time to his lordſhip, though that gentleman did not think fit to produce afterwards to the committee of ſecrecy one letter from his lordſhip to him. It is obſerved, that theſe letters to the lord-treaſurer were chiefly wrote on the ſame days, that Mr. Prior ſent diſpatches to the ſecretaries of ſtate, giving an account of his proceedings, and deſiring the queen's directions upon them; but, it ſeems, he did not think that ſufficient, without knowing his lordſhip's particular pleaſure upon them. Mr. Prior's diſpatch to the ſecretary's office, giving a full account of the preſent ſtate of the treaty, together with ſeveral papers, memorials, and propoſitions relating to the points in diſpute, and concerning commerce and North-America, is dated December 28, 1712. The day after Mr. Prior wrote to the lord-treaſurer, and told him, 'I have written a book inſtead of a letter to my 'lord Bolingbroke, which I deſire your lordſhip would be 'pleaſed to run over, that, knowing what I have done, you 'may honour me with your commands as to what I am to 'do.' He hoped his propoſal about Newfoundland, which he ſends his lordſhip incloſed, was ſuch as may terminate that affair to our advantage; and, if his lordſhip was of the ſame opinion, he ſhould have entire ſatisfaction.

On the 8th of January 1712-13, Mr. Prior, having ſent another full account in form to the ſecretary of ſtate, wrote the ſame day to the lord-treaſurer, that he had been in conference with the French miniſters to adjuſt the points undecided between her majeſty and the king of France; that he had ſent lord Bolingbroke the reſult of thoſe conferences, as well what was agreed to by the French miniſters, as his own remarks upon each particular head, and ſays, 'I hope your lordſhip will find the whole ad-'juſted ſo far to your ſatisfaction, as that our pleni-'potentiaries may receive the final orders. I will not 'doubt, but the whole affair of Newfoundland is ad-'juſted to your deſire. There were ſome points in-'ſiſted upon by our plenipotentiaries, which the miniſ-'ters here thought very unreaſonable; and to ſay a truth 'to my lord-treaſurer plainly, which I a little mitigate 'to my lord Bolingbroke, I think not very reaſonable.' He then gives an account, that Torcy was ſurpriſed, that the Dutch had but in part complied with what the earl of Strafford declared to them to be her majeſty's reſolutions, to which he hopes the queen will ſend ſuch an anſwer, as may cut off all delays; and, upon this occaſion Mr. Prior ſays to the lord-treaſurer, 'This I 'only,

'only write to your lordſhip, it being a thing, that ſhould 1712-13.
'not be called in council; and I have promiſed, that the
'king ſhould have her majeſty's anſwer upon it, as he de-
'ſires.' January 19, 1712-13, N. S. Mr. Prior writes again to the lord-treaſurer, and acquaints him, 'That 'the duke of Shrewſbury now ſends to lord Bolingbroke 'the ſubſtance of their laſt conferences with monſieur de 'Torcy, upon the ſubject of Newfoundland; to which I 'take leave to add, That your friend Torcy is in the laſt 'concern to find the duke's inſtructions ſo ſtrict in a 'point, which cannot be given up by France, at a time, 'when we well hoped that difference was adjuſted. Pray, 'my lord, let us have your diſtinct and poſitive orders 'hereupon by the firſt. I ſend your lordſhip incloſed a 'copy of my letter to my lord Bolingbroke; and the duke 'of Shrewſbury deſires, that we may have your orders to 'finiſh. I believe Torcy writes himſelf to you.' On the 23d of the ſame month, N. S. Mr. Prior writes once more to the lord-treaſurer, and tells him, 'I have already wrote 'ſo amply to your lordſhip on the two great points of 'Newfoundland and the Tariff of 1664; and ſo expect 'daily your laſt orders upon theſe two points, that I will 'not trouble you at preſent further than to ſay, if theſe 'two are ſettled, the peace may be determined here to-'morrow, and ſent the next day to Utrecht to be ſigned.' And, on the 2d of February, Mr. Prior writes to his lord-ſhip, 'If I deſire you to write to me, it is, becauſe I 'really think it for the queen's ſervice, that in this great 'poſt, where you have put me, I may be able to ſay, I 'have the immediate commands of my lord-treaſurer; 'and, in regard to that friendſhip, with which you have 'ſo publicly honoured me, and which, by the bye, does 'all the buſineſs here.' And, on February the 4th, 'I 'ſhall direct myſelf as you ſhall be pleaſed to inſtruct me 'privately.

If the committee of ſecrecy had found, among the papers delivered by Mr. Prior, the lord-treaſurer's anſwers to theſe letters, it is highly probable, that it would have appeared from them, how far the giving up the fiſhery of Newfoundland, and the accepting of the ninth article of the treaty of commerce, was owing to his immediate orders. It ſeems however to be a very extraordinary proceeding, that the queen's miniſters in France acting by her authority, and under her inſtructions, ſhould apply to the lord-treaſurer for his diſtinct and poſitive orders to re-

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1712-13. leaſe them from the queen's poſitive inſtructions, becauſe they are thought by the French miniſters to be too ſtrict. And if it be a doubt, by whoſe order or advice it was procured, ſo much is certain, that theſe applications had their deſired effect; and the Newfoundland fiſhery was given up; and the advantages, which Great-Britain was to receive from being treated upon the foot of gens amiciſſima, were all buried in the ninth article of the treaty of commerce.

The difficulties relating to North-America and commerce being in this manner determined, France was wholly intent upon concluding and ſigning with Great-Britain, without taking in the reſt of the allies; and in this they had the good-fortune to have the concurrence and aſſiſtance of the Britiſh miniſtry. By good management, the diſpute raiſed at Utrecht had been ſo ordered, that the miniſters of the allies could not obtain any conference with thoſe of France, till the points in difference were adjuſted between England and France; by which means it was February 1712-13, before the Dutch and French were ſuffered to meet. And, it being now the buſineſs of France to conclude with England ſeparately, the temper, the French plenipotentiaries appeared in, made all buſineſs ſo impracticable, that the Britiſh plenipotentiaries were under a neceſſity of complaining of it to lord Bolingbroke, and to acquaint him, February 3, 1712-13: 'The French 'appear ſo very uncomplying in every point debated, and 'ſo very froward and poſitive in their refuſal of a great 'many things, which the Dutch took to be granted and 'ſettled, as well by her majeſty's ſpeech, as the declara-'tions lately made by lord Strafford, that the diſappoint-'ment they met with put them into the greateſt conſter-'nation. Reaſon was alſo given us to participate in theſe 'diſcontents, and to regard ſeveral things, which appear 'contrary to what her majeſty has declared, as very un-'fair: Yet all that could be ſaid, prevailed not.' But it is not ſurpriſing, that the inſtances of the Britiſh plenipotentiaries had ſo little effect with the French, who then expected, that orders ſhould be ſent to the Britiſh miniſters immediately to ſign the peace, which, according to their expectation, were ſent February 20, 1712-13, by St. John, brother to the lord Bolingbroke, to conclude and ſign with France as ſoon as the duke of Shrewſbury ſhould ſend them advice, that the propoſitions he was to make at the French court were accepted; and, on the

28th,

28th, lord Bolingbroke with the utmoſt joy acquainted them 'That he had received from the duke of Shrewſbury 'the expected returns, and which he doubted not 'would have reached their lordſhips. He had therefore, 'without ſtaying to enter into any other detail, diſpatched 'a courier to them, to renew thoſe inſtructions, which he 'hoped were clearly enough ſignified in thoſe papers, 'which his brother carried. He acquaints them, that the 'duke of Shrewſbury had declared, that their lordſhips had 'orders, in caſe the French complied, as they now actually have done, to ſign her majeſty's peace with France 'without farther delay; and that his grace had alſo declared, that in this caſe her majeſty would open the parliament, by telling them, ſhe had made a peace with 'France. Theſe two conſiderations, his lordſhip ſays, 'were perhaps the moſt prevalent inducements to the 'French court, to come roundly into her majeſty's propoſitions; and the queen thinks herſelf, for this reaſon, 'ſtill the more obliged punctually and religiouſly to fulfil 'theſe promiſes. The latter ſhe will herſelf perform on 'Tueſday; and the former, it is her poſitive command, 'that your lordſhips make good as faſt as the neceſſary 'forms of preparing and executing the inſtruments will 'allow. And his lordſhip looking upon it now, that the 'chief difficulties, relating to the treaty of peace, were removed; as likewiſe in the treaty of commerce, by the 'article drawn by himſelf, and propoſed by the duke of 'Shrewſbury, he gives them poſitive orders, without any 'delay, to execute the treaties of peace and commerce 'between Great-Britain and France.' On the 7th, and on the 20th of March, O. S. Lord Bolingbroke repeats theſe poſitive orders, and inſiſts, that the peace ſhould be concluded with that precipitation, which her majeſty would have uſed. 1712-13.

The court of France, being acquainted with theſe good diſpoſitions of the Engliſh miniſtry, thought proper now to comply with the duke of Shrewſbury's demand, that the dukes of Berry and Orleans ſhould make a ſolemn renunciation to the crown of Spain in the parliament of Paris, in like manner as king Philip had renounced the crown of France in the cortez of Spain *. This was ſolemnly done, on the 15th of March; and, at the ſame time, were eraſed out of the regiſters of the parliament the letters patents, by which the rights of the king of Spain to the crown of France were preſerved, when he ſet out

The dukes of Berry and Orleans renounce the crown of Spain. Annals.

* See p. 27.

1712-13. out for Madrid. It will be neceſſary now to turn a little to the affairs of the north.

The affairs of the north. Hiſt. of Eur. Burnet.

The favourable turn, which, towards the end of the year 1712, attended the Swediſh affairs, both in the north of Germany and in Turkey, as it preſaged new dangers to the empire, and made the States and the emperor uneaſy, was, no doubt, a powerful motive to incline them to hearken to the inſtances of the Britiſh miniſters, to come into the queen's meaſures. The Muſcovites, Danes, and Saxons, who miſcarried in their deſign to reduce Pomerania in the year 1711, ſeemed confident to have taken ſuch meaſures in 1712, as to be able to drive the Swedes from their territories on this ſide the Baltic: But their not going into the field, ſo ſoon as they intended, proved the cauſe of their diſappointment. The Muſcovites and Saxons had undertaken to conquer Pomerania; but through the miſunderſtanding of their generals (ſome being for the ſiege of Stralſund, others of Stetin, and others again for the attack of the iſle of Rugen) the whole campaign was ſpent in fruitleſs debates, and all that the Czar and king Auguſtus could do at laſt, was, to quarter their troops in Pomerania, as they had done the year before, in order to keep the Swedes in awe.

The Swedes defeat the Danes. Dec. 29. N. S.

The king of Denmark made a better uſe of his time, he beſieged and took Staden, and reduced the duchy of Bremen. After which, upon ſlight pretenſions, he obliged the city of Hamburgh to pay him three hundred thouſand crowns, which proved a ſeaſonable ſupply to ſubſiſt his troops. The northern allies ſeeming contented with theſe ſucceſſes, had ſent their troops into quarters, when an unexpected motion of the Swedes obliged them once more to take the field. Count Steenbock, who ſome time before was arrived in the iſland of Rugen, being ſenſible of the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting his forces in the narrow compaſs of land he was poſſeſſed of, reſolved to look for quarters in the county of Mecklenburgh; and ſucceeded in his deſign without the loſs of a man. The northern confederates reſolved to draw their forces from their lines, in order to oblige the Swediſh general to return into Pomerania, where they knew he could not maintain his army. But when it was generally expected, that both armies were ready to engage, a ceſſation of arms, for fifteen days, was on a ſudden concluded between the Poliſh and Swediſh generals. This ſuſpenſion expiring, the troops were all again in motion. The king of Denmark, who appeared againſt

againſt the truce, marched five days before from Holſtein towards Mecklenburgh, in order to join his allies, and endeavour to fight the Swedes. But count Steenbock, with great foreſight, reſolved to prevent, and engage the Danes, before they were reinforced; which he did near Gadeſbuſh, where the Daniſh troops and ſome Saxon cavalry ſuffered almoſt a total defeat. The Swediſh general was not wanting to improve his ſucceſs; and, entering Holſtein, not only raiſed great contributions, but, in a barbarous manner, and upon frivolous pretences, burnt the Daniſh open town of Altena near Hamburgh. At the ſame time the Swedes were animated by reports from Conſtantinople, of the war being like to break out again between the Turks and the Czar, on pretence, that the Czar had not performed one of the moſt eſſential articles of the late peace, namely, the withdrawing of his forces from the territories of Poland. This new rupture was attended with the diſgrace of the Grand Vizir, who was the third Turkiſh miniſter of that rank, who fell a ſacrifice to the intrigues of the king of Sweden, and of thoſe, who ſupported his intereſt at the Ottoman port. The king of Sweden had all the aſſiſtance the French could give him in ſolliciting this war, which gave the emperor great apprehenſions. He was afraid diſorders in Hungary might follow upon it, which would defeat the meaſures he had taken to ſettle matters in that kingdom, ſo that, being ſafe on that ſide, he might turn his whole force againſt France, and, by that means, encourage the States to continue the war. Thoſe in Holland, who preſſed the accepting the offers that France made them, repreſented that as a thing not poſſible to be ſupported: the promiſes of the emperor and the princes of the empire had ſo often failed them, that they ſaid, they could not be relied on: And the diſtractions in the north made them apprehend, that thoſe princes might be obliged to recall their troops, which were in the ſervice of the States. 1712-13.

The ſudden and unexpected proſperity of the king of Sweden ſoon came to an end. Whilſt he was uſing all poſſible means to engage the Turk into a new war with the Czar, the party at the port, that oppoſed it, ſtudied to get rid of him and his importunities. By his intractable obſtinacy he threw himſelf into great dangers. Orders were ſent him to march back into his kingdom: and they undertook to procure him a ſafe paſſage to it; but he treated the perſon, that was ſent with this meſſage, with great inſolence, and fortified himſelf, as well as he could, with the Swedes

The king of Sweden's misfortune.

1712-13. Swedes that were about him, and reſolved to defend himſelf. A force much ſuperior to his was brought againſt him; but he maintained himſelf ſo reſolutely in his houſe, that ſome hundreds of thoſe who attacked him were killed; the Turks, upon that, ſet fire to the houſe, whereupon he was forced to ſurrender, and was put under a guard; and moſt of his Swedes were ſold for ſlaves; he was carried to a houſe near Adrianople, but not ſuffered to come to court; only the ſultan diſowned the violence uſed to his perſon. In the mean while, the Czar ſhipped an army from Peterſburgh, that landed in Finland: the Swedes were not able to ſtand before him; every place, as he advanced, ſubmitted to him; and he was now maſter of Abo, the capital of Finland, and of that whole province. Steenbock, with his army, maintained himſelf in Tonningen, as long as their proviſion laſted: but, all ſupplies being carefully ſtopped, he was forced at laſt to deliver up himſelf and his army priſoners of war; and theſe were the beſt troops the Swedes had, ſo that Sweden was ſtruck with a general conſternation.

The Britiſh plenipotentiaries ſcruple to ſign a ſeparate peace. Rep. of the Com. of Secr. April 4. N. S.

Though the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht had received ſuch poſitive orders from lord Bolingbroke to ſign the peace, the behaviour of the French was ſo different from what had been promiſed, that they were mightily perplexed, and ſcrupled to ſign a ſeparate treaty. They wrote to the lord Bolingbroke, 'That they could ſay a great deal to juſtify their 'cautious proceedings with the French; and were ſatisfied 'he would be of the ſame opinion, if he were to ſee their 'way of negotiating with all the allies; and how hard it 'was for the Britiſh miniſters to obtain, what to his lord-'ſhip ſeemed impoſſible the French ſhould make any diffi-'culty to grant.' What made them ſtill more averſe, was the great importunity, with which the French preſſed them to conclude with them alone, of which they apprehended the conſequences at home; and, to juſtify themſelves, they had acquainted the duke of Shrewſbury, in a letter of March 20, 'That beſides other conſiderations, their chief 'objection was, that though they had orders to ſign a par-'ticular peace, yet their full powers under the great-ſeal 'only authorized them to negotiate, agree, and conclude 'the conditions of a good and general peace, agreeable to 'the intereſts of all and each of the allies. The lord 'Bolingbroke, in his letter of the 20th of March, O. S. 'pretended, that he had not ſagacity enough to find the 'objections the plenipotentiaries had made to their firſt full 'powers.

'powers. However, for their ſatisfaction, he ſent them 1712-13.
'a new commiſſion, and repeated to them poſitive orders
'to ſign and conclude with France. By this new com-
'miſſion he tells them they had a power, as before, to
'treat and conclude the conditions of a good and general
'peace, which, as his lordſhip explained, was no more
'than to offer, jointly with the miniſters of France, the
'plan of a general peace to the allies. But the difficulties
'of the plenipotentiaries made the lord treaſurer, who
'never failed to exert himſelf, when it was abſolutely ne-
'ceſſary, think it high time to interpoſe his authority;
'and accordingly, on the 31ſt of March, wrote to
'the earl of Strafford in this manner: I muſt felicitate
'your excellency upon the ſucceſs of all your zeal, and the
'true love you have ſhown to your queen, your country,
'and the repoſe of all Europe. The remaining danger
'is, leſt we ſhould ſuffer ſhipwreck in the ſight of port.
'The nation here are five hundred to one for peace. The
'warriors are driven from their out-works; the laſt re-
'trenchment they have is delay; and I muſt ſay, this
'operates much here. The ferment begins to work; and
'it will be impoſſible to anſwer for the turn the houſe of
'commons will take, if theſe delays provoke them farther.
'They all feel how many hundred thouſand pounds this
'needleſs protraction coſts them. We now maintain forty-
'nine thouſand effective men by land, and thirty thou-
'ſand, within a trifle, by ſea. In the mean time the
'merchants lie off, and will not come into port. The
'amuſement of ſtories invented by the faction, and the cor-
'reſpondence and encouragement that party gives to their
'friends to hold out, and to wait for ſome unhappy ac-
'cident, that may unravel all which is done: add to this,
'the ill humour, which will grow in members by being
'kept ſo long in town idle; and, in one word, all, that
'has been unſettled for many days, is not worth one day's
'charge England is at extraordinarily by this delay. I
'find this ſeems to be the prevailing univerſal opinion
'here; and that France has acquited herſelf. The only
'ſtop is now at Utrecht.' But this ſtop did not now re-
main long; and, as the treaſurer never yet appeared in
vain, all further obſtructions at Utrecht were after this ſoon removed (i). For on the 7th of April, N. S. the Britiſh miniſters

They fixed a day for ſigning the Peace.

(i) It is obſervable, that, among all the demands that were made, upon account of any prince or ſtate in the grand alliance,

1712-13. miniſters declared to the Dutch and imperial plenipotentiaries, that they were ready, as well as the plenipotentiaries of ſome other princes, to ſign their reſpective treaties on Tueſday the 11th of that month. The plenipotentiaries of the emperor immediately declared, that neither they, nor the miniſters of the empire, were ready to ſign the treaty; nor would they hearken to peace, without the reſtitution of Straſburgh; adding, that they were ordered to make a proteſtation againſt ſuch a treaty of peace. The miniſters of the States deputed three members of their body, Randwyck, Vanderduſſen, and Renſwoude, to go to the Hague, to receive new inſtructions on this important affair. They arrived there Sunday morning, and, after having conferred with the penſionary, had a conference with the deputies of the States. The penſionary communicated the ſame day to the ſtates of Holland and weſt Friſeland what had been tranſacted at Utrecht; whereupon the States declared for peace. The deputies of the States had a ſecond conference with their plenipotentiaries, and the next morning their laſt orders were drawn up, and communicated to the ſtates of Holland, who having approved the ſame, the plenipotentiaries ſet out in the evening for Utrecht with the character of ambaſſadors, accompanied by monſieur Van Spanbroeck, the new plenipotentiary of the province of Zealand, in the room of monſieur Moermont. Count Zinzendorf, who came the 10th in the morning from Utrecht to the Hague, had immediately a conference with the penſionary, in which he uſed all imaginable endeavours to have the ſigning of the peace put off, at leaſt till he had received new inſtructions from Vienna, and declared, that, if the States ſigned before his maſter, his impe-

alliance, none, at this time, met with the leaſt regard from the Britiſh court; when, at the ſame time, the intereſt of the princeſs Urſini, who, at this juncture, had a prevailing influence at the court of Madrid, was eſpouſed in the ſtrongeſt terms. For, in the ſame letter, where the lord Bolingbroke ſays, 'That her majeſty did 'not much enter into the no-'tion of the degradation of 'Hanover, as a matter of 'any importance; his lordſhip declares, 'That the princi-'pality, in ſome part of the 'Spaniſh Netherlands, with a 'revenue of thirty thouſand 'crowns, demanded for the 'princeſs Urſini, muſt be made 'to the emperor, and all par-'ties concerned, a condition, 'ſine qua non, of the general 'peace.' Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

rial

rial majeſty would immediately withdraw his troops out of the Netherlands: But, finding his reaſons and repreſentations ineffectual, he proteſted againſt this peace, as he had done before at Utrecht, whither he returned that evening. The ſame day, in the morning, upon the return of meſſieurs Randwyck, Vanderduſſen, and Renſwoude, the Dutch miniſters had a conference with the Britiſh plenipotentiaries; and then another with thoſe of France, at the lord privy-ſeal's houſe, from four in the afternoon till two in the night, wherein was ſettled whatever related to the treaty of peace and commerce of the States-general. The 11th in the morning, the miniſters of the proteſtant allies had a conference together in the town-houſe, to which the marquis de Miremont, appointed by the queen of Great-Britain, to take care of the intereſts of the proteſtants of France, was, for form ſake, invited; but the reſult of this conſultation was only, that a repreſentation ſhould be made in favour of thoſe ſufferers to the miniſters of France; which was immediately laid before them by the Britiſh plenipotentiaries. This done, they went to count Zinzendorf's, and communicated to him the plan, which they had agreed on with the miniſters of France, for the emperor and empire; having ſtipulated, that his imperial majeſty ſhould have time to conſider, whether he would accept of it or no, till the 1ſt of June N. S. during which interval, however, France would not grant a ceſſation of arms; and withal declared to him, that they were going to ſign the queen's peace. After this, the Britiſh plenipotentiaries went to the other miniſters of the allies, to whom they made the ſame declaration; and, being returned to the lord privy-ſeal's houſe, the French ambaſſadors repaired thither, and about two in the afternoon ſigned, with thoſe of Great-Britain, the treaties of peace and commerce. One inſtrument of the treaty was drawn up in latin by the Britiſh miniſters; and another, on the part of the French, in their own language; each party ſigning firſt, in their reſpective inſtruments: and it was agreed, that the ratifications ſhould be exchanged at Utrecht within four weeks. The miniſters of Savoy, who ſoon after, came to the lord privy-ſeal's houſe, ſigned alſo with thoſe of France their maſter's treaty, which was drawn up in French, and by which it was particularly ſtipulated, 'That his royal highneſs ſhould not take upon him the title 'of king of Sicily, till after the peace was concluded and 'ſigned with Spain.' This done, all the ambaſſadors who had ſigned the peace, as well as thoſe, who intended to 1712-13.

1712-13. sign it, namely those of Portugal, Prussia, and the States-general, went and dined at the earl of Strafford's. As soon as dinner was over, most of those ministers retired to their houses, to collate their respective treaties; and, afterwards returning to the earl of Strafford's, the Portuguese Ambassador signed their treaty, drawn up in their own tongue, about eight o'clock in the evening, as the Prussians did theirs in French about eleven; the French having insisted, that they should sign before those of the States, because, in the treaty, their master was stiled king, and acknowledged as such by France. The ambassadors of the States did not sign till near three hours after, having not only been taken up longer than the rest in collating their treaties of peace and commerce, but endeavoured to have some expressions altered, particularly as to the title of the emperor, who, in the instruments drawn up in French, was not stiled otherwise than head of the house of Austria; but they were obliged to recede from all their pretensions. This important negotiation being thus brought to a conclusion, the British ministers immediately dispatched an express to Mr. St. John, secretary to the British ambassy, who, the day before, set out for the Brill, in order to carry over to Great-Britain the treaties of peace and commerce, for the queen's ratification. At the same time, the French ministers dispatched a courier to monsieur de Beringhen, who set out the 10th for Malines, in order to wait there the news of the signing of the peace. The other ministers dispatched also expresses to their respective courts. The States-general sent copies of the treaties to the respective provinces, as they did likewise, to the towns of the province of Holland in particular. But, when the terms of peace were divulged, the body of the people was highly dissatisfied to find, that woolen manufactures, sugars, and some other merchandizes were excepted from the tariff of 1664, and continued charged with high duties; being apprehensive, that by these exceptions their trade with Spain, which sets all the other branches of their commerce in motion, would in a manner be ruined.

The imperial ministers disgusted at the offers of France. Annals.

On the 13th of April, count Zinzendorf having declared to the ministers of Great-Britain, and of the States-general, that he was to set out two days after for Germany, the British plenipotentiaries on the 14th, delivered to him a writing, intitled, 'Offers and demands of the French king, for 'making peace with the house of Austria and the empire.' The imperial and other German ministers expressed the highest indignation at their being so meanly treated, as to have

have terms impoſed upon them by France, in relation to the electors of Cologne and Bavaria. They alſo reſented the ſlight put upon the emperor, by the French and Spaniards refuſing to give him that title; and they were particularly diſſatisfied with the Dutch for ſigning, before the return of the expreſs ſent laſt to Vienna. But the Dutch excuſed themſelves, alledging the common plea of the neceſſity of affairs. It was now given out, that the emperor and empire would carry on the war, and hazard their all, rather than ſubmit to theſe conditions. And, as France might turn all her force againſt Germany, count Zinzendorf intimated to the miniſters of the empire, that it would be neceſſary to cauſe, not only the imperial troops to march from Flanders to the Rhine, but alſo thoſe formerly in the pay of Great-Britain. To this purpoſe it may be obſerved, that the king of Pruſſia ſigned the peace only in that quality, and not as an elector of the empire, though it was ſaid, he made a private agreement with France, to furniſh no more troops than his quota, in caſe the emperor and empire ſhould continue the war. 1712 13.

The treaty is brought to England.

On the 3d of April, being Good-Friday, Mr. St. John arrived at Whitehall with the treaties of peace and commerce, ſigned the Tueſday before, between the Britiſh and French plenipotentiaries, and the news, that the miniſters of Portugal, Savoy, Pruſſia, and the States-general, had likewiſe ſigned their reſpective treaties; which was immediately notified in the evening by popular rejoicings. Four days after, the queen held a council at St. James's, in which the lord-keeper Harcourt was declared lord-high-chancellor of Great-Britain; and at the ſame time the duke of Athol was ſworn of the privy-council. This done, the queen propoſed to the board the ratifying the treaties of peace and commerce: to which the earl of Cholmondley objected, ſaying, 'This matter being of the higheſt importance for her 'majeſty and her kingdoms, as well as all Europe, it required 'the matureſt conſideration; and theſe treaties containing 'ſeveral terms of the civil law, in which the leaſt equivoca-'tion might be of great conſequence, and being, beſides, 'couched in Latin and French, it ſeemed very neceſſary to 'have them tranſlated into the vulgar tongue.' He was ſupported by another member; but, the time agreed on for the exchanging of the ratifications not admitting of delays, their opinion was over-ruled, and ſo the queen ratified the treaties. The next day the whiteſtaff, as treaſurer of the houſehold, was taken from the earl of Cholmondley, and Sir

1713. Richard Temple was removed from his command of the regiment of dragoons, formerly commanded by the earl of Eſſex. The peace being thus ſigned and ratified, the queen reſolved not to defer any longer the meeting of the parliament. Accordingly on the 9th of April, to which day it was laſt prorogued, ſhe went to the houſe of peers, and made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

1713. The parliament meets, April 9.

My lords and gentlemen,

The queen's ſpeech on the peace.

"I Ended the laſt ſeſſion with my hearty thanks for the "ſolemn aſſurances you had given me, by which I have "been enabled to overcome the difficulties contrived to ob-"ſtruct the general peace.

"I have deferred opening the ſeſſion until now, being "very deſirous to communicate to you, at your firſt meet-"ing, the ſucceſs of this important affair. It is therefore, "with great pleaſure, I tell you, the treaty is ſigned, and "in a few days the ratifications will be exchanged.

"The negotiation has been drawn into ſo great a length, "that all our allies have had a ſufficient opportunity to "adjuſt their ſeveral intereſts. Though the public charge "has been thereby much increaſed, yet I hope my people "will be eaſy under it, ſince we have happily obtained the "end we propoſed.

"What I have done for ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſ-"ſion, and the perfect friendſhip there is between me and "the houſe of Hanover, may convince ſuch, who wiſh well "to both, and deſire the quiet and ſafety of their country, "how vain all attempts are to divide us; and thoſe, who "would make a merit by ſeparating our intereſts, will ne-"ver attain their ill ends.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"As great a progreſs has been made in reducing the pub-"lic expence, as the circumſtances of affairs would admit.

"What force may be neceſſary for ſecuring our com-"merce by ſea, and for guards and garriſons, I leave intire-"ly to my parliament.

"Make yourſelves ſafe, and I ſhall be ſatisfied.

"Next to the protection of the divine providence, I de-"pend upon the loyalty and affection of my people.

"I want no other guaranty.

"I recommend to your care thoſe brave men, who have "ſerved

" ſerved well, by ſea or land, this war, and cannot be em- 1713.
" ployed in time of peace.

" I deſire you to provide the ſupplies you ſhall judge re-
" quiſite; and to give ſuch diſpatch, as may be neceſſary
" for your own eaſe and the public ſervice.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The many advantages, I have obtained for my own
" ſubjects, have occaſioned much oppoſition and long de-
" lay to this peace.

" It affords me great ſatisfaction, that my people will
" have it in their power, by degrees, to repair what they
" have ſuffered during ſo long and burdenſome a war.

" The eaſing of our foreign trade, as far as is conſiſtent
" with national credit, will deſerve your care.

" And to think of proper methods for improving and
" encouraging our home trade and manufactures, particu-
" larly the fiſhery, which may be carried on, to employ all
" our ſpare hands, and be a mighty benefit, even to the re-
" moteſt parts of this kingdom.

" Several matters were laid before you laſt ſeſſion, which
" the weight and multiplicity of other buſineſs would not
" permit you to perfect. I hope, you will take a proper
" opportunity to give them a due conſideration.

" I cannot, however, but expreſsly mention my diſplea-
" ſure at the unparalleled licentiouſneſs in publiſhing ſedi-
" tious and ſcandalous libels.

" The impunity, ſuch practices have met with, encour-
" ages the blaſpheming every thing ſacred, and the propa-
" gating opinions tending to the overthrow of all religion
" and government.

" Proſecutions have been ordered; but it will require
" ſome new law to put a ſtop to this growing evil, and your
" beſt endeavours in your reſpective ſtations, to diſcour-
" age it.

" The impious practice of duelling requires ſome ſpeedy
" and effectual remedy.

" Now we are entering upon peace abroad, let me con-
" jure you all, to uſe your utmoſt endeavours for calming
" men's minds at home, that the arts of peace may be cul-
" tivated.

" Let no groundleſs jealouſies, contrived by a faction,
" and fomented by a party-rage, effect that, which our
" foreign enemies could not.

1713. "I pray God to direct all your conſultations for his glory "and the welfare of my people."

Debate about the addreſs of thanks. Pr. H. L.

The queen being retired, and the commons gone back to their houſe, the duke of Beaufort made a motion for an addreſs of thanks, which occaſioned a debate, chiefly about the expreſſion of a general peace. Some peers urged, that it could not be ſaid to be general, ſince the emperor, the elector of Hanover, and other princes and ſtates of the empire were not yet come into it. But they were anſwered, that it might juſtly be called general, ſince the major part of the allies had ſigned it. After this another motion was made, that in the addreſs of thanks, a clauſe might be inſerted, That her majeſty would be pleaſed to lay before the houſe the treaties of peace and commerce: but, the queſtion being put, it was carried in the negative by a majority of ſeventy-four againſt forty-three. The addreſs of congratulation being agreed to, tho' without any approbation of the peace, it was preſented to the queen (k). The commons obſerved the ſame caution in their addreſs, and waved the motion for having the treaties laid before them (l).

The lords addreſs of thanks. April 11.

Moſt

(k) In their addreſs, 'They 'returned thanks for commu- 'nicating to them, that a peace 'was concluded; by which 'they hoped, with the bleſſing 'of God, that the people would, 'in a few years, recover them- 'ſelves after ſo long and expen- 'ſive a war; and they congra- 'tulated her majeſty upon the 'ſucceſs of her endeavours for a 'general peace. They decla- 'red, that they never had the 'leaſt doubt, but that her ma- 'jeſty, who was the great ſup- 'port and ornament of the pro- 'teſtant religion, would conti- 'nue to take, as ſhe had always 'done, the wiſeſt meaſures for 'ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſ- 'ſion, towards which nothing 'could be more neceſſary than 'the perfect friendſhip there 'was between her majeſty and 'the houſe of Hanover. And 'they aſſured her majeſty, that, 'as the expreſſed her depend- 'ance, next under God, upon 'the duty and affection of her 'people, they thought themſ- 'ſelves bound, by the ſtricteſt 'ties of religion, loyalty, and 'gratitude, to make all the du- 'tiful returns, that could be 'paid by the moſt obedient 'ſubjects to the moſt indulgent 'ſovereign.'

(l) There was a ſmall debate about the words, 'to ſee accom- 'pliſhed,' which, by a great majority, were voted to ſtand. The addreſs was as follows:

'We your majeſty's dutiful 'and loyal ſubjects, the com- 'mons of Great-Britain in par- 'liament aſſembled, beg leave, 'with all humility, to approach 'your royal perſon with our una- 'ni-

Moſt of the corporations and other bodies of men ſoon followed the example of both houſes of parliament, in returning the queen thanks for the peace, before they knew what that peace was. However, general Stanhope having re- 1713. Addreſſes about a peace.

'nimous acknowledgements for 'all the benefits we enjoy under 'your majeſty's moſt auſpicious 'reign.

'The many and great ſucceſſes, which have attended 'your majeſty's arms, had left 'nothing to be wiſhed, but 'ſuch a peace, as might be conducted by your councils, 'which now we have the happineſs to ſee accompliſhed. 'And as we are truly ſenſible 'of your majeſty's gracious and 'generous intentions, in undertaking that great work; ſo 'we have all poſſible reaſon to 'admire your ſteadineſs in carrying it on, and overcoming 'the many difficulties contrived 'to obſtruct it: and it is with 'the higheſt ſatisfaction we congratulate your majeſty upon 'the happy concluſion of this 'treaty; for we are ſo much 'convinced of your majeſty's 'tender regard to the public 'welfare, and the many inſtances of your wiſdom have 'taught us to have ſo perfect a 'reliance upon it, that we cannot doubt but your majeſty 'hath procured all reaſonable 'ſatisfaction for your allies, and 'eſtabliſhed the intereſts of your 'own kingdoms in ſuch a manner, as to make us not only 'ſecure for the future, but a 'flouriſhing and a happy people.

'Your majeſty can give no 'higher proof of the care you 'take of poſterity, than by the 'concern you are pleaſed to expreſs for the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, 'upon which the future happineſs of this kingdom ſo much 'depends. We hope, and truſt, 'that nothing will ever be able 'to interrupt the friendſhip between your majeſty and that 'illuſtrious family, ſince the 'wicked deſigns of thoſe, who 'would endeavour to ſeparate 'your intereſt, muſt be too plain 'ever to ſucceed.

'Your faithful commons can 'never enough expreſs the 'grateful ſenſe they have of the 'many gracious aſſurances contained in your majeſty's 'ſpeech; and after what your 'majeſty hath done to eaſe your 'ſubjects of the heavy burthen 'which before lay upon them, 'and after your unparalleled 'goodneſs in demanding nothing from them for the time 'to come, but what they themſelves ſhall judge requiſite for 'their own ſafety; the beſt return they can make, will be a 'ready and dutiful compliance 'with every thing you have 'been pleaſed to recommend; 'and they cannot fail moſt 'chearfully to ſet about providing the ſupplies neceſſary 'for this year's ſervice. Your 'majeſty's repeated condeſcenſions muſt in the ſtrongeſt 'manner engage the hearts and 'affections of all your ſubjects 'to your majeſty; and we are 'ſatisfied we cannot more truly re-

1713. renewed the motion for addreſſing the queen, to communicate to the houſe the treaties of peace and commerce, it was carried in the affirmative, with the addition of the words, (in due time,) inſiſted on by the court-party; and ſo the addreſs met with a gracious reception, and the queen was pleaſed to anſwer, that ſhe intended to communicate to her parliament the treaties this houſe deſired, as ſoon as it was practicable.

After the addreſſes of thanks for the peace, and a vote for a ſupply, the commons in complaiſance to the court, proceeded to the ſtigmatizing of thoſe that delighted in war. To this end Mr. Shippen made a report of miſmanagements from the committee, to examine the debts due to the army. They paſſed a ſlight cenſure on William Churchill, a member of their houſe, for being, when a commiſſioner for ſick and wounded, a partner in contracts relating to that office. They alſo made an attempt to faſten a miſdemeanor on the earl of Wharton, for taking 1000 *l.* of one Hutchinſon for procuring him the office of regiſter of ſeizures in the cuſtoms, but it was dropped, becauſe it was done before the laſt act of indemnity.

The peace proclaimed. May 5. On the 28th of April the ratifications of the treaties of peace and commerce were exchanged at Utrecht between the miniſters of Great-Britain and France; and, being brought to London, by Mr. Ayerſt, chaplain and ſecretary to the earl of Strafford, the queen on the 4th of May, the ſame day of the month on which the war had been proclaimed eleven years before, ſigned a proclamation for publiſhing the peace; which was performed the next day with the uſual ceremonies. The ratifications of the treaties between France and the States-General were alſo to have been exchanged on the 29th of April; but upon an unexpected difficulty about the elector of Bavaria's renunciation of the Spaniſh Netherlands (yielded to him by king *Philip*) which the Dutch miniſters alledged not to be in due form, that exchange was deferred till the 12th of May,

' repreſent them, than by con-
' tributing our utmoſt endea-
' vours to make your reign as
' proſperous, glorious, and eaſy
' to yourſelf, as it is beneficial
' and happy to your people.'

To which addreſs the queen returned this anſwer.

' That this addreſs could not
' but be very agreeable to her,
' as it came from her loyal com-
' mons, and as it was a conti-
' nuation of thoſe expreſſions of
' duty and affection, which they
' had ſhewn through this whole
' parliament.'

N. S.

N. S. About this time moſt of the miniſters at Utrecht received by the poſt under a cover a printed proteſtation of the pretender to the crown of Great-Britain, who ſtiled himſelf James the third, and addreſſed himſelf to all kings, princes, republics, &c. By the date April 12, 1712, it appeared to have been drawn up a year before, and imported, 'That, ſince after a war ſo long and ſo pernicious 'to all chriſtendom, all parties ſeemed ready to come to a 'peace, and were ſpeedily about to ſign it, he thought it 'fit and neceſſary by this ſolemn proteſtation, to aſſert his 'undoubted right againſt any thing, that might be done 'towards the diminution of it. That he would not en-'large upon what had been unjuſtly done againſt him, 'ſince nobody could doubt of the juſtice of his cauſe. Nor 'was he indeed only moved with the condition of his own 'affairs, but, being incapable to change his affection towards 'his ſubjects, he could not, without the moſt ſenſible 'grief, behold, that neither their blood, nor their wealth, 'had hitherto been ſpared, to ſupport the great injuſtice, 'that had been done him; and that they were at laſt re-'duced ſo far, that if a peace were made excluſive of him, 'they muſt neceſſarily become a prey to foreigners. That, 'ſince he underſtood, that the confederate powers had no 'regard to his right, he thought himſelf moſt indiſpen-'ſably obliged to himſelf, to poſterity, and to his ſubjects, 'not to ſeem, by his ſilence, to conſent to what was tranſ-'acting to the prejudice of him, and the lawful heirs of 'his kingdoms. And therefore he ſolemnly proteſted 'againſt all that might be agreed or ſtipulated to his pre-'judice, as being void by all the laws in the world.' No manner of public notice was taken of this proteſtation. 1713. The pretender's proteſtation.

Baron de Kirchner, the only imperial miniſter now at Utrecht, having received repeated orders to leave that place, the Britiſh plenipotentiaries made their laſt effort to remove the difficulties, that ſtill obſtructed the concluſion of a general peace. At their requeſt, the imperial miniſter met thoſe of France, at the lord privy-ſeal's houſe, where the French made ſome new overtures relating to the emperor and empire: but, this conference having proved ineffectual, and Kirchner's orders for leaving the place of congreſs being poſitive, he ſet out from Utrecht, on the 17th of May, N. S.

The

1713. The parliament had now ſate a month, when Mr. Benſon, chancellor of the Exchequer, delivered to the houſe of commons a meſſage from the queen, importing, 'That 'as it is the undoubted prerogative of the crown to make 'peace and war, ſhe had ratified the treaties of peace and 'commerce with France, which had been ſigned by her 'order, and had concluded a treaty with Spain, which 'would be ſigned, as ſoon as the Spaniſh miniſters were 'arrived there. That ſhe determined from the firſt, on 'this extraordinary occaſion, to communicate theſe treaties to her parliament, and had therefore, now ordered 'them to be laid before the houſe.' After this meſſage he preſented to the houſe the copies of the treaties of peace and commerce made at Utrecht, with tranſlations of them.

The treaties of peace and commerce laid before the parliament. Pr. H. C. Burnet.

Subſtance of the treaties. Burnet.

By the treaty of peace, the French king was bound to give neither harbour nor aſſiſtance to the pretender, but acknowledged the queen's title and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as it was ſettled by ſeveral acts of parliament: Dunkirk was to be razed, in a time limited, within five months, after the ratifications; but that was not to be begun, till an equivalent for it was put into the hands of France. Newfoundland, Hudſon's-Bay, and St. Chriſtopher's were to be given to England; but Cape Breton was to be left to the French, with a liberty to dry their fiſh on Newfoundland: this was the main ſubſtance of the articles of peace (o). The treaty of commerce ſettled a free trade, according to the tariff in the year 1664, excepting ſome commodities, that were ſubjected to a new tariff in the year 1699, which

(o) It was obſerved on theſe articles: as to Newfoundland, it was thought that the French ſettling at Cape Breton, inſtead of Placentia, would be of great advantage to them with relation to the fiſhery, which is the only thing that makes ſettlements in thoſe parts of any value. The Engliſh have always pretended, that, the firſt diſcovery of Newfoundland being made in Henry the Seventh's time, the right to it was in the crown of England. The French had leave given them, in king Charles the Firſt's time, to fiſh there, paying tribute, as an acknowledgment of that licence: it is true, they carried this much further, during the civil wars; and this grew to a much greater height in the reign of king Charles the Second: but, in king William's time, an act of parliament paſſed, aſſerting the right of the crown to Newfoundland, laying open the trade thither to all the ſubjects of Great-Britain, with a poſitive and conſtant excluſion of all aliens and foreigners. Burnet, II. 619.

was

was ſo high, that it amounted to a prohibition: all the productions of France were to come into England under no other duties, but thoſe that were laid on the ſame productions from other countries; and, when this was ſettled, then commiſſaries were to be ſent to London, to agree and adjuſt all matters relating to trade, the treaty of commerce with Spain was not yet finiſhed. As for the allies, Portugal and Savoy were ſatisfied; the emperor was to have the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the Spaniſh Netherlands: Sicily was to be given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king: and Sardinia, with the ſame title, was to be given to the elector of Bavaria, in lieu of his loſſes: the States were to deliver up Liſle, and the little places about it: and, beſides the places of which they were already poſſeſſed, they were to have Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburg, Ypres, and Newport: the king of Pruſſia was to have the Upper Guelder, in lieu of Orange, and the other eſtates, which the family had in Franche Comte. The emperor was to have time to the firſt of June, to declare his accepting it. 1713.

The treaties being read, a day was appointed to conſider of the treaty of commerce, particularly the eighth and ninth articles; by the eighth all the ſubjects of Great-Britain and France were to enjoy, as to all duties and impoſitions whatever, the ſame privileges, which any other nation, the moſt favoured, did then, or ſhall hereafter enjoy. By the other article, a law was to be made within two months in Great-Britain, that no more cuſtoms be paid for goods brought from France than what are payable for the like goods imported from any other country in Europe. Theſe were articles very diſadvantageous to England. During king Charles the Second's reign, our trade with France was often and loudly complained of, as very prejudicial to the nation; there was a commiſſion appointed in the year 1674, to adjuſt the conditions of our commerce with that nation; and then it appeared, in a ſcheme that was prepared by very able merchants, that we loſt every year a million of money by our trade thither. This was then ſo well received, that the ſcheme was entered into the journals of both houſes of parliament, and into the books of the cuſtom-houſe: but the court at that time favoured the intereſts of France ſo much, preferably to their own, that the trade went ſtill on till the year 1678, when the parliament laid, upon all French commodities, ſuch a duty, as amounted to a prohibition, and was to laſt for three years, and to the

Debate about the 8th and 9th articles of the treaty of commerce.

Objections to them.

end

1713. end of the next ſeſſion of parliament: at the end of the three years, king Charles called no more parliaments; and that act was repealed in king James's parliament: but, during the whole laſt war, high duties were laid on all the productions and manufactures of France; which by this treaty were to be no higher charged, than the ſame productions from other countries. It was ſaid that, if we had been as often beat by the French, as they had been by us, this would have been thought a very hard treaty; and, if the articles of our commerce had been ſettled, before the duke of Ormond was ordered to ſeparate his troops from the confederates, the French could not have pretended to draw us into ſuch terms, as they had inſiſted on ſince that time, becauſe we put ourſelves into their power. We were engaged by our treaty with Portugal, that their wines ſhould be charged a third part lower than the French wines; but, if the duties were, according to this treaty of commerce, to be made equal, then, conſidering the difference of freight, which is more than double from Portugal, the French wines would be much cheaper; and, the nation generally liking them better, by this means we ſhould not only break our treaties with Portugal, but if we did not take off their wines, we muſt loſe their trade, which was at preſent the moſt advantageous that we drove any where: for, beſides a great vent of our manufactures, we brought over yearly great returns of gold from thence; four, five and ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year. We had brought the ſilk manufactures here to ſo great perfection, that about 300,000 people were maintained by it. For carrying this on, we brought great quantities of ſilk from Italy and Turky, by which people in thoſe countries came to take off as great quantities of our manufactures: ſo that our demand for ſilk had opened good markets for our woollen goods abroad, which muſt fail, if our manufacture of ſilk at home ſhould be loſt: which, if once we gave a free vent for ſilk ſtuffs from France among us, muſt ſoon be the caſe; ſince the cheapneſs of proviſions and of labour in France, would enable the French to underſell us, even at our own markets. Our linnen and paper manufactures would likewiſe be ruined by a free importation of the ſame goods from France.

Notwithſtanding all this, a motion was made on the day appointed, May 14, to bring in a bill to make good the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce with France. A debate aroſe, which laſted till ten in the evening,

ing, when it was reſolved, by a great majority, that the bill ſhould be brought in (n). 1713.

The

(n) The ſubſtance of the debate on this occaſion was as follows:

Mr. Arthur Moore, one of the commiſſioners of trade, and whoſe ſkill and knowledge in commercial affairs, the Britiſh miniſtry had chiefly relied on in drawing up the treaty in queſtion, endeavoured to ſhew the great advantages, that would accrue to the nation from a free trade with France; and Sir James Bateman, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Sir William Wyndham Mr. chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Ward, Mr. Shepherd, and ſome others, ſpoke on the ſame ſide. Mr. Nicholas Lechmere endeavoured, on the contrary, to prove, that the trade with France would be very prejudicial to our woollen, ſilk, and paper manufactories, and to our commerce with Portugal; and he was ſupported, not only by general Stanhope, Mr. John Smith, Mr. Nathaniel Gould (an eminent merchant, formerly governor of the bank of England) Sir Peter King, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Mr. Wortley Montague, the lord Caſtlecomer, and ſome others of the whigs; but alſo by Sir George Newland and Mr. Robert Heyſham, who had before gone with the court. Mr. Moore, in order to make good his aſſertion, having enumerated the different ſorts of commodities of the growth and manufacture of Great-Britain, which the French drew from hence before the two laſt wars, inſinuating, that in all probability they would do the ſame again for the future, if a free trade with them were ſet upon an equal foot: Mr. Gould anſwered him, that he begged the very thing in queſtion; and that, in his opinion, the opening a free trade with France, would rather be highly detrimental to the nation. To make this out, Mr. Gould urged, 'That, ſince the revolution, the 'ſtate of commerce was entirely changed; and as France 'had ſet up, and very much 'encourage woollen manufactures, and made ſhift without 'ſeveral goods, which they drew 'from hence; ſo England had 'learned to be without the product of France, by ſetting up 'ſilk manufactures and paper-'mills; encouraging the making of all manner of toys, &c. 'which ſaved and gained vaſt 'ſums of money to the nation, 'and employed an infinite 'number of artificers, who 'would be reduced to beggary, 'if the importation of French 'goods of the ſame kind were 'allowed; becauſe the French 'had their work done for leſs 'money, and conſequently could 'ſell their commodities cheaper.' He added, 'that the moſt 'valuable branch of our trade 'was that to Portugal; the increaſe of which, of late years, 'was mainly owing to the great 'quantities of wines that were 'imported from thence, and 'conſumed in Great-Britain, inſtead of French wines, by reaſon of the high duties laid on

'the

1713. The peace had been proclaimed in London, and afterwards throughout Great-Britain, with the loudeſt acclamations of the people, who fondly expected great benefits from it; but it was not long before the eyes of the gene-

Memorial of the Portugueſe Envoy againſt the treaty of commerce.

'the latter. But, if theſe duties were, purſuant to the 'treaty of commerce in queſtion, reduced and made equal 'with thoſe on Portugal wines, 'the importation and conſumption of the latter would infallibly decreaſe, and thereby 'our profitable commerce to 'Portugal be in danger of being 'loſt.' On the other hand, Sir William Wyndham took this occaſion to reflect on the late miniſtry, 'who, in his opinion, 'had let ſlip the opportunity 'of making a good peace, when 'they had it in their power: 'But that a time might come, 'and, he hoped, was not far 'off, when the miſmanagement 'of the enemies to their country ſhould be animadverted 'upon. As to our Portugal 'trade, he ſaid, that that kingdom would ever have occaſion for the woollen manufactures and the corn of England, and conſequently be obliged to take off great quantities from hence, as they did 'before the year 1703, even at 'a time when the court of Portugal had laid high duties on 'Engliſh goods and merchandizes.' General Stanhope made hereupon a long ſpeech, wherein, among other things, he ſaid, 'That the affair now 'in queſtion was not a party 'buſineſs; neither did it concern 'the late or the preſent miniſtry, but the whole Britiſh nation, and therefore, for his 'own part, he would freely 'ſpeak his thoughts about it, 'with the utmoſt impartiality. 'That, the peace being made, 'it was now prepoſterous to ſay 'any thing for or againſt it. 'But, that as no treaty could 'bind the commons of Great-Britain to make any act or 'deed againſt their own intereſt; the only point to be conſidered was, Whether a free 'trade with France would be 'advantageous or no? And 'that, in order to clear that important matter, it was neceſſary to conſult the merchants 'and manufacturers who had 'preſented ſeveral petitions and 'repreſentations about it.' This was likewiſe urged by Mr. John Smith, who made a motion for adjourning the debate, and taking the papers before them into conſideration. But the main queſtion being put, was carried in the affirmative by a majority of two hundred and fifty-two voices againſt one hundred and thirty. Mr. Speaker having reſumed the chair, Sir Gilbert Dolben made his report from the committee, and, after further debate, the whigs, finding themſelves over-powered by the court party, moſt of them went out of the houſe; and ſo it was reſolved by above an hundred voices againſt twelve or thirteen, that 'a bill be brought in, to 'make effectual the eighth and 'ninth articles of the treaty of 'commerce and navigation between Great-Britain and 'France.'

rality

rality were opened. For, about the beginning of May, Signior Bruciado, the Portugueſe miniſter in London, in a memorial repreſented to the court, 'That, in caſe any 'breach was made in the treaty concluded in 1703, where-'by the duties on French wines were ſtipulated to be, at 'leaſt, one third higher than on thoſe of Portugal, the 'king, his maſter, would renew the prohibition of the 'woollen manufactures and products of Great-Britain:' which alarmed not only the Portugal merchants in London, but alſo all perſons concerned in the woollen manufacture. On the other hand, the treaties of peace and commerce having been publiſhed in print, that of commerce raiſed ſuch a general clamour, as awakened the whole nation, which before ſeemed to have been ſunk into a lethargy. Several gentlemen, and particularly Mr. Robert Walpole, General Stanhope, Sir Theodore Janſſen, &c. exerted themſelves, and publiſhed ſeveral excellent pieces, which ſhewed the advantages of the trade with Italy, Spain, and Portugal, to which nations we conſtantly exported more than we imported from them, and brought the balance in money; whereas a trade with France would be deſtructive of our home manufactures, and of our commerce with other nations. Theſe things came to be ſo well underſtood, that, even while flattering addreſſes were coming to court from all parts of England, petitions were ſent up from the towns and counties concerned in trade, ſetting forth the prejudice which they apprehended from this treaty of commerce. The treaty, however, was to be ſupported at any rate; the perſons concerned in making it, either could not, or would not, ſee the miſtakes in it; and the nation was to be convinced, that through their great ſkill in trade, they had made an excellent treaty of commerce. To theſe ends Daniel de Foe was employed; though, in a weekly paper publiſhed ſome years before, called the review, he had very often condemned the French trade as detrimental to this kingdom. He undertook, however, the caſe now, and publiſhed a paper thrice a week, by the title of mercator, or commerce retrieved; being conſiderations on the ſtate of the Britiſh trade, particularly as it reſpects Holland, Hanover, and the Dutch barrier; the trade to and from France; the trade to Portugal, Spain, and the Weſt-Indies, and the fiſheries of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia: with other matters and advantages accruing to Great-Britain by the treaties of peace and commerce lately concluded at Utrecht. In this paper he undertook to prove, that the trade to

1713.

Great clamour againſt the treaty.

Burnet.

King's preface to the britiſh merchant.

The Mercator publiſhed.

1713. France, though contrary to all experience, had always been beneficial to this kingdom, and would be ſo again upon the foot of the treaty. And as he had the art of writing very plauſibly, and thoſe, who employed him, and furniſhed him with materials, had the command of all public papers in the cuſtom-houſe; he had it in his power to do a great deal of miſchief, eſpecially amongſt ſuch, as were unſkilled in trade, and at the ſame time very fond of French wines, which it was then a crime to be againſt. Several ingenious merchants, of long experience, and well ſkilled in trade, joined together to contradict the impoſitions of this writer: they knew he had many heads beſides the advantages of public papers to help him; and therefore thought the publication of a joint weekly paper the moſt feaſible way to confute him, and ſet our trade in a clear light, becauſe they were ſenſible that it was impoſſible for any one man to be maſter of ſo much experience, as was required to furniſh materials from ſo many different branches of our trade, as would be touched upon in this debate.

The Britiſh merchant publiſhed.

The paper they publiſhed was, in oppoſition to Daniel de Foe's title, called The Britiſh merchant, or commerce preſerved, and was publiſhed twice a week (o). The perſon, to whom the public was chiefly obliged for this paper, and who had the greateſt hand in it, was Henry Martin, who was afterwards made inſpector-general of the exports and imports. He was aſſiſted by Sir Charles Cooke merchant, afterwards made commiſſioner of trade; Sir Theodore Janſſen, Bart. James Milner, Nathaniel Tori-

(o) The authors of this work, vol. I. p. 180. 2d edit. aſſert, 'that, if the 8th and 9th articles of the treaty of commerce 'between us and France had 'been rendered effectual by a 'law, this very thing had been 'more ruinous to the Britiſh 'nation, than if the city of 'London were to be laid in 'aſhes. This city has been 'once burnt to the ground; 'but the people were ſtill in 'being. They were, notwithſtanding this calamity, a conſtant mart for the product and manufactures of the country. 'But, if ſuch a law, as that 'above-mentioned, had paſſed, 'France would have gone on 'from that moment to exhauſt 'the treaſures of the kingdom. 'We ſhould have preſently loſt 'our beſt markets both at home 'and abroad. Our gentlemen 'muſt have felt a ſudden and 'univerſal decay of their rents; 'and our common people muſt 'have either ſtarved for want 'of work, come to the land 'or the pariſh for ſubſiſtance, 'or have retired to foreign parts 'for bread.'

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tano, Joſhua Gee, Chriſtopher Haynes, David Martin, merchants; and Charles King, who afterwards collected and reprinted thoſe papers. Lord Hallifax and general Stanhope had likewiſe a conſiderable ſhare in the encouragement of this paper, which had ſo great an effect, that the thoughts of the whigs about commerce, which, at firſt, were repreſented as the reſult of diſcontent, and ſpirit of party, appeared to be the univerſal ſenſe of all traders. 1713.

The houſe of commons gave an aid of two ſhillings in the pound, though the miniſters hoped to have carried it higher; but the members durſt not venture on that, ſince a new election was ſoon to follow the concluſion of the ſeſſion. They proceeded next to renew the duty on malt for another year; and here a debate aroſe, that was kept up ſome days in both houſes of parliament, whether it ſhould be laid on the whole iſland. It was carried in the affirmative; of which the Scots complained heavily, as a burden, that their country could not bear: and whereas it was ſaid, that theſe duties ought to be laid equally on all the ſubjects of the united kingdom, the Scots inſiſted on an article of the union, by which it was ſtipulated, that no duty ſhould be laid on the malt in Scotland during the war, which ought to be obſerved religiouſly. They ſaid, it was evident, the war with Spain was not yet ended: no peace with that crown was yet proclaimed, nor ſo much as ſigned: and though it was as good as made, and was every day expected, yet it was a maxim in the conſtruction of all laws, that odious matters ought to be ſtrictly underſtood; whereas matters of favour were to be more liberally interpreted: It was farther ſaid on the Scots ſide, that this duty was, by the very words of the act, to be applied to deficiencies during the war: ſo this act was, upon the matter, making Scotland pay that duty during the war, from which the articles of union did, by expreſs words, exempt them. A great number of the Engliſh were convinced of the equity of theſe grounds, which the Scots went upon, but the majority was on the other ſide. So, when the bill had paſſed through the houſe of commons, all the Scots of both houſes met together, and agreed to move for an act, diſſolving the union; they went firſt to the queen, and told her how grievous, and indeed intolerable this duty would be to their country, ſo that they were under a neceſſity to try, how the union might be broken. The queen ſeemed uneaſy at the motion; ſhe

Aid given by the commons. Burnet.

The Scots oppoſe the malt duty.

1713. ſtudied to divert them from it, and aſſured them, that her officers ſhould have orders to make it eaſy to them. This was underſtood to imply that the duty ſhould not be levied; but they knew this could not be depended on: ſo the motion was made in the houſe of lords, and moſt of the lords of that nation ſpoke to it: they ſet forth all the hardſhips that they lay under ſince the union; they had no more a council in Scotland; their peers at preſent were the only perſons in the whole Iſland, that were judged incapable of peerage by deſcent; their laws were altered in matters of the higheſt importance, particularly in matters of treaſon; and now an impoſition was to be laid on their malt, which muſt prove an intolerable burthen to the poor of that country, and force them to drink water. Upon all theſe reaſons, they moved for liberty to bring a bill to diſſolve the union, in which they would give full ſecurity, for maintaining the queen's prerogative, and for ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion. This was oppoſed with much zeal by the miniſters, but was ſupported by others; who, though they did not intend to give up the union, yet thought it reaſonable to give a hearing to this motion, that they might ſee how far the proteſtant ſucceſſion could be ſecured, in caſe it ſhould be entertained; but the majority were for rejecting the motion: when the malt-bill was brought up to the lords, there was ſuch an oppoſition made to it, that fifty ſix voted againſt it, but ſixty four were for it, and ſo it paſſed (p).

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(p) This affair, more at large, is thus related: During the adjournment of the parliament for a week, on account of the whitſun-holidays, there appeared an uneaſineſs in many of the Scots members upon the diſappointment of their endeavours to get their country eaſed of part of the malt-tax. Hereupon they conferred with ſeveral of the Scots peers ſitting in parliament; and laying aſide all party-diſtinctions, conſulted together how to redreſs their grievances. They deputed the duke of Argyle, the earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburne, who by word of mouth repreſented to the queen, 'That their 'countrymen bore, with great 'impatience, the violation of 'ſome articles of the act of 'union; and that laying ſuch 'an inſupportable burthen as 'the malt-tax upon them, was 'like to raiſe their diſcontent 'to ſuch an height, as to prompt 'them to declare the union diſ-'ſolved.' To this unexpected remonſtrance, the queen anſwered, 'This was a precipi-'tate reſolution; and ſhe wiſhed 'they might not have reaſon to 'repent it: but, however, ſhe 'would endeavour to make all 'things

The matter of the greateſt conſequence in this ſeſſion was, the bill for ſettling the commerce with France, according 1713.

A bill for rendering the treaty of commerce effectual is rejected.

'things eaſy.' The Scots members being met again the next day, and their deputies having made their report of her majeſty's anſwer, it was unanimouſly agreed, that, before they proceeded farther, they ſhould lay their grievances before the houſe of lords. Accordingly, on Thurſday the 28th of May, after the lords had adjourned the debate about the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce, the earl of Findlater made a motion, that ſome day ſhould be appointed to conſider the ſtate of the nation: Whereupon the lords appointed Monday the 1ſt of June, when all the lords in town were ſummoned. The debate began between one and two, being opened by the earl, who made the motion, and who repreſented the grievances of the Scots nation, which he reduced to four heads: 'Firſt, their being deprived of a privy-council. 'Secondly, the laws of England in caſes of treaſon extending to Scotland. Thirdly, 'the Scots peers being incapable of being made peers of 'Great-Britain, as it was adjudged and declared in the caſe of the late duke of Hamilton. And, Fourthly, the 'Scots being ſubjected to the malt-tax, which would be the more inſupportable to them now, in that they never were ſubjected to it during the war, and had reaſon to expect to reap and enjoy the benefits of peace: concluding, that, ſince the union between the two nations had not thoſe good 'effects, as were expected from 'it, he therefore moved, That 'leave might be given to bring 'in a bill, for diſſolving the 'ſaid union, and ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe 'of Hanover, ſecuring the 'queen's prerogative in both 'kingdoms, and preſerving an 'intire amity and good correſpondence between the two 'kingdoms.' This motion was ſeconded by the earl of Mar; but oppoſed by the lord North and Grey, who, in a long ſpeech, endeavoured to ſhew, that the complaints of the Scots were groundleſs, and the diſſolving the union impracticable; not without ſome reflections on the poverty of the Scots nation. He was anſwered by the lord Eglington, who allowed the Scots nation to be poor, and therefore unable to pay the malt-tax. The lord North and Grey replied, 'That it was 'nothing but what was agreed 'to by the treaty of union; 'the fourteenth article of which 'imported, that Scotland ſhould 'not be charged with any impoſition on malt during the 'war only, which was now at 'an end.' The earl of Ilay confeſſed, that there was ſuch a clauſe, but that the ſame article imported, 'That, ſeeing it could 'not be ſuppoſed, that the parliament of Great-Britain would 'ever lay any ſort of burdens 'upon the united kingdom, but 'what they ſhould find of neceſſity, at that time, for the preſervation and good of the whole, 'and with due regard to the circumſtances and abilities of every

1713. ing to the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty, which had been ordered by the commons to be brought in. The traders

'part of the united kingdom; 'therefore it was agreed, that 'there ſhould be no farther ex- 'emption inſiſted on, for any 'part of the united kingdom, 'but that the conſideration of 'any exemption, beyond what 'was already agreed on in this 'treaty, ſhould be left to the 'determination of the parlia- 'ment of Great-Britain.' He urged, 'That, when this treaty 'was made, the Scots conclud- 'ed the parliament of Great- 'Britain would never go about 'to lay any impoſition, that they 'had reaſon to believe grie- 'vous;' and having ſet forth the inability of the Scots to pay the malt-tax, concluded for the earl of Findlater's motion. Hereupon the earl of Peterborough made a long ſpeech, wherein he endeavoured to ſhew the impoſſibility of diſſolving the union, ſaying, among other things, 'That he had often 'heard the union compared to 'a marriage; and, according 'to that notion, ſince it was 'made, it could not be diſſolv- 'ed by any power upon earth. 'That, though England,' who, 'in this national marriage, muſt 'be ſuppoſed to be the huſband, 'might in ſome inſtances have 'been unkind to the lady, yet 'ſhe ought not preſently to ſue 'for a divorce, the rather, be- 'cauſe ſhe had very much 'mended her fortune by this 'match;' adding, 'That the 'union was a contract, than 'which nothing could be more 'binding.' To this the earl of Ilay anſwered, 'That, if the 'union had the ſame ſanction 'as marriage, which was an or- 'dinance of God, he ſhould be 'for obſerving it as religiouſly 'as that; but that he thought 'there was a great difference.' To which the earl of Peterborough replied, 'He could not 'tell how it could be more ſo- 'lemn than it was, except they 'expected it ſhould have come 'from heaven like the ten com- 'mandments:' animadverting, in the concluſion, on the Scots, 'as 'a people, that would never be 'ſatisfied: that they would have 'all the advantages of being 'united to England, but would 'pay nothing by their good 'will: and that they had more 'money from England, than all 'their eſtates amounted to in 'their own country.' To him the duke of Argyle replied, in a very warm ſpeech, wherein, among other things, he ſaid, 'That he was by ſome reflect- 'ed on, as if he was diſguſted, 'and had changed ſides; but 'that he deſpiſed their perſons, 'as much as he undervalued 'their judgments. That it was 'true, he had a great hand in 'making the union: that the 'chief reaſon which moved 'him to it, was the ſecuring 'the proteſtant ſucceſſion; but 'that he was ſatisfied, that 'might be done as well now, if 'the union were diſſolved: 'that he ſpoke as a peer of 'England as well as of Scot- 'land: that he believed in his 'conſcience, it was as much 'for the intereſt of England as 'of Scotland, to have it diſ- 'ſolved; and, if it were not, 'he did not expect long to have

either

traders in the city of London, and thoſe in all the other parts of England, were alarmed, with the great prejudice this 1711.

'either property left in Scotland, or liberty in England. 'He urged, that the tax upon 'malt in Scotland was no leſs 'unequal, than the taxing land 'by the acre throughout England would be; becauſe land 'is worth five or ſix pounds an 'acre about London, and not 'ſo many ſhillings in remote 'parts of the country. That 'this was the caſe between the 'Scots and Engliſh malt; the 'latter being worth three or 'four ſhillings the buſhel, the 'other not above one; ſo that 'if this tax were collected in 'Scotland, it muſt be done by a 'regiment of dragoons.' Some other Scots peers ſaid, 'That 'the end of the union was the 'cultivating amity and friendſhip between the two nations; 'but it was ſo far from having 'that effect, that they were 'ſure, the animoſities between 'the two nations were now 'much greater than before the 'union; and therefore they 'were of opinion, that, if the 'union were diſſolved, the two 'nations would be better 'friends.' The lord chief juſtice Trevor urged on the other hand the impoſſibility of ſuch a diſſolution; and he was ſupported by the lord-treaſurer, who ſaid, 'That the earl of Find'later's motion was no leſs 'ſtrange than unexpected: 'that, the union being made by 'two diſtinct parliaments of 'both kingdoms, he did not 'ſee how it could be diſſolved, 'now the two nations were in 'different circumſtances, be'cauſe the power that made it 'was no more in being; and 'nothing could make it void, 'but the power that created it: 'concluding, that if the Scots 'had any grievances to com'plain of, there might be ſome 'other method thought of to re'dreſs them, without proceed'ing to that extraordinary way 'of diſſolving the union, which 'had been made in ſo ſolemn a 'way, and brought about with 'ſo much difficulty.' This was anſwered by the earl of Nottingham, who repreſented the advantages of the union, if the views, with which it was made, had been ſteadily purſued. He added, 'That, though the 'two nations were now in 'other circumſtances, than when 'the union was made, yet the 'ſame power that was in the two 'parliaments, when they were 'ſeparated and diſtinct, was 'lodged in them now they were 'conſolidated; and therefore, 'if they had power to make it, 'they certainly had it ſtill to 'diſſolve it: and that he knew 'not any thing, but what the 'parliament could do, except 'deſtroying the preſent conſti'tution; which, he owned, 'they had no power to do. 'That the inconveniencies 'which had attended the union, 'could not be foreſeen, till the 'trial was made: And, ſince 'the Scots, who were the beſt 'judges of the affairs of their 'kingdom, found that it did 'not anſwer the ends propoſed, 'he was for diſſolving it.' The earl of Sunderland ſaid, to the ſame

1713. this would bring on the whole nation. The Turky company, thoſe that traded to Portugal and Italy, and all who were

ſame purpoſe, 'That, tho' he 'had a hand in making the 'union, yet if it had not that 'good effect which was expect-'ed from it, he was likewiſe for 'diſſolving it.' The lord viſcount Townſhend ſaid, That he was of the ſame opinion, provided that means could be found to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and therefore he deſired to know, what ſecurity the Scots could give for that eſſential point, before they proceeded any further? To this ſome of the Scots lords replied, That would appear when the bill was brought in: that then it was a proper time to ſhew what ſecurity they could give; and therefore moved, That the queſtion might be put immediately, Whether a bill ſhould be brought in, or not? The earl of Nottingham deſired, that another day might be appointed to conſider further of a matter of ſuch conſequence, that the lords might be better apprized of it. The lord Halifax declared alſo for diſſolving the union, provided it could be made appear, that the ſucceſſion could be ſecured; but yet deſired, that a further day might be appointed to conſider of ſo important a matter. And the earls of Mar and London, who were before for putting the queſtion immediately, declared themſelves better ſatisfied with that lord's reaſons. There were ſeveral other ſpeeches made both by the Engliſh and Scots lords, particularly by the earl Paulet, and the earls of Scarborough and Scarſdale. And it is obſervable, that, when the danger England would be in from the pretender, if the union were diſſolved, was urged, the lord Townſhend anſwered, 'That 'the queen, lords, and com-'mons of England, if joined in 'one intereſt, need fear no ene-'my in the world; and there-'fore ought to deſpiſe the pre-'tender and all his abetters.' The duke of Argyle having mentioned the pretender, ſaid, 'He knew not what appellation 'to give him, his name being 'now as uncertain as his par-'ents.' But the earl of Scarſdale called him the prince, or, added he, 'the pretender, 'which you will.' Upon the whole matter, all the Engliſh court lords were againſt diſſolving the union; and on the other hand, ſuch whig peers, as appeared to be for it, had principally in view the fomenting the diſcontents of the Scots, in order to incline them to chuſe, at the next election, ſuch repreſentatives as ſhould oppoſe the preſent miniſtry. The queſtion being put upon the earl of Findlater's motion, it was carried in the negative by four voices, there being fifty-four lords preſent on each ſide; and ſeventeen proxies for the negative, and only thirteen for the affirmative. It is remarkable, that the lord-treaſurer having, in the courſe of this debate, advanced, 'That, though the malt-tax 'were laid, it might be after-'wards remitted by the crown, 'and not levied;' the earl of

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were concerned in the woollen and ſilk manufactures, appeared before both houſes, and ſet forth the great miſchief, that a commerce with France, on the foot of the treaty, would bring upon the nation; while none appeared on the other ſide, to anſwer their arguments, or to ſet forth the advantage of ſuch a commerce. It was manifeſt, that none of the trading bodies had been conſulted in it; and the commiſſioners for trade and plantations had made very material obſervations on the firſt project, which was ſent to them for their opinion: and afterwards, when this preſent project was formed, it was alſo tranſmitted to that board by the queen's order, and they were required to make their remarks on it: but Arthur Moor, who had riſen up from being a footman without any education, to be a great dealer in trade, and was the perſon of that board, in whom the lord-treaſurer confided moſt, moved, that they might firſt read it every one a-part, and then debate it; and he deſired to have the firſt peruſal: ſo he took it away, and never brought it back to them, but gave it to the lord Bolingbroke, who carried it to Paris, and there it was ſettled. The bill was very feebly maintained by thoſe who argued for it; yet the majority went with the bill till the laſt day; and then the oppoſition to it was ſo ſtrong, that the miniſters ſeemed inclined to let it fall: but it was not then known, whether this was only a feint, or whether the inſtances of the French ambaſſador, and the engagements that our miniſters were under to that court, prevailed for carrying it on. It was brought to the laſt ſtep; and then a great many of thoſe, who had hitherto gone along with the court, broke from them in this matter, and beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually, that when it came to the laſt diviſion, a hundred and eighty-five were for the bill, and a hundred and ninty-four were againſt it: by ſo ſmall a majority, was a bill of ſuch great importance loſt (q). 1713.

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Sunderland ſaid, 'He wonder-
'ed ſuch expreſſions, as tended
'to eſtabliſh a deſpotic diſpen-
'ſive power, and arbitrary go-
'vernment, ſhould come from
'that noble lord.' To this,
the lord treaſurer ſaid, 'That
'his family had never been for
'promoting and adviſing arbi-
'trary meaſures as others had
'done:' which the earl of Sunderland taking to be a reflexion upon his father, he not only vindicated him, but added, 'That the other lord's family 'was hardly known in thoſe 'days.' Pr. H. L.

(q) The proceedings at large were as follows:

On the 9th of June, the com-

1713. The rejecting this bill being an expreſs condemnation of the treaty of commerce, and laying the managers of it open to future inquiries, the miniſtry uſed their utmoſt efforts to procure a palliative addreſs from the commons; which the ma-

Addreſs of thanks for the treaties of peace and commerce. June 26.

commons in a grand committee, took that bill into conſideration, Sir Robert Davers being in the chair; and heard Mr. Cooke, a merchant, who, in behalf of the Levant company, made a long ſpeech; wherein, with great ſolidity of reaſon he ſhewed, how detrimental the opening a trade with France would be to the Britiſh woollen and ſilk manufactures, and to all the branches of our trade. The merchants being withdrawn, the commons took their allegations into conſideration; and, among the reſt, general Stanhope, to corroborate what Mr. Cooke had alledged, quoted the preamble of an act of parliament, made in the thirteenth year of king Charles the ſecond, which runs thus: 'Foraſmuch as it 'has been by long experience 'found, that the importing 'French wines, brandy, linen, 'ſilk, ſalt, and paper, and o-'ther commodities, of the 'growth, product, or manu-'factures of the territories and 'dominions of the French 'king, has much exhauſted the 'treaſure of this nation, leſſened 'the value of the native com-'modities and manufactures 'thereof, and cauſed great de-'triment to this kingdom in ge-'neral: be it therefore enacted, '&c.' Hereupon the ſpeaker, ſuppoſing that Mr. Stanhope had made a miſtake, ſaid, There was no ſuch thing in that act. But Mr. Stanhope inſiſted, that the clerk ſhould read the ſaid act; and, his quotation appearing to be right, he and other members animadverted with ſome vehemence on the ſpeaker's blunder. At laſt, the debate cooled, and was put off till the next day; and it was reſolved, that the petitioners, who had not been yet, ſhould then be heard.

On the 10th of June, the queen came to the houſe of peers, and the commons attending, her majeſty gave the royal aſſent to the act for continuing the duties on malt, &c. the act to revive and continue the act for taking and ſtating the publick accounts, &c. and to ſome other private and public bills. The commons being returned to their houſe, and having reſolved themſelves into a grand committee upon the bill relating to the treaty of commerce, the Spaniſh, Italian, and Portugal merchants, and the weavers of London, were admitted to be heard upon their ſeveral petitions. Mr. Torriano, who ſpoke in behalf of the Spaniſh trade, having animadverted on the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce, and mentioned the tenth and eleventh as relating to the two former, ſome court members were offended at it; and, after he had done ſpeaking, moved the committee, that a mark of their diſpleaſure might be ſet upon him. But general Stanhope, Mr. Lech-

majority of that houſe were the more ready to come into, 1713.
becauſe the whigs began to exult, as if they had already triumphed over their adverſaries. Sir Thomas Hanmer, by whoſe influence chiefly the bill had been loſt, was engaged to

Lechmere, Sir Peter King, and Mr. John Smith, ſaid, 'That, 'unleſs they gave the merchants full liberty of ſpeech, the 'houſe would never be able to 'form a right judgment on that 'important affair; and they 'hoped, that no man ſhould be 'reprimanded for ſtanding up 'for the trade of Great-Britain.' This, with a noble ſpirit, which appeared in the houſe on behalf of the merchants, by the great number of members, both tory and whig, who, all at once, ſtood up to defend Mr. Torriano, made the courtiers drop that matter; and then Mr. Wyat, ſpoke for the Italian merchants, Mr. Milner for the Portugal trade, and colonel Lekeux for the London weavers. The merchants being withdrawn, the ſpeaker reſumed the chair; and it was reſolved, That the grand committee ſhould, the next day, conſider further of the bill, and that the other petitioners be then heard. It was alſo ordered, That the miniſters of the Levant company, and all memorials, petitions, repreſentations, ſchemes of trade, and papers relating thereunto, that were either before the commiſſioners of trade and plantations, or before the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, relating to the trade between England and France, be laid before the houſe.

The next day, June 11, the grand committee heard ſeveral petitioners, and read many petitions, and other papers; and two days after, a clauſe was ordered to be inſerted in the bill, declaring, 'That the privileges, 'liberties, and immunities, as 'to all duties, impoſitions, or 'cuſtoms relating to commerce, 'or to any other right whatſoever, that had been, or might 'be granted by France, with 'reſpect to the ſubjects, goods, 'or merchandizes, of any foreign nation, ſhould be underſtood to extend as well to 'the four ſpecies of goods, excepted in the ninth article 'from the tariff of 1664, as to 'all other merchandizes whatſoever imported into France 'by the ſubjects of Great-Britain.' Then the commons in a grand committee, made a further progreſs in the bill, and went through it on the 15th of June. Three days after, Sir Robert Davers reported the amendments made to the bill; which, with ſome others, were agreed to by the houſe. Then a motion being made, that the bill be ingroſſed, it occaſioned a warm debate from three o'clock in the afternoon, till near eleven at night. General Stanhope, Sir Peter King, Mr. Gould, Mr. Hampden, and ſome others, ſhewed the diſadvantage of an open trade with France, upon the foot of the laſt treaty of commerce: and the member, who ſpoke moſt in favour of the bill, was the ſame, who had been

1713. to make a motion for an addreſs, returning her majeſty the humble thanks of this houſe, for the great care ſhe had taken of the ſecurity and honour of her kingdoms in the treaty of peace: and alſo, for what ſhe had done in the treaty of commerce with France, by laying ſo good a foundation for the intereſts of her people in trade: and humbly to deſire her majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to appoint commiſſioners, to treat with commiſſioners on the part of France, for adjuſting ſuch matters, as ſhould be neceſſary to be ſettled in the treaty of commerce between her majeſty and France; that the treaty might be explained and perfected, for the good and welfare of her people. Many of the members who voted againſt the bill, being abſent, it was carried for the addreſs by a majority of one hundred and fifty-ſix voices againſt ſeventy-two: whereupon general Stanhope made a motion, 'to repreſent in the addreſs the ſenſe 'of the houſe, that her majeſty's commiſſioners who were 'to treat of the commerce between Great-Britain and 'France, ſhould inſiſt, that liberty be given to her majeſty's 'ſubjects to trade to all the ports in the French king's do-'minions.' But this was rejected.

The queen's anſwer. Burnet.

The addreſs being preſented to the queen by the whole houſe, ſhe 'thanked them moſt heartily for an addreſs, 'which

been chiefly employed in that treaty, Mr. Arthur Moor; but, ſome of his arguments being ſtrained and precarious, the majority even of his own party adhered to the opinion of Sir Thomas Hanmor, who made a long and elaborate ſpeech, wherein, among other things, he ſaid, 'That, before he had fully ex-'amined the affair in queſtion, 'he had given his vote for 'bringing in the bill; but, 'that having afterwards ma-'turely weighed and conſidered 'the allegations of the traders 'and manufacturers in their ſe-'veral petitions and repreſenta-'tions, he was convinced, that 'the paſſing of it would be of 'great prejudice to the woollen 'and ſilk manufactures of this 'kingdom; conſequently in-'creaſe the number of the poor, 'and, in the end, affect the 'land. That, while he had the 'honour to ſit in that houſe, he 'would never be blindly led by 'any miniſtry; neither, on the 'other hand, was he biaſſed by 'what might weigh with ſome 'men, viz. the fear of loſing 'their elections. But that the 'principles, upon which he act-'ed, were the intereſt of his 'country, and the conviction of 'his judgment; and upon theſe 'two conſiderations alone, he 'was againſt the bill.' This ſpeech made a great impreſſion on many of the members; and, Mr. Aiſlabie, one of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, and Mr. Francis Annesley, one

of

'which ſo fully expreſſed their approbation of the treaties 1713.
'of peace and commerce with France: adding, that it was
'with no ſmall difficulty, that ſo great advantages in trade
'were obtained for her ſubjects; and that ſhe would readi-
'ly comply with their deſires, in continuing her utmoſt
'care to ſecure the benefits ſhe had ſtipulated for her
'people.' This was very ſurprizing, ſince the houſe of commons had ſufficiently ſhewn, how little they were pleaſed with the treaty of commerce, by their rejecting the bill, which was offered to confirm it; and this was inſinuated in their addreſs itſelf. But it was pleaſantly ſaid, that the queen anſwered them, according to what ought to have been in their addreſs, and not according to what was in it. Beſides, it was obſervable, that her promiſe, to maintain what was already ſtipulated, did not at all anſwer the prayer of their addreſs. However, the ſpeaker having early the next day, reported the queen's anſwer to a very thin houſe, it was unanimouſly reſolved to return thanks for it.

Addreſs about the equivalent for Dunkirk, June 3. June 20.

As it did not appear in the treaty of peace, what equivalent the king of France was to have for Dunkirk, the commons addreſſed the queen, deſiring to know what that equivalent was. Some weeks paſſed before they had an anſwer; but, at laſt, the queen by a meſſage ſaid, that in purſuance to the treaties, as well between her and the French king, as between that king and the States, the equi-

of the commiſſioners of the public accounts, having ſpoke alſo againſt the bill, the queſtion, Whether it ſhould be ingroſſed, was at laſt carried in the negative, by a majority of one hundred and ninety-four voices, againſt one hundred and eighty-five. It was obſerved, that of the four members for the city of London, one only, Sir William Withers, voted for the bill: and that Sir Richard Hoare, then lord mayor, Sir George Newland, and Sir John Cuſs, voted againſt it; as did alſo the two members for Weſtminſter, Mr. Medlicot, and Mr. Thomas Croſs. On the other hand, it was given out that the lord-treaſurer, foreſeeing the ill effects of paſſing ſuch a bill at this juncture, wrote the night before, a letter to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, deſiring him to uſe his intereſt, that it might drop; which ſtep he might probably be induced to take from the oppoſition the bill was like to meet with in the houſe of lords; where, that very afternoon, July 17, the earls of Angleſey and Abington, and ſome other peers, had declared againſt it. However ſome ſuſpected either the reality or true deſign of ſuch a letter, becauſe moſt of the court and Scots members voted for the bill. Pr. H. C.

valent

1713. valent to be given for the demolition of Dunkirk was already in the hands of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. This ſtill left the matter in the dark, no further explanation being made of it; however, though many members were diſſatisfied with this dubious anſwer, the majority acquieſced in it. At the ſame time the queen being alſo addreſſed 'for an 'account of what ſhe had ſtipulated for the ſake of Great-'Britain in Flanders, and how the ſame was ſecured, the 'report of the commiſſioners of trade about this matter was 'laid before the commons;' which being read, an addreſs was preſented to her, 'That ſhe would take care, the towns 'in Flanders in her poſſeſſion be not evacuated, till thoſe 'who were to have the ſovereignty of the Spaniſh nether-'lands agreed to ſuch articles for regulating trade, as might 'put the ſubjects of Great-Britain upon an equal foot with 'thoſe of any other nation.' To this ſhe returned a favourable anſwer.

This was all that paſſed this ſeſſion of parliament with relation to peace. It was once apprehended, that the miniſters would have moved for an act, or at leaſt for an addreſs, approving the peace, but no ſuch motion was made (r).

The

(r) Biſhop Burnet ſays, that, if ſuch a motion had been made he would have ſpoken the following ſpeech, being the only one he ever prepared beforehand, which he has inſerted in his hiſtory, in order to deliver down to poſterity his thoughts of this great tranſaction.

'My lords, this matter now 'before you, as it is of the 'greateſt importance, ſo it may 'be ſeen in very different 'lights; I will not meddle 'with the political view of it; 'I leave that to perſons, who 'can judge and ſpeak of it 'much better than I can: I 'will only offer to you what 'appears to me, when I con-'ſider it, with relation to the 'rules of morality and religion; 'in this I am ſure I act within 'my proper ſphere. Some 'things ſtick ſo with me, that I 'could have no quiet in my 'conſcience, nor think I had 'anſwered the duty of my 'function, if I did not make 'uſe of the freedom of ſpeech, 'that our conſtitution and the 'privileges of this houſe allow 'me: I am the more encou-'raged to do this, becauſe the 'bringing thoſe of our order 'into publick councils, in which 'we have now ſuch a ſhare, was 'originally intended for this 'very end, that we ſhould of-'fer ſuch conſiderations, as 'ariſe from the rules of our ho-'ly religion, in all matters that 'may come before us. In the 'opening my ſenſe of things, I 'may be forced to uſe ſome 'words,

The houſe of commons was, as to all other things, except the affair of commerce, ſo entirely in the hands of the miniſters, that they ventured on a new demand of a very extraordinary nature, which was made in as extraordinary a manner. The civil liſt, which was eſtimated at 600,000*l.* a year, and was given for the ordinary ſupport of the government, did far exceed it. And this was ſo evident, that, during the 1713.

A demand of money for the civil liſt debts. Burnet. Pr. H. C.

'words, that may perhaps appear ſevere: I cannot help it, 'if the nature of theſe affairs is 'ſuch, that I cannot ſpeak 'plainly of them, in a ſofter 'ſtrain: I intend not to reflect 'on any perſon: and I am ſure 'I have ſuch a profound reſpect 'for the queen, that no part of 'what I may ſay, can be underſtood to reflect on her in any 'ſort: her intentions are, no 'doubt, as ſhe declares them 'to be, all for the good and 'happineſs of her people; 'but it is not to be ſuppoſed, 'that ſhe can read long treaties, 'or carry the articles of them 'in her memory: ſo, if things 'have been either concealed 'from her, or miſrepreſented to 'her, 'She can do no wrong:' 'and, if any ſuch thing has 'been done, we know on whom 'our conſtitution lays the blame.

'The treaties that were made ſome years ago, with our allies are in print; both the grand alliance, and ſome ſubſequent ones: we ſee many things in theſe, that are not provided for by this peace; it was particular ſtipulated, that no peace ſhould be treated, much leſs concluded, without the conſent of the allies. But, before I make any obſervations on this, I muſt deſire you will conſider how ſacred a thing the public faith, that is engaged in treaties and alliances, ſhould be eſteemed.

I hope, I need not tell you, that even heathen nations valued themſelves upon their fidelity, in a punctual obſerving of all their treaties, and with how much infamy they branded the violation of them; if we conſider that which revealed religion teaches us to know, that man was made after the image of God, the God of all truth, as we know who is the father of lyes; 'God hates the de-'ceitful man, in whoſe mouth 'there is no faithfulneſs.' In that leſs perfect religion of the Jews, when the Gibeonites had, by a fraudulent proceeding, drawn Joſhua and the Iſraelites into a league with them; it was ſacredly obſerved; and the violation of it, ſome ages after, was ſeverely puniſhed. And, when the laſt of the kings of Judah ſhook off the fidelity, to which he had bound himſelf to the king of Babylon, the prophet thereupon ſaid with indignation, 'Shall he 'break the oath of God, and 'proſper?' The ſwearing deceitfully is one of the worſt characters; and 'He who ſwears 'to his own hurt, and changes 'not,

1713. the three firſt years of the queen's reign, 100,000 *l.* was every year applied to the war; 200,000 *l.* was laid out in building of Blenheim-houſe; and the entertaining the Palatines had coſt the queen 100,000 *l.* So there was apparently a large overplus, beyond what was neceſſary towards the ſupport of the government. Yet theſe extraordinary expences had put the ordinary payments into ſuch an arrear, that, at Midſummer, 1710, the queen owed 510,000 *l.*

'not, is among the beſt. It is a maxim of the wiſeſt of kings, that 'the throne is eſtabliſhed 'in righteouſneſs.' Treaties are of the nature of oaths; and, when an oath is aſked to confirm a treaty, it is never denied. The beſt account that I can give of the diſuſe of adding that ſacred ſeal to treaties, is this:'

'The popes had for ſome 'ages poſſeſſed themſelves of a 'power, to which they had often recourſe, of diſſolving the 'faith of treaties, and the obli'gation of oaths: the famous, 'but fatal ſtory of Ladiſlaus, 'king of Hungary, breaking 'his faith to Amurath the Turk, 'by virtue of a papal diſpenſa'tion, is well known. One of 'the laſt public acts of this ſort, 'was, when pope Clement the 'Seventh abſolved Francis the 'Firſt, from the treaty made 'and ſworn to at Madrid, while 'he was a priſoner there: the 'ſevere revenge that Charles the 'Fifth took of this, in the ſack 'of Rome, and in keeping that 'pope for ſome months a pri'ſoner, has made popes more 'cautious, ſince that time, than 'they were formerly: this alſo 'drew ſuch heavy but juſt re'proaches, on the papacy, from 'the reformers, that ſome ſtop 'ſeems now to be put to ſuch a 'barefaced protection of perju'ry. But the late king told 'me, that he underſtood from 'the German proteſtant princes, 'that they believed the confeſ'ſors of popiſh princes had fa'culties from Rome, for doing 'this as effectually, though more 'ſecretly: he added, that they 'knew it went for a maxim 'among popiſh princes, that 'their word and faith bound 'them as they were men, and 'members of ſociety; but that 'their oaths, being acts of re'ligion, were ſubject to the di'rection of their confeſſors; 'and that they, apprehending 'this, did, in all their treaties 'with the princes of that re'ligion, depend upon their 'honour, but never aſked the 'confirmation of an oath, which 'had been the practice of for'mer ages. The proteſtants of 'France thought they had gain'ed an additional ſecurity, for 'obſerving the edict of Nantes, 'when the ſwearing to obſerve 'it was made a part of the co'ronation oath: but it is pro'bable, this very thing under'mined and ruined it.

'Grotius, Puffendorf, and 'others who have wrote of the 'law of nations, lay this down 'for a rule, that the nature of a

'treaty,

510,000 *l.* But, upon a new account, this was brought to be 80,000 *l.* leſs; and, at that time, there was an arrear of 190,000 *l.* due to the civil liſt: theſe two ſums amounting to 270,000 *l.* the debt that remained, was but 240,000 *l.* Yet now, in the end of the ſeſſion, when upon rejecting the 1713.

'treaty, and the tie that ariſes 'out of it, is not altered by the 'having, or not having an 'oath; the oath ſerves only to 'heighten the obligation. They 'do alſo agree in this, that con'federacies do not bind ſtates, 'to carry on a war to their ut'ter ruin; but, that princes and 'ſtates are bound to uſe their 'utmoſt efforts in maintaining 'them: and it is agreed by all, 'who have treated of theſe 'matters, that the common ene'my, by offering to any one 'confederate all his pretenſions, 'cannot juſtify his departing 'from the confederacy; becauſe 'it was entered into with that 'view, that all the pretenſions, 'upon which the confederacy 'was made, ſhould be inſiſted 'on, or departed from, by com'mon conſent.

'It is true, that in confede'racies, where allies are bound 'to the performance of ſeveral 'articles, as to their quota's or 'ſhares, if any one fails in the 'part he was bound to, the other 'confederates have a right to 'demand a reparation for his 'non-performance: but, even 'in that caſe, allies are to act as 'friends, by making allowances 'for what could not be helped, 'and not as enemies by taking 'advantages, on deſign to diſ'engage them from their allies. 'It is certain, allies forfeit their 'right to the alliance, if they 'do not perform their part: 'but the failure muſt be evident, 'and an expoſtulation muſt be 'firſt made: and, if upon ſatisfac'tion demanded, it is not given, 'then a proteſtation ſhould be 'made, of ſuch non-perfor'mance; and the reſt of the 'confederates are at liberty, as 'to him who fails on his part: 'theſe are reckoned among the 'cuſtoms and laws of nations: 'and, ſince nothing of this kind 'has been done, I cannot ſee 'how it can be made out, that 'the tie of the confederacy, 'and by conſequence, that the 'public faith has not been firſt 'broken on our ſide.

'My lords, I cannot recon'cile the carrying on a treaty 'with the French, without the 'knowledge and concurrence of 'the other confederate ſtates 'and princes, and the conclude'ing it without the conſent of 'the emperor, the principal 'confederate; not to mention 'the viſible uneaſineſs, that has 'appeared in the others, who 'ſeem to have been forced to 'conſent, by declarations, if 'not by threatenings; from 'hence I ſay, I cannot recon'cile this, with the articles of 'the grand alliance, and the 'other later treaties, that are in 'print: this ſeems to come 'within the charge of the pro'phet againſt thoſe "who deal "treacherouſly with thoſe who

1713. the bill of commerce, moſt of the members were gone into the country, ſo that there were not one hundred and eighty left, a meſſage was ſent, on the 25th of June, to the commons, from the queen, 'acquainting them with the difficulties, which, in a particular manner, ſhe lay under, 'by

"had not dealt treacherouſly "with them;" upon which the 'threatening that follows may 'be juſtly apprehended: it will 'have a ſtrange ſound among 'all chriſtians, but more particularly among the reformed, 'when it is reported, that the 'plenipotentiary of the head of 'the reformed princes ſaid 'openly to the other plenipotentiaries, that the queen held 'herſelf free from all treaties 'and alliances: if this be ſet 'for a precedent, here is a ſhort 'way of diſpenſing with the 'public faith; and, if this was 'ſpoken by one of our prelates, 'I am afraid it will leave a 'heavy reproach on our church; 'and, to ſpeak freely, I am 'afraid it will draw a much 'heavier curſe after it. My 'lords, there is a God in 'heaven, who will judge all the 'world, without reſpect of perſons: nothing can proſper 'without his bleſſing: he can 'blaſt all the counſels of men, 'when laid in fraud and deceit, 'how cunningly ſoever they 'may be either contrived or diſguiſed: and I muſt think that 'a peace made in oppoſition to 'the expreſs words of ſo many 'treaties, will prove a curſe inſtead of a bleſſing to us: God 'is provoked by ſuch proceedings, to pour heavy judgments 'on us, for the violation of a faith 'ſo often given, which is ſo 'openly broken: by this our 'nation is diſhonoured, and our 'church diſgraced: and I dread 'to think, what the conſequence 'of thoſe things is like to prove. 'I would not have expreſſed 'myſelf in ſuch a manner, if I 'had not thought, that I was 'bound to it by the duty that I 'owe to Almighty God, by my 'zeal for the queen, and the 'church, and by my love to my 'country. Upon ſo great an 'occaſion, I think my poſt in 'the church and in this houſe 'lays me under the ſtricteſt obligations to diſcharge my conſcience, and to ſpeak plainly 'without fear or flattery, let the 'effect of it, as to myſelf, be 'what it will: I ſhall have the 'more quiet in my own mind, 'both living and dying, for having done that, which ſeemed 'to me an indiſpenſable duty.

'I hope this houſe will not 'bring upon themſelves, and 'the nation, the blame and 'guilt of approving that, which 'ſeems to be much more juſtly 'cenſurable: the reproach that 'may belong to this treaty, and 'the judgments of God, that 'may follow on it, are now 'what a few only are concerned 'in. A national approbation 'is a thing of another nature; 'the public breach of faith, in 'the attack that was made on 'the Smyrna fleet forty years 'ago, brought a great load of 'infamy

'by the debts contracted in her civil government, occa- 1713.
'ſioned by ſeveral extraordinary expences formerly incur-
'red; ſo that ſhe thought herſelf obliged, in juſtice to
'many creditors, to order an eſtimate to be laid before
'them of what was owing on the civil liſt, in the year
'1710. Adding, ſhe had uſed unexampled parſimony, to
'remove, if poſſible, this burden from herſelf; but, that
'the granting away, and leſſening ſome part of her reve-
'nue by parliament, having made that impracticable, ſhe
'therefore hoped, that they who on all occaſions, had
'ſhewed themſelves ſo well affected to her, would not be
'unwilling to impower her to raiſe ſuch a ſum of money
'on the civil liſt funds, as might enable her to diſcharge
'the debts, and ſettle the expence to be regularly paid for
'the future.' With this meſſage was preſented to the houſe an eſtimate of the debts owing to the ſeveral heads of expence about midſummer, 1710; to which Mr. John Smith, one of the tellers of the Exchequer, having raiſed ſome objections, ſaying, in vindication of the late miniſtry, 'That to his certain knowledge, the debts of the 'civil liſt, in the month of Auguſt, 1710; did not amount 'to one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; for the pay-'ment of part of which there were ſome monies ſtanding 'out, beſides great quantities of tin, whereas, by the 'eſtimate now laid before them, the debts to midſummer, '1710, that is, about two months before, were made to 'amount to four hundred thouſand pounds.' A motion was then made to addreſs the queen for an account of the arrears of the civil liſt funds, ſtanding out at midſummer 1710: and alſo, for an account of the debts of the civil liſt, as they were at this time, and of the arrears of the civil liſt funds to pay the ſame: but this was rejected, to the great ſurpriſe of many. On the contrary, a bill for enabling the queen to raiſe five hundred thouſand pounds on the civil liſt revenues, to be applied towards payment of ſuch debts and arrears owing to her ſervants, tradeſmen and others, was read, June 30, a ſecond time, and committed. After

'infamy on thoſe, who ad-
'viſed and directed it; but they
'were more modeſt than to aſk
'a public approbation of ſo op-
'probrious a fact: it lay on a
'few; and the nation was not
'drawn in to a ſhare in the
'guilt of that, which was then
'univerſally deteſted, though it
'was paſſed over in ſilence: it
'ſeems enough, if not too much,
'to be ſilent on ſuch an occa-
'ſion. I can carry my com-
'pliances no further.' Burnet, Vol. II. 623.

1713. this, the motion made ſome days before, being again propoſed with better ſucceſs, it was reſolved to addreſs the queen, firſt, for 'an account of the debts on the civil 'liſt to midſummer 1710:' and, ſecondly, for 'a yearly 'account of the neat produce of the civil liſt funds, ſince 'her acceſſion to the throne.' This laſt addreſs was made upon a ſuggeſtion, that the civil liſt funds yielded now above eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. But, whether this was ſo or not, it is certain, no anſwer was returned to the addreſs.

Reaſons againſt it. The bill for raiſing the 500,000 *l.* met with great oppoſition, as it appeared to be of bad conſequence, ſince the granting of ſuch demands to one prince would be a precedent to grant the like to all future princes; and as the account of the queen's debts was deceitfully ſtated, ſo it was known, that the funds, ſet off for the civil liſt, would encreaſe conſiderably in times of peace. However, though there was a great ſuperiority in point of argument againſt the bill, there was a conſiderable majority for it. And all people concluded, that the true end of getting ſo much money into the hands of the court, was to furniſh their creatures ſufficiently for carrying their elections.

But it was granted. The lords were ſenſible, that the method of procuring this ſupply was contrary to their privileges, ſince all public ſupplies were either aſked from the throne, or by a meſſage ſent to both houſes at the ſame time. This practice was enquired into by the lords: no precedents came up to it; but ſome came up ſo near it, that nothing could be made of the objection. But the miniſters apprehending, that an oppoſition would be made to the bill, if it came up alone, got it conſolidated with another of 1,200,000 *l.* that was before them. And the weight of theſe two joined together made them both paſs in the houſe of lords, without oppoſition.

Addreſs to get the pretender removed. Pr. H. L. While this was in agitation, the earl of Wharton moved in the houſe of peers, 'That an addreſs be preſented 'to the queen, that ſhe would uſe her moſt preſſing in-'ſtances with the duke of Lorrain, and with all the 'princes and States in amity or correſpondence with her, 'not to receive, or ſuffer to continue in their dominions, 'the pretender to the imperial crown of theſe realms.' Several members being ſurpriſed at this unexpected motion (which was deſigned to try the inclinations and affections of ſome perſons) there was a pauſe for a long while. At laſt, the lord North and Grey broke ſilence, and endeavoured

voured to have that motion laid aſide; repreſenting, that ſuch an addreſs would ſhew a diſtruſt either of the queen, or of the miniſters: and that her majeſty would be puzzled what to do, in caſe the princes and States in amity with her, ſhould be unwilling to comply with her inſtances, ſince it would not be in her power to compel them: concluding with this queſtion, 'Where would they have the 'pretender reſide, ſince moſt, if not all the powers in Eu-'rope, were in amity with her majeſty?' To this the earl of Peterborough anſwered, 'That, ſince he began his 'ſtudies in Paris, the fitteſt place for him to improve him-'ſelf was Rome.' After ſome warm expreſſions between the earl of Wharton and the lord-treaſurer, the motion made by the earl was carried; and on the 2d of July, the houſe of lords attended the queen with their addreſs. To which ſhe anſwered, 'That ſhe took extreme kindly their addreſs; and the thanks they gave her for what ſhe had 'done, for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant Succeſſion. That 'ſhe would repeat her inſtances to have that perſon re-'moved, according to their deſire: and that ſhe promiſed 'herſelf, they would concur with her, that, if they could 'cure their animoſities and diviſions at home, it would be 'the moſt effectual method to ſecure the proteſtant ſuc-'ceſſion.' This anſwer ſeemed to import, that the queen 'had already preſſed the duke of Lorrain to remove the pre-'tender; though the miniſters in the houſe of lords, and 'particularly the duke of Buckingham, preſident of the 'council, acknowledged, that they knew of no applica-'tions made to the duke of Lorrain, and therefore thought 'the words of the anſwer related only to the inſtances the 'queen had uſed, to get the pretender to be ſent out of 'France.' But the natural ſignification of the words ſeeming to relate to the duke of Lorrain, the earl of Sunderland made a motion for a ſecond addreſs, which was ſupported by the earl of Nottingham; and, after ſome oppoſition, it was ordered, 'That an addreſs be preſented to 'the queen, to thank her for her anſwer to their addreſs, 'and for the aſſurances ſhe had given them, of repeating 'her inſtances for removing the pretender; and to expreſs 'their ſurprize, that ſuch inſtances had not had their full 'effect, notwithſtanding the French king, and the king of 'Spain, had ſhewn their compliance with her deſires on 'that occaſion: and to aſſure her, that this houſe would 'ſupport her, in whatever ſhe ſhould judge proper for ob-'taining a demand, which was ſo warranted by the laws 'of

1713.

A ſecond addreſs againſt the pretender. Pr. H. L.

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1713. ‘ of nations, and so necessary for the honour and safety of ‘ her majesty, and for the present and future peace and ‘ quiet of the people.’ All the answer brought to this address was, that her majesty received it graciously. Though applications of this nature were known to be ungrateful both to the queen and her ministers, yet, on the 1st of July, general Stanhope made a motion in the house of commons, to the same purpose with that of the earl of Wharton in the house of peers, and was seconded by Mr. Lechmere. The only objection, against it, was made by Sir William Whitlocke, who said, he remembered, ‘ That the like address was formerly made to the protector, ‘ for having Charles Stuart removed out of France; not- ‘ withstanding which, that prince was, “ some time after,” ‘ restored to his father’s throne.’ But, the members, who were suspected of favouring the pretender, being unwilling to discover their inclination in so critical a juncture, when the parliament was so near expiring, and a new election coming on, it was, according to Mr. Stanhope’s motion, resolved unanimously, ‘ That an address be presented to ‘ her majesty, acknowledging the great care she had always ‘ taken, particularly in the late treaties of peace and gua- ‘ ranty, to prevent the pretender to her throne being in a ‘ condition to disturb these realms; and to beseech her, ‘ that she would use the most speedy and pressing instances ‘ with the duke of Lorrain, and with all other princes in ‘ amity with her, that they would not, under any pretext ‘ whatsoever, receive, or suffer to continue within their ‘ dominions, the person, who, in defiance of her majesty’s ‘ most undoubted title to the crown, and the settlement ‘ thereof in the illustrious house of Hanover, had assumed ‘ the title of king of these realms; and, to assure her, ‘ that the commons of Great-Britain would, on all occa- ‘ sions, support her in such steps, as should be necessary ‘ towards rendering those instances effectual.’ The address, being prepared and approved, was, July 8, presented by the whole house to the queen, who coldly told them, ‘ She thanked them for it, and would give direc- ‘ tions according as they desired:’ which, however, was not complied with till two or three months after, at the solicitation of the lord-treasurer. It was generally believed, that the duke of Lorrain did not consent to receive the pretender, till he sent one over to know the queen’s pleasure upon it, of which he was very readily informed.

The commons address against the pretender. Pr. H. C.

Those,

Thoſe, who inquired into the reaſons of theſe addreſſes againſt the pretender, rightly aſcribed them, not only to the good reception he met with in Lorrain, but alſo to the affection, which many ſhewed openly for him in Great-Britain. To this purpoſe it is remarkable, that two addreſſes were about this time preſented to the queen by Sir Hugh Paterſon, introduced by the earl of Mar, and afterwards inſerted in the London-gazette. The firſt, of the magiſtrates and town-council of the burgh of Inverneſs in north Britain, contained the following paragraphs: 'We, 'without reſerve, depend on your majeſty's wiſdom in ſecuring our religion, and the ſucceſſion to the hereditary 'crown of Great-Britain in the family of your royal progenitors, the moſt antient line of ſucceſſion in the world; 'being as much convinced, that our guaranty is intirely in 'your hands, as your ſerene majeſty does place yours in 'your people.' The other addreſs, from the town-council and inhabitants of the royal burgh of Nairn, had this paſſage in it: 'We know not with what modeſty we can 'preſume to addreſs your majeſty in the matter of ſucceſſion, leſt we ſhould ſeem to call in queſtion your majeſty's 'unqueſtionable prudence, or the faithfulneſs of your ma'jeſty's council: and therefore we ſincerely declare, that 'our utmoſt wiſhes reach no further, than that our poſte'rity may reap the effects of your majeſty's wiſe choice, 'while we think ourſelves happy under your majeſty's ad'miniſtration all our days.' But, on the other hand, an addreſs from the city of Glaſgow, in a quite different ſtrain as to the ſucceſſion, was preſented to the queen by the members for that city, introduced by the duke of Argyle.

1713.

Two remarkable addreſſes in favour of lineal ſucceſſion.

The queen having appointed the 7th of July for a public thankſgiving, for the ſafe and honourable peace lately concluded, and invited her parliament to attend her to St. Paul's, both houſes went with the uſual ſtate; but the queen not having intirely recovered her ſtrength ſince the laſt fit of the gout, ſhe could not be preſent at that ſolemnity. The whigs were abſent for another cauſe. In the evening there were great bonefires and illuminations throughout the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and magnificent fireworks were played off on the Thames overagainſt Whitehall.

Thankſgiving for the peace. July 7.

On the 16th of July, the queen came to the houſe of peers to paſs the bills, and put an end to the ſeſſion, when ſhe made the following ſpeech to the parliament:

The parliament is prorogued. July 16.

1713. My lords and gentlemen,

The queen's speech to both houſes.

" I Come now to put an end to this ſeſſion with great " ſatisfaction, and return you all my hearty thanks for " the good ſervice you have done to the public.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I muſt particularly thank you for the ſupplies you have " now given: I will take care to apply them, as far as they " will reach, to ſatisfy the ſervices you have voted.

" I hope, at the next meeting, the affair of commerce " will be ſo well underſtood, that the advantageous condi- " tions, I have obtained from France, will be made effec- " tual for the benefit of our trade.

" I cannot part with ſo good and ſo loyal an houſe of " commons, without expreſſing how ſenſible I am of the " affection, zeal, and duty, with which you have be- " haved yourſelves; and I think myſelf therefore obliged " to take notice of thoſe remarkable ſervices you have per- " formed.

" At your firſt meeting you found a method, without " farther charge to my people, to eaſe them of the heavy " load of more than nine millions; and the way of doing " it may bring great advantage to the nation.

" In this ſeſſion you have enabled me to be juſt in pay- " ing the debts to my ſervants.

" And, as you furniſhed ſupplies for carrying on the " war, ſo you have ſtrengthened my hands in obtaining " a peace.

" Thus you have ſhewed yourſelves the true repreſen- " tatives of my loyal commons, by the juſt regard you " have paid to the good of your country and my honour. " Theſe proceedings will, I doubt not, preſerve the me- " mory of this parliament to poſterity.

My lords and gentlemen,

" At my coming to the crown, I found a war prepared " for me. God has bleſſed my arms with many victories, " and at laſt has enabled me to make them uſeful by a ſafe " and honourable peace.

" I heartily thank you for the aſſiſtance you have given " me therein, and I promiſe myſelf, that, with your con- " currence, it will be laſting.

" To

"To this end I recommend it to you all, to make my 1713.
"ſubjects truly ſenſible what they gain by the peace; and
"that you will endeavour to diſſipate thoſe groundleſs
"jealouſies, which have been ſo induſtriouſly fomented
"amongſt us, that our unhappy diviſions may not weaken,
"and in ſome ſort endanger, the advantages I have obtain-
"ed for my kingdoms.

"There are ſome (very few, I hope) who will never be
"ſatisfied with any government: it is neceſſary therefore,
"that you ſhew your love to your country, by exerting
"yourſelves, to obviate the malice of the ill-minded, and
"to undeceive the deluded.

"Nothing can eſtabliſh peace at home, nothing can re-
"cover the diſorders, that have happened during ſo long a
"war, but a ſteady adhering to the conſtitution in church
"and ſtate.

"Such, as are true to theſe principles, are only to be
"relied on; and, as they have the beſt title to my favour,
"ſo you may depend upon my having no intereſt nor aim,
"but your advantage, and the ſecuring of our religion and
"liberty.

"I hope, for the quiet of theſe nations, and the uni-
"verſal good, that I ſhall next winter meet my parliament
"reſolved to act upon the ſame principles, with the ſame
"prudence, and with ſuch vigour, as may enable me to
"ſupport the liberties of Europe abroad, and reduce the
"ſpirit of faction at home."

Few ſpeeches from the throne have been more ſeverely reflected on than this was. It ſeemed ſtrange, that the queen, who did not pretend to underſtand matters of trade, ſhould paſs ſuch a cenſure on both houſes, for their not underſtanding the affair of commerce; ſince at the bar of both houſes, and in the debates within them upon it, the intereſt of the nation did appear ſo viſibly to be contrary to the treaty of commerce, that it looked like a contempt put upon them, to repreſent it as advantageous to England, and to rank all thoſe, who oppoſed it, among the ill-minded, or at leaſt among the deluded. Nor did it eſcape cenſure, that ſhe ſhould affirm, that the nation was by the parliament eaſed of the load of nine millions, without any further charge, ſince the nation muſt bear the conſtant charge of intereſt at ſix per cent. till the capital ſhould be paid off. Remarks on it. Burnet.

The

1713. The ſharpneſs, with which ſhe expreſſed herſelf, was ſingular, and not very well ſuited to her dignity or ſex: nor was it well underſtood, what could be meant by her ſaying, that ſhe found a war prepared for her at her coming to the crown; ſince ſhe herſelf began it upon the addreſſes of both houſes. It was alſo obſerved, that there was not in all her ſpeech one word of the pretender, or of the proteſtant ſucceſſion. But that, which made the greateſt impreſſion upon the whole nation, was, that this ſpeech diſcovered plainly, that the court was reſolved to have the bill of commerce paſs in the next ſeſſion. All people concluded, that the miniſters were under engagements to the court of France to get it ſettled; and this was taken to be the ſenſe of the queen's words concerning the making the peace laſting.

After this ſpeech, both houſes were prorogued to the 28th, but never to meet again, being diſſolved before that day came. And thus ended the third and laſt ſeſſion of the third Britiſh parliament, which ſome have diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of pacific. It may however be obſerved, that how far ſoever the commons carried their obſequiouſneſs to the miniſters in the affair of peace; yet the majority could not be prevailed with to approve the treaty of commerce, ſo deſtructive to the trade of England (s).

Rejoicings upon the expiration of Sacheverel's ſentence.

The ſentence of the houſe of lords, by which Dr. Sacheverel was forbid to preach during the ſpace of three years, expiring on the 23d of March, that day was celebrated in London, and in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, with extraordinary rejoicings. The Sunday following in the afternoon the doctor preached the firſt time at his church of St. Saviour's, where a great multitude thronged

(s) Burnet concludes his hiſtory with ſaying: I am now come to the end of the war, and of this parliament, both at once: it was fit they ſhould bear ſome proportion to one another; for, as this was the worſt parliament I ever ſaw, ſo no aſſembly, but one compoſed as this was, could have ſate quiet under ſuch a peace: but I am now arrived at my full period, and ſo ſhall cloſe this work: I had a noble proſpect before me in a courſe of many years, of bringing it to a glorious concluſion; now the ſcene is ſo fatally altered, that I can ſcarce reſtrain myſelf from giving vent to a juſt indignation in ſevere complaints: but an hiſtorian muſt tell things truly as they are, and leave the deſcanting on them to others: ſo I here conclude this hiſtory of above three and fifty years. Burnet, Vol. II. 631.

to

to hear, or at leaſt to ſee him, expreſſing their joy at his returning to the exerciſe of his function. His ſubject was the duty of praying for our enemies, from St. Luke xxiii. 34. 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they 'do.' In his ſermon he made a tacit but obvious parallel between his ſufferings and thoſe of Jeſus Chriſt. Not long after, the houſe of commons, to ſhew their diſlike of his former proſecution and cenſure, deſired him to preach before them at St. Margaret's Weſtminſter, on the 29th of May, being the reſtoration-day; which he did, and had the thanks of the houſe for his ſermon. Nor was the court backward in rewarding his late ſervice; for, the rectorſhip of St. Andrew's Holborn, becoming vacant, he was promoted to that rich benefice. About this time alſo Dr. Jonathan Swift, who had ſerved the preſent managers by writing ſeveral libels againſt the whigs and laſt miniſtry, by whom he had been diſappointed in his ſollicitations for preferment, was by the duke of Ormond promoted to the deanery of St. Patrick, Dublin. 1713. He is made rector of St. Andrew's. Other promotions.

In the end of May, died Sprat, biſhop of Rocheſter; his parts were very bright in his youth, and gave great hopes; but theſe were blaſted by a lazy libertine courſe of life, to which his temper and good-nature carried him, without conſidering the duties, or even the decencies of his profeſſion: he was juſtly eſteemed a great maſter of our language, and one of our correcteſt writers. Atterbury ſucceeded him in that ſee, and in the deanery of Weſtminſter: thus was he promoted, and rewarded for all the flame, that he had raiſed in our church. Dr. Smalridge, a divine of the ſame principles with Atterbury, and dean of Carliſle, was made dean of Chriſt-church, Oxford. At the ſame time, care was taken to put the moſt important towns of the kingdom in the hands of ſuch perſons, as were prepared blindly to follow the queen's meaſures. With this view, the earl of Dorſet, being removed from being governor of Dover, and warden of the Cinque-ports, was ſucceeded by the duke of Ormond, whoſe ſon-in-law, the lord Aſhburnham, was made deputy-governor and deputy-warden; and Sir Henry Bellaſyſe was appointed governor of the town of Berwick upon Tweed. Not long after, a penſion of five thouſand pounds per annum was granted to the duke of Ormond, for the term of fifteen years, out of the revenues of Ireland, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices; and the lord Aſhburnham was appointed colonel and captain of the firſt troop of horſe,

1713. horſe-guards in the room of the earl of Portland, who was ordered to diſpoſe of that poſt for the ſum of ten thouſand pounds. Sir John Powel, one of the judges of the Queen's-bench, dying in June on his return from Bath, was ſucceeded by Sir Thomas Powis; and Sir William Baniſter, a ſerjeant at law, was made one of the barons of the exchequer, in the room of Sir Salathiel Lovel, lately deceaſed. The duke of Mountague having obtained the queen's leave to travel beyond ſea, reſolved to follow the fortune of the duke of Marlborough, his father-in-law. The duke of Montroſe, who was well-affected to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, being removed from the place of lord-privy-ſeal of Scotland, was ſucceeded in it by the duke of Athol; which change rather increaſed than abated the preſent ferment in that part of Great-Britain. For, on the one hand, the preſbyterian miniſters refuſed to obſerve the public thankſgiving-day for the peace, appointed by the queen; and, on the other hand, the friends of the pretender, made great preparations to celebrate his birth-day.

Duke d'Aumont's ambaſſy.

The danger with which the Hanoverian ſucceſſion was threatened, appeared to be the more real and imminent, by reaſon of the great countenance, which the Roman catholics and jacobites received from the diſtinguiſhing marks of favour, which at this juncture, were ſhewn to the duke d'Aumont, ambaſſador extraordinary from France, who came to London on the ſecond of January, 1712-13, and was lodged at Powis houſe in Ormond-ſtreet. He was at firſt attended in public with great acclamations by the populace, amongſt whom he threw out from his coach handfuls of money; but, having ſoon diſcontinued that cuſtom, they changed their note, and inſulted him with the cry of, no papiſt, no pretender; and great inſolencies were offered before his houſe by ſome, who being oppoſed by others, it occaſioned a ſcuffle between them; whereupon it was thought proper to order the conſtables of the pariſh to look to the ſecurity of his houſe. Nor was this precaution unneceſſary; for by this time there was a general clamour among the people againſt him, on account of great quantities of wines, ſilks, and other goods, which his domeſtics were ſaid to have imported cuſtom-free, to the prejudice of the tradeſmen of London and Weſtminſter. The fact was, ſome French merchants took that opportunity to bring over a good deal of Burgundy and Champaigne; which, before his arrival, were ſold by retail at his houſe, and other places,

He is inſulted by the mob.

places, at lower rates than at the taverns; and at the ſame time, other Frenchmen who pretended to be of his retinue, brought alſo ſilks, buttons, perukes, toys, and other ſmall wares, which they expoſed to ſale, unknown to the ambaſſador. But though it was certain, that all the wines imported on this occaſion (except two tuns allowed to an ambaſſador extraordinary) paid the full duties, which amounted to about 2500l. And though the duke d'Aumont, upon his arrival at London, forbid the ſelling of wines or any other commodities in his houſe, yet the people put up the ſign of a bunch of grapes before it in the night-time; and ſeveral ballads were writ both in French and Engliſh, one of them called, the merchant a-la-mode, containing many ſevere reflections, not only againſt the ambaſſador, but againſt the queen's miniſters; ſtrict ſearch was made after the publiſhers of it, one of whom was commited to newgate. Beſides theſe public inſults, ſeveral letters were ſent to the ambaſſador, to give him notice, that his houſe would be ſet on fire; which, whether by deſign or accident, happened on the 26th of January. That day the duke d' Aumont entertained at dinner the ambaſſador of Venice, the envoys of Sweden and Florence, the lord Waldegrave, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, whom, by way of jeſt, he acquainted with the threatening letters he had received. But the company were ſoon alarmed in good earneſt by a cry of fire; which, having broke out about three in the afternoon in an upper room, ſpread itſelf with ſuch violence, that, in leſs than two hours, the whole houſe was burnt to the ground; and all that the ambaſſador's domeſtics could do, was to ſave his plate, and part of his richeſt furniture. The duke of Ormond, having notice of this accident, cauſed detachments of the horſe and foot-guards to march to Ormond-ſtreet, to ſecure the ambaſſador's goods, and went himſelf to direct and encourage the engineers and firemen. The loſs, the ambaſſador and his domeſtics ſuſtained, was by ſome magnified to an immenſe degree, whilſt others made it inconſiderable. How the fire began, was then, and ſtill remains a more difficult queſtion to be reſolved. It was at firſt given out, that it happened by the careleſneſs of his confectioner. Others ſaid, the houſe was ſet on fire by an iron pot full of charcoal, that had been put in the middle of a room newly painted, in order to dry it. Others again reported, it was ſet on fire by two bricklayers, who had been employed to mend the tiles of the houſe, and who did it, at the inſtigation of the whigs. Upon this ſuſpicion,

1713.

His houſe burnt.

1713. Feb. 3. ſuſpicion, the two bricklayers were taken into cuſtody, and an advertiſement was publiſhed in the London-gazette, 'That her majeſty thought fit to promiſe, that if any of 'the perſons, who wrote the letters to the duke d'Aumont, 'or any other perſon whatſoever, ſhould diſcover the con- 'trivers or actors of ſo ſcandalous and wicked a deſign, ſo 'that they, or any of them, might be brought to juſtice; 'ſuch perſon, or perſons, ſhould receive the reward of 'five hundred pounds, and her majeſty's pardon for the 'offence.' The ſtricteſt inquiry, that could be made, not affording ground to fix this fire upon any particular perſon, the generality continued in their firſt opinion, that it happened through accident. But many, who conſidered, that, as ſoon as the queen was informed of the misfortune, that had befallen the French ambaſſador, ſhe gave immediate orders, that the beſt apartment in Somerſet-houſe ſhould be prepared for his accommodation, began to entertain a ſuſpicion, that Powis-houſe was deſignedly ſet on fire, for a pretence to remove the French ambaſſador to a royal palace on the thames, where any perſon might have private acceſs to him. Others carried their ſurmiſes ſo far, as to imagine, that the pretender himſelf was come over with the ambaſſador, and had private interviews with the queen and ſome of her miniſters. Theſe jealouſies were increaſed by the frequent entertainments and balls, which the duke d'Aumont gave in his apartment; where a great concourſe of perſons reſorting in maſks, he had an opportunity to ſound the ſentiments of many about the chevalier de St. George.

The pretender thought to be with d'Aumont.

Mr. Prior, having, in the queen's name ſolicited the releaſe of the French proteſtants, who were on board the gallies on account of their religion; the marquis de Torcy took that opportunity of complaining to him, that the French refugees in England made it their buſineſs to inveigh againſt the king his maſter; and naming, in particular, Mr. Dubourdieu, a French miniſter of the royal chapel in the Savoy (who indeed had diſtinguiſhed himſelf that way) deſired, he might be puniſhed, and made an example to the reſt. At the ſame time, Torcy directed the duke d'Aumont to demand the ſame at the court of Great Britain; upon which he preſented a memorial againſt Dubourdieu, to deſire that exemplary puniſhment might be inflicted on him and all miniſters, who abuſed their pulpits by declamations againſt his maſter.

Complaint againſt Mr. Dubourdieu.

Mr. Prior having beforehand acquainted the lord Bolingbroke with the purport of this memorial, which clashed

with

with the conſtitution of our free government, the queen was prepared with an anſwer, 'That this was none of her 'buſineſs, but the biſhop of London's;' to whom the memorial was referred, with orders to examine Dubourdieu. He having appeared before the biſhop with four elders of his church, the biſhop communicated to them the French ambaſſadors memorial; and aſked the French miniſter, what he had to ſay to it? Dubourdieu anſwered, 'The 'memorial containing only general complaints, he had no-'thing elſe to ſay, but that, during the war, he had, after 'the example of ſeveral prelates, and other clergymen of 'the church of England, freely preached againſt the com-'mon enemy and perſecutor of the church; and that, the 'greateſt part of his ſermons being printed with his name 'affixed, he was far from diſowning them; but that, ſince 'the proclamation of the peace, he had not ſaid any thing 'that in the leaſt concerned the perſon of the French king.' The biſhop made him repeat the words, ſince the proclamation of the peace; and aſking of the elders, whether this was true? they anſwered, that it was. Upon which the biſhop ſaid, he would make his report to the queen: which he did in ſuch a manner, that the French Ambaſſador found no encouragement to inſiſt on his demand (t). 1723. May 19.

About

(t) About the middle of July, the French miniſtry reſolved to try the weight of their intereſt with the court of Great-Britain. Monſieur Tugghe, deputy from the magiſtrates of Dunkirk, preſented to the queen an addreſs or petition, 'wherein he begged 'her majeſty's clemency for 'ſparing the harbour and port 'of that town.' But he was told by the lord Bolingbroke, 'That the queen beheld with 'ſorrow the damages which the 'inhabitants of that town would 'ſuſtain by the demolition of its 'ramparts and harbour: but 'ſhe did not think it conve-'nient to make any alteration 'in an affair agreed on by a 'treaty.' Tugghe, not diſcouraged by this repulſe, preſented a ſecond addreſs, wherein he ſuggeſted, 'That the pre-'ſervation of the harbour of 'Dunkirk, without works and 'fortifications, might, in time, 'be equally uſeful, and become 'even abſolutely neceſſary, both 'for her majeſty's political 'views, and the good of her 'ſubjects.' This he endeavoured to evince, by a long deduction of ſeveral particulars, and then concluded with preſuming to hope, 'That her majeſty 'would graciouſly be pleaſed to 'recall part of her ſentence, by 'cauſing her thunderbolts to 'fall only on the martial works, 'which might have incurred 'her diſpleaſure, and by ſpa-'ring only the mole and dykes, 'which, in their naked condi-'tion,

1713. About the beginning of September, the colonels Armſtrong and Clayton were appointed commiſſioners to ſee the fortifications of Dunkirk demoliſhed; and at the ſame time two captains of men of war were, by the admiralty, named to

Demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk.

'tion, could, for the future, 'be no more than an object of 'pity.' What anſwer was returned to this memorial, never came to public knowledge; but Tugghe, whether of his own head, or by the encouragement of other perſons, having cauſed it to be printed and diſperſed in Engliſh, to try how it would be reliſhed by the people, Mr. Richard Steele, who with Mr. Addiſon, and Mr. Arthur Maynwaring, exerted himſelf in defence of the liberties of England, and of the whig cauſe, and who, at this very juncture, was writing a weekly paper, called the Guardian, anſwered Tugghe's memorial with great ſpirit, and, in order to expoſe it to the reſentment of all men, who valued their country, or had any reſpect to the honour, ſafety, or glory of their queen, ſuggeſted, in his paper of the 7th of Auguſt, 1713, 'That 'the Britiſh nation expected 'the immediate demolition of 'Dunkirk.

'That the very common people knew, that within two months after the ſigning of the peace, the works towards the ſea were to be demoliſhed, and, within three months after it, the works towards the land.

'That the peace was ſigned the laſt of March, O. S.

'That the parliament has been told from the queen, that the equivalent for it is in the hands of the French king.

'That the ſieur Tugghe has the impudence to aſk the queen, to remit the moſt material part of the articles of peace between her majeſty and his maſter.

'That the Britiſh nation received more damage in their trade from the port of Dunkirk, than from almoſt all the ports of France, either in the ocean, or the Mediterranean.

'That fleets of above thirty ſail have come together out of Dunkirk during the late war, and taken ſhips of war, as well as merchant-men.

'That the pretender ſailed from thence to Scotland; and that it is the only port the French have, till you come to Breſt, for the whole length of the Channel, where any conſiderable naval armament can be made.

'That deſtroying the fortifications of Dunkirk is an inconſiderable advantage to England, in compariſon to the advantage of deſtroying the mole, dykes, and harbour, it being the naval force from thence, which only can hurt the Britiſh nation.

'That the Dutch, who ſuffered equally with us from thoſe of Dunkirk, were probably induced to ſign the treaty with France, from this conſideration, that the town and harbour of Dunkirk ſhould be deſtroyed.

'That the ſituation of Dunkirk is ſuch, as that it may always keep runners to obſerve all ſhips ſailing on the Thames and Medway.

'That

to ſee the harbour filled up. Accordingly, on the 7th of September, the two colonels ſet out for Dunkirk; where three French battalions, and as many Swiſs being come, and incamping, the one without Port-Newport, the other without Port-Royal, they began on the 26th the demolition, the French between theſe two gates, and the Swiſs between the baſon and the citadel. The ſame day a diſpute aroſe between Sir James Abercromby, the Britiſh commandant, and monſieur le Blanc, the French intendant of the province, about the manner of carrying it on. The French intended to have made a breach in the ramparts, or main fortifications of the town; but the two Engliſh commiſſioners having made the commandant ſenſible, that, if the ſame was permitted, the Engliſh garriſon was not ſafe, and the French might eaſily make themſelves maſters of the place; Sir James inſiſted, and it was at laſt agreed to by le Blanc, that all the outworks, both towards the ſea and the land, ſhould be firſt demoliſhed; next the harbour ruined and filled; afterwards the main fortifications of the place razed and deſtroyed; and laſt of all, the citadel. This point being cleared, the French and Swiſs ſoldiers went to work again, and removed the great guns from fort Gllard, fort de Revers, the Riſbank, and the two forts at 1713

'That all the ſuggeſtions, which the ſieur Tugghe brought concerning the Dutch, were falſe and ſcandalous.

'That, whether it might be advantageous to the trade of Holland or not, that Dunkirk ſhould be demoliſhed, it was neceſſary, for the ſafety, honour, and liberty of England that it ſhould be ſo.

'That, when Dunkirk was demoliſhed, the power of France, on that ſide, ſhould it ever be turned againſt us, would be removed ſeveral hundred miles further off Great-Britain than it was at preſent.

'That after the demolition, there could be no conſiderable preparations made at ſea by the French in all the Channel but at Breſt; and that Great Britain being an iſland, which cannot be attacked but by a naval power, we might eſteem France effectually removed by the demolition from Great-Britain, as far as the diſtance from Dunkirk to Breſt.

Theſe reflections were not only a great mortification to Tugghe and the other French agents, but alſo gave no ſmall offence to ſome of the Britiſh miniſters, as appeared by the ſevere animadverſions that were publiſhed by the authors of the Examiner. But, on the other hand, the neceſſity of the immediate demolition of Dunkirk was urged by ſeveral other writers, and particularly by Mr. Toland, in a pamphlet intitled, Dunkirk or Dover.

1713. the heads or entrance of the port; and the miners made preparations to blow up theſe forts, and the other outworks; which was done towards the end of November. But notwithſtanding all this, the French found afterwards an expedient to evade the letter of this treaty, by making a new canal in Mardyke, which had a communication from the ſea to the baſon of Dunkirk.

Promotions. Before the queen left Kenſington, ſhe reſolved to beſtow ſome marks of her favour on the earl of Peterborough, who, though not in any great confidence with the prime managers, had yet been inſtrumental in the change of the miniſtry in 1710, and had ſupported their pacific meaſures. He was on the 3d of Auguſt elected knight of the garter, in the room of the late duke of Hamilton; and the next day inſtalled at Windſor, with the dukes of Beaufort and Kent, earl Paulet, the earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and the earl of Strafford; Sir Jacob Banks ſtanding proxy for this laſt. About the ſame time the biſhop of Briſtol, lord privy-ſeal, was tranſlated to the ſee of London, vacant by the death of Dr. Henry Compton, a generous and good-natured man, but eaſy and weak, and much in the power of others. On the 8th of Auguſt, a proclamation was publiſhed for diſſolving the parliament, and another, on the 17th, for calling a new one.

Letters in favour of the pretender. Some days before, ſeveral letters ſubſcribed with an H (the initial letter of the earl of Oxford's family-name) were ſent by the poſt to the mayors, and other magiſtrates of divers corporations, 'recommending to them to promote 'the intereſt of the pretender in the next elections; 'which it was ſuggeſted, would be acceptable to the queen 'and miniſtry.' Some of theſe letters having been tranſmitted to the ſecretaries of ſtate, an advertiſement, ſigned Aug. 1. by the lord Dartmouth, was inſerted in the Gazette, promiſing the queen's pardon, and a reward of one hundred pounds, to any perſon, who ſhould diſcover the author of the letters. This occaſioned various conjectures. Some aſcribed the letters to the diſcontented whigs; others to the pretender's friends, both of whom hated the lord-treaſurer; the whigs, for having done too much, and the others, for having done too little for the pretender's intereſt. On this account he was in a very difficult ſituation, eſpecially, as he had been for ſome time upon ill terms with the lord Bolingbroke, as appears from his own letter to the queen, of Rep. of the Com. of Sec. the 9th of June, 1713. Before the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, Bolingbroke had formed a ſcheme to put himſelf and chancellor

'chancellor Harcourt at the head of the high-church party, and had oppoſed the duke of Shrewſbury's being ſent over to France. However, with lady Maſham's aſſiſtance, the lord-treaſurer brought his own ſcheme to bear, which was, 'That the duke of Ormond ſhould ſtay in England, to attend the army affairs, which was neceſſary at the time of diſbanding: that the duke of Shrewſbury ſhould go to Ireland, as lord-lieutenant, upon his return from France: that the earl of Findlater ſhould be chancellor of Scotland; the earl of Mar third ſecretary of ſtate; the lord Dartmouth privy-ſeal; Mr. ſpeaker Bromley ſecretary of ſtate; and Sir William Wyndham chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Robert Benſon, lately created lord Bingley, and named ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of Madrid.' This new ſcheme perfectly defeated that of lord Bolingbroke and his friends, which threw them into a great rage; and the lord chancellor declared the promotion of the earl of Findlater to be againſt law, and would not treat that earl with decency; and lord Mar and ſecretary Bromley received many inſtances of ill uſage. Moſt of theſe changes were declared from the middle of Auguſt to the middle of September; and, about that time, Thomas Foley was appointed auditor of the impreſt accounts, in the room of Mr. Maynwaring deceaſed; the lord Lanſdown, treaſurer of the houſhold, in the room of the earl of Cholmondley formerly removed; Sir John Stonehouſe, comptroller of the houſhold, in the room of the lord Lanſdown; the lord de la War, treaſurer of the chamber, in the room of the lord Fitzharding deceaſed; Francis Gwin, ſecretary of war, in the room of Sir William Wyndham; and Thomas Moore, brother to Arthur Moore, paymaſter of the land-forces abroad, in the room of Mr. Bridges. About this time, likewiſe, the duke of Northumberland and Sir John Stonehouſe were ſworn of the privy-council; and the earl of Denbigh made one of the tellers of the exchequer. 1713.

All this while the party writers and managers on both ſides were extremely buſy in preparing the minds of the people to favour their reſpective intereſts in the new elections for parliament men. But notwithſtanding the weight and influence of the court, and the viſible partiality of ſome returning officers, a far greater number of whigs were choſen, than was by many expected. New elections.

There happened about this time an incident, which did not a little contribute to ſecure the treaſurer's intereſt at court. An advertiſement had been inſerted in the London-gazette, A million raiſed in two or three days by the treaſ-

1713. gazette, whereby it was propoſed to raiſe three hundred thouſand pounds for paying off part of the debts of the navy, by way of loan, on the ſecurity of the South-ſea ſtock, depoſited for that purpoſe, into the hands of the chamberlain of London, and the deputy-tellers of the exchequer. Whether monied men did not like the ſecurity, or the truſtees; or whatever was the reaſon, not above ſeventy thouſand pounds were ſubſcribed into this loan in ſix or ſeven weeks; which made many believe, it would never be filled up. But, upon an order of the 9th of September by the lord-treaſurer, that whoever ſhould ſubſcribe one hundred pounds to the loan, ſhould be intitled to buy ten tickets of ten pounds each in the houſhold lottery of five hundred thouſand pounds, there was the next day ſuch a croud of ſubſcribers, both at the exchequer and Guild-hall, that more than the three hundred thouſand pounds were ſubſcribed. The treaſurer improving the opportunity, enlarged the loan to five hundred thouſand pounds, which in a few days was filled up, as was at the ſame time the lottery of the like ſum: ſo that, by this means, the treaſurer raiſed a million ſterling in two or three days, which greatly advanced his credit and reputation (u).

A dangerous miſtake diſcovered and rectified in regard to the regency-act.

About the latter end of the year 1713, the following incident happened: by the regency-bill, which was to take place on the queen's death, power was given to the perſon next in ſucceſſion, to nominate as many as he or ſhe pleaſed, to act with the great officers named in the bill. This was, pro-

(u) The marquis de Miremont, whom the queen had ſent to Utrecht with a commiſſion to take care of the intereſt of the French proteſtants, being come over, waited on the queen, and returned her thanks for procuring the enlargement from the gallies of France of one hundred and thirty-ſix proteſtants. He deſired her ſtill to interpoſe her good offices for the deliverance of one hundred and eighty-five more of theſe ſufferers, who were ſtill detained in the gallies on the ſame account. The marquis de Rochegude ſpoke to her likewiſe in their behalf, and delivered to her letters from the States and the princeſs Sophia to the ſame purpoſe. The queen, who had been given to underſtand, that all the French proteſtant ſufferers had been enlarged, was ſurprized to find, there were ſo many ſtill under affliction; and deſired the marquis de Rochegude to give her a liſt of them. The archbiſhop of York, lord Almoner, having likewiſe been informed about this matter, he ſeconded both the French marquiſs ſollicitations with great zeal which had the deſired effect. About this time Charles Roſs, colonel-general

properly ſpeaking, the ſafeguard of the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The act was very particular, in directing ſeveral things to be done in that affair, by the perſon next in ſucceſſion abroad, and by his miniſter or agent here. Mr. William Benſon, apprehending ſome omiſſions in this reſpect, by which the nomination could not be of any uſe, applied to baron Bothmar for information, and found his fears were not groundleſs. The act directed, that the inſtruments of nomination ſhould be three in number, and tranſmitted hither to the reſident of the perſon next in ſucceſſion, whoſe credentials were to be inrolled in Chancery; and, after ſuch inrolment, the reſident was to depoſite one part with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, another with the lord-chancellor or keeper, and the third was to remain with the reſident, and that the ſeals of theſe three perſons ſhould be fixed to the covers in which the inſtruments were included. Now Bothmar, in whoſe hands one of theſe inſtruments was left, had not the character of reſident; and Mr. Kreinberg, who was reſident, and whoſe credentials were inrolled, was not concerned in the matter. Nor was Bothmar's, nor Kreinberg's, nor the chancellor's ſeal affixed to the inſtruments, but the ſeal of baron Schutz and of the lord Cowper, who was no longer chancellor. If therefore the queen had died, whilſt the matter was in this ſituation, theſe inſtruments could not have been opened, becauſe the act had not been complied with. In this light Benſon repreſented the affair to Bothmar, who de- 1713.

neral of the dragoons, and lieutenant-general, was appointed envoy extraordinary to the king of France.

Some days before a very remarkable thing happened in Scotland. George Lockhart of Carnwath, an avowed friend of the pretender, having been unanimouſly choſen member of parliament for Edinburgh; a great number of the inhabitants ſigned a petition, to be preſented to the houſe of commons, for bringing in a bill to diſſolve the union. This done, the populace went to the parliament cloſe in Edinburgh, and there, by the ſtatue of king Charles II, drank healths to the queen, the diſſolution of the union, and all true Scotch-men; and afterwards went to the market croſs, and did the like, with repeated acclamations. It was likewiſe reported, that ſome Scotch merchants cauſed a petition to be preſented to the king of France by Mr. Arbuthnot, their agent at Rome, repreſenting their grievances in point of trade, and other matters, and deſiring his protection for their redreſs, in conſideration of the antient alliances between France and Scotland. But, this application bordering upon treaſon, no further ſteps were made in it.

1713. fired that chief juſtice Parker might be acquainted with it. Parker appointed a meeting of the chief perſons truſted by the houſe of Hanover, and Bothmar was to bring his part of the depoſited inſtruments with him. Accordingly, there was the next morning a meeting at the duke of Devonſhire's, and, upon examination, all were of opinion, the whole was wrong, and that it was of the utmoſt conſequence it ſhould be redreſſed as ſoon as poſſible. Parker undertook to direct the proper forms; and a meſſenger was diſpatched to Hanover, who returned with great expedition with inſtruments according to law; the firſt of which was to appoint Kreinberg reſident, and, after the inrollment of his credentials, he had new inſtruments to be depoſited by him, purſuant to the act. Kreinberg went immediately to chancellor Harcourt, and, delivering his new credentials, deſired they might be inrolled, which the chancellor ſaid ſhould be done in a few days. But, the thing being delayed, Kreinberg went to the chancellor, and told him, if his credentials were not inrolled by the next poſt, he muſt acquaint the princeſs Sophia with it. This was reſented; but, however, he was bid to come again in a day or two, at which time the chancellor delivered to Kreinberg, not his credentials, but a copy only, or a common piece of paper.

When this paper was ſhewn to chief-juſtice Parker, as delivered by the chancellor to Kreinberg, for his credentials inrolled, he was greatly ſurpriſed, and carried the paper with him to Weſtminſter-hall (where he was then going) to ſhew it to the chancellor, and ſpeak to him about it. Parker producing the paper to the chancellor told him, it had been delivered to the Hanover reſident as his credentials inrolled, without ſaying who had done it. The chancellor, as if he knew nothing of the matter, ſaid with great warmth, 'This is very wrong, but this is a young fellow juſt come 'into his office, his father being lately dead; but let me 'have the paper, and I will take care to ſet this matter to 'rights for Mr. Kreinberg, if he will come to me in a day 'or two.' Kreinberg did not fail going, and at laſt got his credentials again properly inrolled about the 27th of March 1714. Shortly after the inſtrument appointing the perſons to be added to the lords regents on the queen's deceaſe were depoſited in proper form, which had not been done before in eight years, for ſo long the act had ſubſiſted, being paſſed in 1706.

Affairs of Ireland. Ireland, ſince the lord Wharton had reſigned the government of it, was become jacobite almoſt without reſerve,

and

and the boldneſs of the papiſts countenanced by chancellor Phipps, alarmed the proteſtants, and put them upon their guard againſt the attempts of their enemies, who, about this time, induſtriouſly fomented the diſputes occaſioned by the election of a lord-mayor for the city of Dublin. The Aldermen having choſen Mr. Pleaſants, it was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the then lord-mayor, and the deciſion of the affair being left to the privy-council (where the lords-juſtices, of whom Sir Conſtantine Phipps was one, had the direction) they came on the 4th of September to theſe reſolutions: 1713.

'1. That the lord-mayor of the city of Dublin, for the 'time being, has the right of nominating three Aldermen 'to be put in election for lord-mayor of Dublin; and that 'the lord mayor and aldermen are obliged to elect one of 'the three to be ſucceeding lord-mayor, unleſs juſt objec-'tions be made againſt them. 2. That the proceeding of 'ſeventeen aldermen in the election of alderman Pleaſants 'for lord-mayor, and James King for ſheriff, in the abſence 'of Sir Samuel Cooke, lord-mayor, was a breach of the 'new rules; and that ſuch elections were null and void.' Six days after the lord-mayor ſummoned the aldermen to meet, and proceed to a new choice; and, in purſuance of the reſolution of the council, he named Sir William Fownes and aldermen Conſtantine and Maſon, the ſame who were in nomination before. But twenty aldermen inſiſted on a previous queſtion concerning the firſt in nomination, and offered ſome objections to him; upon which the lord-mayor having diſſolved the court, nothing was determined.

In this ferment the duke of Shrewſbury found the city of Dublin, when he arrived there on the 27th of October, to take upon him the government of Ireland; and perceiving the pretender's friends had received no ſmall encouragement from chancellor Phipps, he took all proper occaſions to make good the expectations of the well affected to the revolution and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; but more particularly on king William's birth-day, when he declared, 'He was 'ſtill the ſame he was in the year 1688,' and publickly drank 'to the pious and glorious memory of king William.'

A new parliament being called, the ſtruggle in Ireland between the two parties was as great as in England. The warmeſt contention was in the city of Dublin, where Sir William Fownes and Mr. Tucker were ſet up by the tories, and Mr. recorder Forſter and Mr. Burton by the whigs. The poll began on the 6th of November; and the ſheriff's perceiving the electors were going into a riot, ſent for ſome

1713. of the guards to prevent it: upon which a tumult aroſe, and the guards, being aſſaulted by the populace, fired ſome ſhot among them, killed one man, and wounded ſome others. Both parties immediately made their complaints to the lord lieutenant, who, the next day, appointed a committee to make a ſtrict inquiry into the diſorder, and directed the ſheriffs to take the poll at two different places, to prevent the meeting and claſhing of the two contending parties; and upon information, that the papiſts and jacobites were the chief promoters of the riot, he cauſed ſeveral popiſh chapels in Dublin to be ſhut up; which was very grateful to all proteſtants. On the 17th of November the ſheriffs cloſed the poll; and Forſter and Burton were declared duly elected by a great majority.

The parliament of Ireland being met on the 25th of November, the lord-lieutenant made a ſpeech to both houſes, importing, 'That her majeſty, having procured a ſafe and 'honourable peace, had nothing now to wiſh, but that her 'ſubjects might enjoy the benefits and advantages of it. 'That her majeſty had nothing more at heart, than the 'preſervation of the rights and liberties of her people, and 'the ſettling them upon a laſting foundation, by ſecuring 'the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover.' He earneſtly recommended to the commons, 'That, as the 'proteſtants in that kingdom were united in one common 'intereſt, they might all agree in the ſame means of pro-'moting it, by laying aſide all warmth or reſentment; 'which would appear by the unanimity of their proceed-'ings.'

Notwithſtanding this caution, there was the next day a great conteſt in the houſe of commons about the choice of a ſpeaker; Sir Richard Levinz being put up by the tory party, and Alan Broderick by the whigs; but, upon a diviſion, Broderick was choſen by a majority of four voices.

The addreſſes of compliment to the queen and the lord-lieutenant having been preſented, the commons proceeded to providing, by good laws, for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, againſt the deſigns of the papiſts. They ordered a bill to be brought in to attaint the pretender, and all perſons that adhered to him, of high-treaſon, with the promiſe of a reward to any perſon that ſhould take the pretender alive or dead. They appointed a committee to inquire into the proceedings againſt Edward Lloyd, for publiſhing a book called, 'The memoirs of the Chevalier de St. 'George

'George (x),' and againſt Dudley Moore, and others, relating to a pretended riot at the play-houſe, occaſioned by that gentleman's ſpeaking the prologue to Tamerlane, in praiſe of king William. They confirmed the election of Forſter and Burton, and unanimouſly reſolved upon an addreſs to the queen, for the removal of Sir Conſtantine Phipps from the chancellorſhip (y). 1713.

On the other hand, the biſhops of Ireland, reſolving not to leave the chancellor to the reſentment of the commons, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to get a contrary addreſs voted in the houſe of lords, where it was reſolved, that chancellor Phipps had, in his ſeveral ſtations, acquitted himſelf with honour and integrity. And a committee being ordered to draw up the addreſs, it was preſented to the lord-lieutenant to be tranſmitted to England (z).

On the 21ſt of December, the commons, taking into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, came to ſeveral reſolutions againſt the proceedings of thoſe who had lately been the managers of the affairs of that kingdom (a).

Mr.

(x) This book was written in defence of the legitimacy of the pretender, and of his title to the crown. Lloyd had publiſhed advertiſements of his intentions to reprint that book, exhorting all good people to ſubſcribe for it. For this he had been indicted, and the bill found in Michaelmas-term 1712. Notwithſtanding which, he went about at large till July 1713; and chancellor Phipps wrote a letter to the duke of Ormond in favour of Lloyd, recommending him 'as an object of 'queen's mercy, and as a perſon who had no evil intention 'in printing and publiſhing that 'book;' upon which Lloyd obtained a noli proſequi. See conduct of the purſe in Ireland, p. 35.

(y) The commons, December 18, unanimouſly reſolved, 1. That the memoirs of the chevalier de St. George was a ſeditious and treaſonable libel. 2. That the remiſs proſecution of Lloyd was an encouragement to the popiſh, and other friends of the pretender. 3. That Sir Conſtantine Phipps, in repreſenting Lloyd as an object of mercy, in order to obtain a noli proſequi, acted contrary to the proteſtant intereſt. 4. That an addreſs be preſented to the queen, to remove Sir Conſtantine Phipps from the place of lord high chancellor, for the peace and ſafety of her proteſtant ſubjects.

(z) At the ſame time, Mr. Richard Nuttal, a lawyer, was cenſured by the lords, for ſaying, 'The lord chancellor of Ireland 'is a canary-bird and a villain, 'and has ſet the kingdom toge-'ther by the ears, and ought to 'be hanged.'

(a) As theſe reſolutions will explain the conduct of the duke of Ormond, and thoſe employed under

1713. Mr. Moleſworth, (afterwards viſcount Moleſworth) famous for his preface to the ſtate of Denmark, being a privy councellor in Ireland as well as member of parliament, was at the caſtle of Dublin, with ſome other members, on the day the commons preſented their addreſs againſt the chancellor: the two houſes of convocation coming thither, to preſent a contrary addreſs, Mr. Moleſworth ſaid in the hearing of ſome gentlemen about him, 'They, that have 'turned the world upſide down, are come hither alſo.' Upon this the lower houſe of convocation ſent a complaint to the upper, repreſenting, 'That they looked upon the 'words uttered by Mr. Moleſworth to be an intolerable 'profanation of the holy ſcriptures; and that his ſpeaking 'them at that time, and in that place, was with deſign 'to caſt an odium and aſperſion on their graces and their 'lordſhips, and the whole clergy, and to repreſent them as 'a turbulent and ſeditious body. That they thought themſelves in duty obliged to lay the matter before the upper-'houſe; not only for the reaſons above mentioned, but 'becauſe they conceived it to be a high affront to her ma-'jeſty, and great diſreſpect to her repreſentative, the lord-'lieutenant: and they humbly prayed their lordſhips to 'vindicate the whole clergy from this wicked calumny.' The biſhops immediately laid this complaint before the houſe of lords; who deſired a conference with the commons, and left with them a copy of the paper delivered by the Biſhops. The commons laid no great ſtreſs on that complaint; but, the matter having been repreſented in England in the moſt odious colours, Mr. Moleſworth was removed from the privy-council.

It

under him, and other lord-lieutenants and juſtices, it may not be improper to inſert them?

'1. That for ſome years laſt 'paſt there had been a deſign 'formed and carried on, to ſub-'vert the conſtitution, and alter 'the government of the city of 'Dublin. 2. That to carry on 'that deſign, a corrupt and ille-'gal attempt was made in 1711, 'to corrupt alderman Ralph 'Gore, then lord-mayor, by 'offering him a bribe of five 'hundred pounds, to name thir-'ty-two perſons, marked in a 'liſt then delivered to him by 'Martin Tucker, eſq; ſub-col-'lector of the port of Dublin, 'to be common-council-men 'for the ſaid city. 3. That it 'appears, on the examination 'of Martin Tucker, eſq; that 'he was ſent to offer the ſaid 'ſum of five hundred pounds to 'alderman Ralph Gore, while 'Sir Conſtantine Phipps, 'knight, lord high-chancellor 'of Ireland, and lieutenant-ge-'neral Ingoldſby, were lords-juſtices.

It is obſervable that chancellor Phipps had many champions for him in Great-Britain; every tory thinking himſelf obliged to vindicate him, upon the account of his zealous adhering to the church's cauſe in Dr. Sacheverel's tryal, and giving out, that the reſolutions of the commons againſt him 'were not of Iriſh growth, but the reſult of the joint 'counſels of the whigs of both kingdoms.' On the other hand, the whig-party loudly juſtified the proceedings of the Iriſh houſe of commons againſt that miniſter, who, to ſay no worſe, had been the occaſion of unhappy diſtinctions among the proteſtants of that kingdom (b). Theſe diviſions 1713.

'juſtices. 4. That the city of 'Dublin had, of late, been, and 'ſtill continued, in great diſorder and confuſion, by reaſon 'of the frequent diſapprobations of perſons elected lord-'mayors and ſheriffs of the ſaid 'city, all of them of known 'affection to her majeſty's perſon and government, and to 'the conſtitution in church and 'ſtate. 5. That Sir Conſtantine Phipps had been the chief 'cauſe and promoter of ſuch 'frequent diſapprobations, and 'thereby the occaſion of the ſaid 'diſorder and confuſion. 6. 'That, ſince the making the 'new rules 1672, until Sir Conſtantine Phipps arrived in that 'kingdom, no perſon elected 'lord-mayor of the city of 'Dublin, had been diſapproved, except in the government 'of the earl of Tyrconnel. 7. 'That the council-board had 'not at this time, nor had not 'ſince the time (given them by 'the act of explanation) expired, any power to make 'rules or orders for regulating 'the election of magiſtrates in 'any corporation in that kingdom. 8. That the right of 'election of lord-mayor of 'Dublin is in the lord-mayor 'and aldermen of the ſaid city; 'and that the aldermen are in 'no ſort reſtrained, in the choice 'of the ſucceeding lord-mayor, 'to one of any three perſons 'nominated or propoſed, to be 'put in election by the lord-'mayor.'

(b) We have a large account of his behaviour there, in a pamphlet printed at London in 1714, in 8vo, intitled, The con'duct of the purſe in Ireland: 'in a letter to a member of the 'late Oxford convocation, occaſioned by their having con'ferred the degree of doctor 'upon Sir Conſtantine Phipps.' The author obſerves, p. 10. 'That he will not take upon 'him ſo far to judge Sir Con'ſtantine, as to ſay, he was an 'enemy to the proteſtant intereſt and proteſtant ſucceſſion. 'I will, ſays he, ſuppoſe, that 'he might not have had any intention of prejudicing either 'the one or the other. But 'whether it hath happened 'through miſtake, or through 'paſſion, and too warm a purſuit of his own particular 'quarrels and reſentments, or 'of the reſentments of others; 'whether

1713. ſions gave ſo great encouragement to the pretender's friends, that men were almoſt publickly inliſted into his ſervice; of which the commons took notice in their votes of the 22d of December. And the grand jury of the county of Dublin having

'whether he hath been miſ-
'guided by the miſrepreſenta-
'tions of men and things, or
'the true intereſt of the coun-
'try, where he reſided, or of
'the true temper and genius of
'that people; whatſoever his
'intentions really were, I think
'I may very confidently affirm
'this, that, had a profeſſed
'enemy to the proteſtant inter-
'eſt of that kingdom been
'placed in that government,
'when he was, ſuch perſon
'could not with any diſcretion
'or ſafety have purſued mea-
'ſures more likely to divide,
'weaken, and ſubvert the pro-
'teſtant intereſt of that king-
'dom, than this doctor hath
'purſued from the time of his
'landing there.' The author remarks, p. 19, that before Sir Conſtantine's arrival in Ireland, the inhabitants knew little of the diſtinction of whig and tory, of high-church and low-church: theſe diviſions had not affected them in any degree; the chief diſtinction amongſt them was that of Papiſt and proteſtant. But ſoon after his arrival the diſtinctions of whig and tory were propagated with great induſtry, and thoſe, who were of the firſt claſs, fell under his diſpleaſure, and were diſplaced from their employments, and, as far as was in the power of him, or his wife, or their dependents, by their ſollicitations or influence to effect, they were removed from, or cramped in all manner of buſineſs or trade, by which they got their livelihood: and he deſcended ſo low, when in the government, as in perſon to ſollicit gentlemen to change their taylors, and their other tradeſmen, upon theſe accounts. Informers, or, as they call them, lions, were encouraged to put themſelves into the companies of gentlemen, and to report to the government what was ſaid there. Several gentlemen of Weſt-Meath, for having only drank the health of the duke of Marlborough, and the late lord Godolphin, were accuſed by a friar, one of the new converts, of having formed a plot againſt the government, and thereupon were ſent for in cuſtody of meſſengers. Other gentlemen were informed againſt for words of little or no ſignification. In a word, an end was put to almoſt all converſation, and to the intercourſe of all good offices, charity, and love amongſt proteſtants. And tho' the diſcoveries were of very little ſignificance; yet the trouble given to gentlemen by theſe informations was ſo conſiderable, that the whole ſeemed as it were deſigned to convince proteſtant gentlemen, that the government had no mind to let them meet together at all. The rooms of the gentlemen diſplaced (excepting the place of attorney and ſollicitor-general) were filled up for the moſt part with

having made a preſentment of that traiterous practice, and laid it before the lord-lieutenant, a proclamation was iſſued out for apprehending lieutenant Butler in lord Galway's regiment, who had inliſted William and Michael Letry 1713.

with perſons of little or no fortunes, and ſuch as were moſt remarkable for a temper violent againſt the diſſenters, and moderate towards the papiſts. Such, and the new converts, were chiefly the objects of his favour, and were brought into all ſtations, magiſtracies, and employments. But the corporations being in the hands of men, who were thankful for the revolution, in order to reform them, the chief governors and the privy-council, having an authority of approving or diſapproving the elections of magiſtrates of moſt corporations in that kingdom, (which authority was veſted in them by act of parliament, only with intent to exclude papiſts and perſons popiſhly inclined;) as it was not to be imagined, but in every corporation the doctor might find ſome one or two men willing to proſtitute themſelves to his will and pleaſure; ſo having found ſuch, he prevailed with a majority of the privy-council to concur with him in diſapproving the election of every other than ſuch perſon; hereby ſtraining the power of approbation into that of a nomination. By this means ſeveral corporations conceiving they had a power of electing their own magiſtrates, and not willing to put their privileges into the hands of ſuch, as they thought they could not truſt, who were generally ſuch as your doctor had a mind for, they were obliged to infinite elections, returns, and attendances upon the privy-council; and, all being diſapproved, without any manner of reaſon given, ſome corporations continued without magiſtrates for ſeveral months; ſome for above a year; and, during ſuch time, in the utmoſt confuſion and diſorder, eſpecially in Dublin. There creditors had no way to recover their ſmall debts: there were no ſheriffs to execute writs upon any account; no criminals could be tried or executed; no mayor to correct the abuſes of the bread, and other markets: no juſtice could be had; and when his agents had raiſed a tumult againſt the aldermen and others (who conceived themſelves bound by oath to maintain the privileges of that corporation, one of which was the freedom of electing their own magiſtrates) by repreſenting them as factious perſons, who flew in the face of the government; in theſe diſorders there was no magiſtrate to keep the public peace; and when proteſtants were knocking one another on the head, and the papiſts were cheatfully yielding their hand to that work; a young proteſtant officer, who had charitably interpoſed with ſome ſoldiers to prevent bloodſhed, was confined, and threatened to be caſhiered

1713. Letry to ſerve the pretender, and told them, he had enliſted fourteen men more for the ſame purpoſe.

This parliament not being reliſhed by the miniſtry in England, the duke of Shrewſbury received orders to prorogue them; but, before he did it, he ſent for the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons out of the country, and told him, the queen was willing to give them an opportunity to do themſelves juſtice: but, if they did not proceed with unanimity at their next meeting, he had orders to diſſolve them. As the parliament was by no means diſpoſed to acquieſce in all the miniſters meaſures (which was the meaning of 'proceeding with unanimity') they ſat no more in this reign. The duke himſelf did not much like his ſituation, and, having conſtant intelligence of the ill ſtate of the queen's health from Dr. Shadwell, one of her phyſicians (c), he thought it too dangerous for him to be abſent from court in ſo critical a juncture, as her deceaſe was like to be. So he deſired and obtained leave to return to England. Chancellor Phipps and archbiſhop Lindſey, with the archbiſhop of Tuam, were appointed juſtices of Ireland (d).

ſhiered for his pains, by a very good friend of your doctor's, if not at his requeſt. Thus hath the doctor divided and ſet the proteſtants of Ireland together by the ears; he hath heightened their animoſities to a degree that hath never before been known in that country; in ſo much that, had the leaſt attempt been made upon that kingdom, they muſt in all probability have fallen an eaſy prey to their mortal enemies the papiſts.

(c) He uſed to write to the duke and ducheſs of Shrewsbury under the name of J. Smith.

(d) The duke of Shrewſbury had reaſons, both of private and public concern, to wiſh himſelf in England. He had not been long in Dublin, before he found, that he was little more than the pageant of the government of Ireland, of which the main ſprings were in the lord-chancellor's hands: for, upon the deceaſe of Dr. Narciſſus Marſh, archbiſhop of Armagh, the duke deſigned to have advanced to that primacy his kinſman, Dr. Talbot, biſhop of Oxford: but, upon the recommendation of Sir Conſtantine Phipps, Dr. Lindſey, biſhop of Raphoe, was immediately preferred, as a perſon ready to go all lengths, to favour the ſcheme in hand. From this, and other inſtances, the duke began to ſurmiſe, either that the lord-treaſurer's profeſſed friendſhip ſlackened, or that his intereſt was upon the decline.

In

In England all diſguiſe was now thrown off by the Jacobites, and the pretender's right to the crown was publickly maintained in a large volume, called, 'The hereditary right 'of the crown of England aſſerted: the hiſtory of the ſucceſſion ſince the conqueſt cleared, and the true Engliſh 'conſtitution vindicated from the miſrepreſentations of 'Dr. Higden's view and defence, &c.' The author, after having ſhewn in the introduction, 'that allegiance is not 'due to all powers in poſſeſſion, (e), endeavours to prove, 1713.

Account of the book, called hereditary right.

(e) In the introduction the author pretends, 'That the firſt time, the duty of paying allegiance to powers in poſſeſſion began to be taught in this kingdom, was, during the uſurpations, which ſucceeded the death of king Charles the Firſt. That in all former revolutions the princes, who got poſſeſſion of the crown, claimed it by ſome right, and never inſiſted on poſſeſſion as right. But, the rump parliament, and Cromwell, and the following uſurpers, having no tolerable pretence to any claim of right, their friends were reduced to a neceſſity of pleading poſſeſſion, as a right to obedience; and ſeveral books were then publiſhed by papiſts, fanatics, and deiſts, to enforce and prove it. But that this principle was then generally rejected by all the members of the church of England, and by many preſbyterians, who maintained, that allegiance was due to the rightful king, who was not in poſſeſſion. That, after the reſtoration, the acts and judicial proceedings of the governments preceding were all null and void, except ſuch as were authoriſed by a new law. And it was declared by an act of parliament, that all the ſaid powers before in poſſeſſion were 'rebellious, wicked, 'traiterous, abominable uſurpations, detected by this preſent 'parliament.' That here the conſtitution was again reſettled on its antient foundation, not in poſſeſſion, which all the uſurpers had, but upon the undoubted right of the lawful heir, who had been out of poſſeſſion, and of his heirs and lawful ſucceſſors: and that, agreeably to this conſtitution in that reign, it was the conſtant doctrine of lawyers and divines, that allegiance was not due to all powers in poſſeſſion. That the revolution, which happened after, was begun, carried on, ended, and juſtified on theſe grounds, that allegiance was not due to all kings in poſſeſſion: that king James was lawfully deprived; and that king William and queen Mary were lawfully put in poſſeſſion. But theſe poſitions did not ſuit with the principles of many lawyers and divines, who had conſtantly maintained, that the depoſition of a lawful king was abſolutely unlawful, by the law of God, and the laws of this kingdom. Therefore, to juſtify the tranſlation of their allegiance, the former opinion, that ſeemed buried at the reſtoration, was

1713. prove, 'That the people's ſubmiſſion to ſuch kings, as 'were not heirs to the crown by immediate deſcent, is no 'argument, that poſſeſſion gives right to allegiance.' And, to elude the force of Dr. Higden's arguments againſt hereditary right, grounded on the ſeveral deviations from the lineal deſcent in the ſucceſſion of the crown ſince the conqueſt, he maintains, that the kings of England had antiently a power of diſpoſing of the crown by teſtament: that the conſent, reſignation, and ceſſion of the rightful heir were certainly ſufficient to make kings de facto rightful: and that therefore ſubmiſſion might be paid them on one of theſe accounts. This being a point very material to the author's deſign, he endeavours to evince it by the example of William the Conqueror, whom he aſſerts to have been a lawful king in both theſe regards, and juſtifies Edward the confeſſor's nomination of him for his ſucceſſor (f). Then he labours to prove, that William Rufus and

revived; viz. That 'allegi-'ance was due to all powers in 'poſſeſſion;' and many eminent members of the church of England received it, as conſiſtent with the doctrine of nonreſiſtance. That divers treatiſes were then publiſhed by divines and lawyers to defend it; particularly, 'the unreaſonableneſs 'of a new ſeparation and the 'caſe of allegiance to ſovereign 'power.' That the inſtances of hiſtory and parliament records, uſed in the firſt, were enquired into by an exact and faithful hiſtorian, and unanſwerably refuted: and the arguments of the laſt, from ſcripture and reaſon, the doctrine of the church, and the laws of the kingdom, were refuted likewiſe by ſeveral writers. That no reply of moment being made, that controverſy ſeemed to be buried again, till Dr. Higden thought fit to examine the diſpute again, and was convinced, that allegiance was due to kings in fact, by laws divine and human. But that, as the doctor's opinion makes the moſt unjuſt poſſeſſion (as was Oliver's) rightful, and deſtroys the hereditary right, ſo long eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution, the author has followed him through all his labyrinths, refuted his arguments, and rectified his errors.

(f) What the author inſinuates on this occaſion deſerves particular notice: If it be ſaid that Edward the Confeſſor was an unjuſt poſſeſſor, his nephew, by his elder brother, being then living, to whom he ought to have reſigned the crown: I anſwer, that, when hiſtories are ſilent, it does not become private men to be forward in paſſing judgments on the actions of princes. The authors, who have tranſmitted to us an account of Edward's reign, ſay nothing upon this ſubject; either that the deſcendants of Edward Ironſide laid claim to the crown; or that king Edward diſcovered any

and Henry the First were also lawful kings. This done, he comes to king Stephen, whom he calls the first usurper, and pretends, that, 'in his reign, the most turbulent of 'any, there were no footsteps of Dr. Higden's principle,' of allegiance being due to kings de facto. On this occasion the author mentions particularly the earl of Gloucester, who owned himself bound in conscience to the right of the empress Maud; the king of Scotland, who suffered much in defence of her right; and the behaviour of the clergy, who made a distinction between king Stephen and a king de jure; shews what influence the pope's pretended power of setting up kings had in those days; and asserts, That our historians date Stephen's reign from his agreement with Henry; which concurs with the author's main design, which is to establish a testamentary and cessionary right, in order to account for the allegiance which, at divers times, the clergy, nobility, and people, have paid to unlawful possessors of the throne. In the same views he passes on to Henry the Second, whom he maintains to have been a rightful king, because it is most probable, that his mother, the empress Maud, had resigned her right to him. Here he 1713.

any inclination to do them justice, at least till the eleventh year of his reign: but it may, possibly, be unreasonable from hence to infer, that all that time he was a wrongful possessor, because cases may be supposed of princes, who, for want of power and opportunity of doing right to the lawful heir, are forced to endure the burden of a crown, which they would readily and gladly ease themselves of, upon a proper occasion: as when the rightful heir is abroad, in a distant kingdom, and perhaps at the disposal of a foreign prince, on whose will and pleasure, his return to his country chiefly depends. When the possessor of a throne has this to plead for himself (which may be true of king Edward for any thing that can be alledged to the contrary) I may appeal to the severest interpreters of the actions of princes, whether the exercise of royal power, in such circumstances, can be charged with usurpation; or, as some chuse rather to express themselves, whether such a person is only a king de facto. for it is not the bare seizing, and filling a throne, but the will of the possessor, that must denominate him an usurper. He that invades another's right, with an intention to detain it from him, and a resolution never to restore it to the true proprietor, is certainly guilty of the highest injustice; but, if he accepts of a crown, only that he may secure it to the right owner, and the better disappoint the designs of his enemies, most certainly he obliges him by a very extraordinary act of friendship.

1713. anſwers Dr. Higden's argument from a paſſage in our homilies: diſcovers a miſtake committed by the compilers of them; defends biſhop Merks againſt Dr. Higden's reflections upon his pretended ſubmiſſion to Henry IV; argues againſt the doctor, who ſays, there were no nonjurors under kings de facto; and pretends, that ought to be preſumed, till the contrary is proved; and produces inſtances of ſeveral, that ought to be reputed ſuch. He alſo take notice, that in thoſe days the inferior clergy were not obliged to take oaths of allegiance; and ſuggeſts, that, had the clergy of England enjoyed this privilege, at the time of the late revolution, near four hundred of them had quietly continued in poſſeſſion of their livings, of which they were for no other reaſon deprived, but becauſe they were nonjurors, &c. The author aſſerts, that a king de facto 'is not legally qualified to give a 'commiſſion to judges; nor are proceedings in his courts 'of judicature of any authority. He cannot create a no-'bleman, or make a biſhop. All his preſentations to be-'nefices are voidable. All lands beſtowed upon him are 'reſumable, at the pleaſure of the rightful ſucceſſor.'

Octob. 17. This book was not only advertiſed in the London-gazette, with particular allowance (as was then reported) of Mr. ſecretary Bromley, but diſperſed and recommended with great induſtry; and many copies of it were given gratis, by ſome men in power, to ſeveral officers of the army. It was ſaid likewiſe to have been preſented to the queen herſelf by Mr. Robert Nelſon. As it was obvious to every reader, that the deſign of this performance was to prepare the way for the reſtoration of the pretender, the well-affected to the houſe of Hanover could not but be alarmed at it; eſpecially, as the book came abroad with marks of diſtinction and public countenance; not to mention the quotations in it, out of ſome manuſcripts in the library of the lord-treaſurer. However, the miniſtry thought it neceſſary to animadvert upon it; and Mr. Richard Smith, the bookſeller, having, by a warrant from the lord Bolingbroke, been brought to his office, and there examined, he declared, that Mr. Hilkiah Bedford, a nonjuring clergyman, had delivered the copy to the printer. This being owned by Bedford, they were both bound over to appear before the court of queen's-bench. But, though a proſecution was afterwards, for form-ſake, begun and carried on againſt Bedford, yet it was the general opinion, that he had but a ſmall ſhare in that performance, which was judged

Kennet's wiſdom of looking backwards, p. 317.

Bedford proſecuted for the book.

judged to be the result of the joint labours of several nonjurors (g). This book was soon refuted in several answers, of which one was supposed to be written by Mr. Wills, then Fellow of All-Souls college in Oxford, and now lord-chief-justice of the Common-pleas, intitled, 'The present constitution and the protestant succession vindicated.' 1723.

About this time it was publicly declared, that the queen had granted a pardon under the great-seal to Daniel de Foe, against whom an information of high-treason had been lodged, for writing three pamphlets, which seemed to favour the pretender's interests (h). De Foe pardoned.

By

(g) In the introduction to one of the answers, called Treason unmask'd, the author says, 'This 'book contains a great variety 'of historical facts, positions 'and arguments, couched in an 'elegant, flowing style; but 'then there are in it so many 'glaring contradictions and in'consistencies, that it is hardly 'credible the whole piece 'should be the work of any 'one man. For here any to'lerably attentive reader may 'find history clashing with hi'story; law destroying law; 'and divinity refuting divinity, 'in cases exactly parallel: a 'fault I will not charge upon 'any single person, till I am 'convinced that a too favour'able opinion of gentlemen, 'and men of letters, led me 'into a mistake.' But it is now known that the real author of the book was one Mr. Harbin, a nonjuring clergyman, who died the last year, 1744.

(h) The first intitled, 'Rea'sons against the succession of 'the house of Hanover, with 'an inquiry, how far the abdi'cation of king James, suppo'sing it to be legal, ought to 'affect the person of the pre'tender:' The second intitled, 'And what if the pretender 'should come? or some consi'derations of the advantages 'and real consequences of the 'pretender's possessing the crown 'of Great-Britain.' And the third called, 'An answer to 'the question that no body 'thinks of, viz. What if the 'queen should die?' The preamble to the patent of pardon set forth, that Daniel de Foe had by his humble petition represented to her majesty, 'That 'he, with a sincere design to 'propagate the interest of the 'house of Hanover, and to ani'mate the people against the 'designs of the pretender, whom 'he always looked upon as an 'enemy to her majesty's sacred 'person and government, did 'publish the said pamphlets; 'in all which books, although 'the titles seemed to look as 'if written in favour of the 'pretender, and several expres'sions, as in all ironical writ'ings it must be, might be 'wrested against the true de'sign of the whole, and turned 'to a meaning quite different

1713. By this time the elections for parliament-men were over; and, in North-Britain, the nobility had choſen ſuch repreſentatives as were moſt of them ready to concur in all the queen's meaſures; namely, the duke of Athol, the earls of Mar, Eglinton, Kennoul, Loudoun, Findlater and Seaſield, Selkirk, Northeſk, Dundonald, Broadalbin, Dunmore, Orkney, Roſeberry, Portmore, and Kilſyth, and the lord Balmerinoch: and, in order to attach yet more the earl of Dunmore to the court, he was, not long after, declared colonel of the Scots regiment of foot-guards, in the room of the marquis of Lothian. About the ſame time, the regiment of dragoons, lately commanded by Sir Richard Temple, was given to major-general Evans; and the regiment of horſe of the marquis of Harwich (ſon of the duke of Schomborg) lately deceaſed, to major general Syburg. Some time before, Mr. Richard Steele, being choſen for the borough of Stockbridge, thought fit to reſign his place of one of the commiſſioners of the ſtamp office. About the ſame time the lord Willoughby of Brooke was made dean of St. George's chapel in the caſtle of Windſor, but Dr. Smalridge, being named to ſucceed the lord privy-ſeal, as biſhop of Briſtol, declined that offer.

Sixteen Scots peers choſen. Oct. 8.

Promotions.

The parliament further prorogued.

On the 18th of October, the parliament was, by proclamation, further prorogued, from the 12th of November to the 10th of December, which was occaſioned

' from the intention of the au-
' thor; yet he had humbly aſ-
' ſured her majeſty in the ſo-
' lemneſt manner, that his true
' and only deſign, in all the
' ſaid books, was, by an ironi-
' cal diſcourſe of recommend-
' ing the pretender, in the
' ſtrongeſt and moſt forcible
' manner to expoſe his deſigns,
' and the ruinous conſequences
' of his ſucceeding therein;
' which will appear by the
' books themſelves, where the
' following expreſſions are very
' plain, viz. that the preteſider is
' recommended as a perſon pro-
' per to annals the Engliſh liber-
' ties into his own ſovereignty;
' ſupply them with the privileges
' of wearing wooden ſhoes;
' eaſing them of the trouble of
' chooſing parliaments, and the
' nobility and gentry of the ha-
' zard and expence of winter
' journies, by governing them
' in that more righteous method
' of his abſolute will, and in-
' forcing the laws by a glorious
' ſtanding army; paying all the
' nation's debts at once by ſtop-
' ping the funds, and ſhutting
' up the Exchequer; eaſing and
' quieting their differences in
' religion, by bringing them to
' the union of popery, or leav-
' ing them at liberty to have no
' religion at all.' Daniel de Foe's Appeal to honour and juſtice, p. 33.

by

by the queen's illneſs, and the conteſts among the miniſters. It was then ſtrongly reported, that the lord Bolingbroke, Mr. ſecretary Bromley, and Sir William Wyndham (who, on the 1ſt of November, was made a privy-councellor) having gained the aſcendant, the lord-treaſurer entertained thoughts of retirement. And, indeed, the author of the paper, called the Examiner, thought fit, about the middle of November, to prepare the minds of the people for an approaching change in the miniſtry (i). But what appeared more ſurprizing, was the ludicrous ſtile in which the ſame author, who was the mouth of thoſe in power, ſpoke of the queen's indiſpoſition, and of the ſucceſſion in caſe of a demiſe (k). 1712-13. Jars at court. Annals.

Whilſt

(i) In the Examiner of November the 16th, the author ſuggeſts, 'That in a conſtitution, which hangs together by 'ſo many minute parts, and 'which depends upon ſuch variety of wheels and motions, 'where power and freedom are 'in a perpetual flux and reflux, 'we muſt of neceſſity be liable 'to turns and contingencies — 'That this uncertainty is redoubled, wherever ſtrife and 'contention are let looſe in a 'nation, where factions rage 'and worry one another; and 'even the government itſelf is 'treated as a party — Thus, 'under theſe circumſtances, a 'miniſtry is obliged to act in 'another capacity than that 'which properly belongs to 'them. They muſt ſometimes 'act like military as well as civil officers; draw forth their 'forces, and appear at the head 'of ſquadrons and battalions, 'whenever faction takes the 'field, and declares open war 'againſt them. There wants 'but very little of bringing 'things, as they now ſtand, to 'this deplorable criſis — That 'the poſſeſſion of power under 'theſe difficulties, is almoſt as 'great an uncertainty, as the 'fortune of war, and ſtands expoſed to as many turns and 'croſs accidents — And that 'theſe conſiderations amount to 'a full proof, that the beſt of 'patriots are more expoſed to 'mortality, as miniſters of ſtate, 'than as men, &c.

(k) The Examiner of January the 8th, 1713-14, contains what follows:

'According to the beſt advices ſent us by the whigs, 'and their oracles, the demiſe 'of the crown happened upon 'Thurſday the 24th of December, being Chriſtmas-eve, at 'four of the clock in the morning, in the year 1713. All 'ages, ranks, ſexes, and orders 'of men, at firſt hearing of the 'ill news, were affected with 'the deepeſt ſorrow; and a general panic ran through the 'whole kingdom. For a long 'time, we were diſtracted and 'inconſolable; in the utmoſt 'horror and confuſion, upon

1713. Whilſt things were in this dangerous ſituation, Mr. Steele publiſhed his Criſis, or 'a diſcourſe repreſenting, 'from the moſt authentic records, the juſt cauſes of 'the late happy revolution, and the ſeveral ſettlements 'of the crowns of England and Scotland on her majeſty; 'and, on her demiſe without iſſue, upon the moſt il-'luſtrious princeſs Sophia, electreſs and ducheſs-dowager 'of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being proteſ-'tants; by previous acts of both parliaments of the late 'kingdoms of England and Scotland; and confirmed by 'the parliament of Great-Britain: with ſome remarks 'on the danger of a popiſh ſucceſſor.' The deſign of this piece was firſt ſuggeſted to Mr. Steele, by Mr. More of the Inner-temple; and the work itſelf paſſed through the hands of Mr. Addiſon, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Hoadley. And it was ſo well received by the public, that many were confirmed by it in their affection to the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

The Criſis publiſhed by Mr. Steele.

All this while the queen continued in a very dangerous ſtate of health at Windſor; of which various accounts were ſpread abroad; but the truth was thus, as repreſented by Dr. Shadwell, in his letters to the duke and ducheſs of Shrewſbury: 'On Wedneſday the 23d of 'December, her majeſty was very uneaſy all night with 'the gout in her foot. The next morning it went intirely 'off, and ſhe ſaid ſhe was well. But, about one o'clock 'that day, ſhe complained of a pain in her thigh, and was 'ſeized with a violent ſhivering, which laſted above two 'hours. Extreme heat followed, with intenſe thirſt, great 'anxiety, reſtleſneſs, and inquietude. The pulſe was full, 'hard, and quick; which Dr. Shadwell finding, the next 'day, he very much preſſed bleeding, urging, it would 'probably carry off a good part of the fever, and bring a 'fit of the gout; but it was not agreed to; and theſe

Account of the queen's illneſs.

'the loſs of our moſt excellent 'queen, who then became im-'mortal: But theſe black clouds 'were ſoon diſperſed, our fears 'and jealouſies vaniſhed, and 'we revived from a deplorable 'ſtate of grief and miſery, at 'the firſt joyful tidings of the 'happy acceſſion of her moſt 'ſacred majeſty queen Anne 'the ſecond (whom God long 'preſerve) to the throne of her 'anceſtors: the nature of our 'monarchy being ſuch, that, 'immediately after the death 'of the perſon in poſſeſſion, the 'crown, by right of inheri-'tance, deſcends to the next 'heir, without any previous 'formalities and conditions, or 'admitting ſo much as the leaſt 'vacancy, or Interregnum, &c.

'ſymp-

'ſymptoms continued till Saturday morning, when her 1713.
'majeſty fell aſleep, waked refreſhed, and on Sunday
'morning there was a perfect intermiſſion of the ſymp-
'toms; but the pulſe, in Dr. Shadwell's opinion, was not
'quiet. The next night about twelve, ſhe was attacked
'with an exacerbation of the fever, which laſted all the
'Monday till midnight. Moſt of the queen's phyſicians
'judging her diſtemper to be an ague, propoſed and preſ-
'ſed the giving her the jeſuit's-bark; but, though this
'was warmly oppoſed by Dr. Shadwell, yet the phyſician,
'who watched that night, gave it, ſaying, he found the
'pulſe calm. No exacerbation appeared after this: but ne-
'vertheleſs Dr. Shadwell ſtill declared, he did not like the
'pulſe: that there was no perfect intermiſſion of the fever;
'but that the pulſe was at work, to ſeparate the morbific
'matter into the gout, or ſome worſe ſhape. The pains of
'the thigh increaſing, till three or four doſes of the bark
'were given, Dr. Shadwell laid a ſtreſs upon having that
'part examined; but the other phyſicians called it a fit
'of the gout. Dr. Shadwell anſwered, it could not pro-
'perly be called ſo in the muſcles; and being of opinion,
'that this was an inflammatory fever from the tranſlation
'of the gout, and not a common ague, or intermitting fe-
'ver; and finding, that, after thirty-nine hours continu-
'ance, there was a perfect remiſſion, but no intermiſſion,
'he made a prognoſtic, that, unleſs the feveriſh matter
'were ſeparated, and thrown off into a ſmart fit of the gout,
'a worſe ſymptom might happen; as its falling into the
'thigh, and fixing into an eryſipelous tumour. This opi-
'nion was juſtified by a ſevere fit of the gout, that came
'upon her majeſty a few days after, and gave ſome hopes
'of her intire recovery.'

While the queen was in this uncertain ſtate of health, the minds of the ſeveral parties were variouſly agitated. The friends of the pretender believed, that all things were preparing for his reſtoration; and, on the other hand, the alarm of the well-affected to the Hanover ſucceſſion was not a little increaſed upon the news, that a ſquadron of fourteen men of war was fitting out in the ports of France; and that they were to take on board twelve or fourteen thouſand land-men. The public funds fell gradually from the Jan. 29.
beginning till the end of January; when ſuch a panic ſeized on a ſudden the monied men, that there was a great run upon the bank for ſome days. The directors ſent four of their members to the lord-treaſurer, to repreſent the dangers,

1713. which threatened the public credit, and to deſire his advice and aſſiſtance. The treaſurer received this application very favourably; endeavoured to diſpel their fears; and promiſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſupport the bank in this exigency. The doubts, which were ſtill entertained about the queen's health, being one of the chief occaſions of the public alarm, ſhe, by the advice of her miniſters, wrote the following letter to Sir Samuel Stanier, lord-mayor of London:

ANNE, R.

The queen's letter to the lord-mayor.

"Right truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well. "Although an aguiſh indiſpoſition, ſucceeded by a fit of "the gout, has detained us at this place longer than we de- "ſigned; yet ſince it has pleaſed almighty God to reſtore "us to ſuch a degree of health, that we hope to be able "ſoon to return to our uſual reſidence, we continue de- "termined to open our parliament on Tueſday the 16th "of this inſtant February, according to the notice given "by proclamation. Thus much we have judged proper "to communicate to you, and by you to the court of "aldermen, and to our loving ſubjects of our good city of "London, to the intent that you may all, in your ſeveral "ſtations, contribute to diſcountenance and put a ſtop to "thoſe malicious rumours, ſpread by evil-minded per- "ſons, to the prejudice of credit, and to the imminent "hazard of the public peace and tranquillity. And ſo we "bid you farewel."

Given at our caſtle at Windſor, the firſt day of February, 1713, in the twelfth year of our reign.

By her majeſty's command,

BOLINGBROKE.

This letter, and the news, which at the ſame time came from Holland, that the troops, which had been reported to be aſſembled in the Bologneſe, were mere chimera's, and that the pretender continued in Lorrain, diſpelled the fears of the generality, and ſoon put a ſtop to the run upon the bank (l).

(l) While the nation was in this ferment, and under various apprehenſions, there was publiſhed a remarkable pamphlet, intitled,

intitled, 'The art of reſtoring; or the piety and probity of general Monk, in bringing about the laſt reſtoration, evinced from his own authentic letters: with a juſt account of Sir Roger, who runs the parallel as far as he can: in a letter to a miniſter of ſtate at the court of Vienna.' This piece was levelled againſt the treaſurer, and contributed the more to render him obnoxious to the friends of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, when it was known to be the performance of Mr. Toland, a perſon formerly intruſted and employed by that miniſter. To remove theſe ſuſpicions, the treaſurer thought fit to have the reputed author of the late treatiſe, aſſerting hereditary right, brought to his trial; and Bedford being found guilty of publiſhing that book, he was ſentenced, 'to pay a fine of a thouſand marks; to be committed to the queen's-bench priſon, till he paid the ſame; to remain in cuſtody there for the term of three years; to find four ſufficient ſureties, who, with him, were to be bound in a recognizance of five thouſand pounds for his good behaviour during life.' He was alſo to be brought into all the courts of Weſtminſter-hall, with a paper on his head denoting his offence. But, after ſentence was paſſed, an order was produced from the government, counterſigned by a ſecretary of ſtate, directing the judges of the Queen's-bench to ſuperſede the ignominious part of the puniſhment, by reaſon of the ſacred function of the criminal; which proceeding, as Mr. Lechmere obſerved in a ſpeech, 'could bear no other conſtruction, than as a licenſe and protection to men in holy orders, to propagate that deſtructive poſition with impunity; and the character of the perſon, which ought in juſtice to have aggravated his guilt, and heightened his puniſhment, became his indemnity againſt the reproach of it, even by the authority of the government itſelf, againſt which that treatiſe was levelled. This indulgence appeared the more glaring, conſidering what ſeverities were, at the ſame time, exerciſed againſt thoſe perſons, who had courage enough to aſſert the intereſt of their country, and of the proteſtant ſucceſſion.' 1713.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK XXX. PART I.

From the Year 1713. to the Death of Queen Anne.

CHAP. II.

Conferences at Radſtadt not communicated to the queen's miniſters.—The fourth parliament of Great-Britain.—The Aſſiento-contract objected againſt.—The queen's ſpeech on the peace with Spain.—Complaint of a libel.—Steel expelled the houſe of commons.—Debate on the ſtate of the nation. A remarkable declaration.—Removals and promotions.—Meaſures taken by the whigs to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion.—Debates about the Catalans.—About the pretender.—The proteſtant ſucceſſion voted out of danger.—A demand of king James's queen.—A writ demanded for the duke of Cambridge.—Account of the late treaties laid before the commons.—Addreſs of thanks for the ſame.—The queen's letter to the princeſs Sophia and to the duke of Cambridge about his coming over.—Death of the princeſs Sophia.—The ſchiſm bill.—Proclamation for apprehending the pretender.—Proceedings of the lords about him.—Debate about the Spaniſh trade.—Parliament prorogued.—Open rupture among the miniſtry.—Lord-treaſurer Harley removed.—Great confuſion at court.—The queen's illneſs. The late miniſters reflected on for leaving the ſea-ports unprovided.—Queen Anne's death and character.

THE

Conferences at Radſtadt not communicated to the queen's miniſters.

THE conferences held at Radſtadt towards a treaty between prince Eugene of Savoy and the marſhal de Villars were managed with ſuch ſecrecy, as gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the two maritime powers, and was generally looked upon as a ſlight upon Great-Britain. The earl of Straſford, who ſtill continued at the Hague, was ordered to conſer upon it with the deputies of the States, to whom he made a long harangue. The ſubſtance of what he ſaid will be plainly ſeen, in the anſwer returned by the States a few days after to the earl of Straſford: 'They thanked him for the aſſurances 'of friendſhip he gave them on the part of her majeſty 'of Great-Britain, and offered to concert with her the 'meaſures proper to be taken for the ſecurity of the pro-'teſtant religion, eſpecially in the empire, and for pro-'curing the abolition of the clauſe of the fourth article 'of the peace of Ryſwick. As to the apprehenſion of a 'new war in Italy, the States hoped, that, by the peace 'of Radſtadt, the emperor and the king of France had 'provided for the tranquillity of that country; and that 'they had likewiſe regulated the affairs relating to the 'duke of Savoy, and to Sicily; for this reaſon, and be-'cauſe the conditions of that peace were not yet known 'to them, they could not, at preſent, enter into delibera-'tion with the earl of Straſford upon thoſe matters. 'That, as to the treaty with Spain, the States had the re-'gards they ought to her majeſty's recommendations, for 'the intereſts of the princeſs Urſini; but that they had 'given ſuch good reaſons, why they could not agree in a 'guarantee, that the king of France, and even the king 'of Spain, had acquieſced in them. That, for this reaſon, 'the States promiſed themſelves, from the queen's good-'neſs and equity, that ſhe would not inſiſt upon a thing, 'which even the king of Spain himſelf had let drop. 'That, as to the affairs of the Spaniſh Netherlands, 'the States would always be ready to conſer with the 'earl of Straſford on the points relating to the inter-'eſts of thoſe countries. As to the town of Oſtend in 'particular, they declared, that they would withdraw 'their troops from thence, and deliver it into the 'hands of Walloon troops, as ſoon as Dunkirk ſhould 'be demoliſhed; provided, at the ſame time they were

'put

'put into poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Ghent, as by the 1713.
'treaty of barrier they ought: but that the States
'were abſolutely of opinion, it would be proper to
'communicate theſe things to the emperor, and to act
'in concert with him, it not being to be doubted,
'that the Spaniſh Netherlands were yielded to him by
'the peace of Radſtadt. That they were extremely
'glad of the declarations her majeſty had cauſed to be
'made to them, of her willingneſs to withdraw her
'troops from the caſtle of Ghent; as alſo from Bruges
'and Newport; and to aſſiſt the States in recovering
'from Brabant the million, which by the treaty of
'barrier they ought to have from that province; but
'as to the conditions, which were added to that de-
'claration, the States expected from her equity and af-
'fection, that it would not be her intention, that the
'effect of theſe things ſhould be made dependent on
'ſome conditions, which were not expreſſed in the
'treaty of barrier; and that, on the contrary, ſhe
'would be pleaſed to look upon that treaty as a mea-
'ſure and a rule, as the States did on their part; and
'that ſhe would not join the execution of it to condi-
'tions, which are new and foreign to that treaty.
'That they had a common intereſt with the queen in
'ſecuring the freedom of commerce in the Baltick:
'that they were not yet in a condition to take a po-
'ſitive reſolution thereupon; but, when they were,
'they would conſer about it with the earl of Straf-
'ford.'

The earl was now very buſy in negotiating with the miniſters of the proteſtant princes of Germany, or deputations from the proteſtants, to aſſiſt at the congreſs at Baden in Swiſſerland, for concluding a peace between the emperor and France, purſuant to the reſolution taken at Radſtadt. But it was generally ſuſpected, that this proceeding of the Engliſh miniſtry was rather to perplex the emperor, than to favour the proteſtants; and therefore, when the earl of Strafford declared to the miniſters of the proteſtant electors and princes of the empire, 'That the queen, his miſtreſs, had received
'the letter, which the proteſtant body had written to her
'from Augſburg, touching the clauſe of the fourth article
'of the treaty of Ryſwick: that her majeſty would ſpee-
'dily return a favourable anſwer to it; and that ſhe reſolv-

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1713. ‘ed to ſend a miniſter to the congreſs at Baden, whither ‘ſhe deſired the States-general and the proteſtant ſtates of ‘the empire to ſend their's:’ the States anſwered, ‘That, ‘the empire having referred it to his imperial majeſty to ‘conclude the peace, it was believed, the electors and ‘princes would not ſend any miniſters thither; and, for ‘that reaſon, they did not think it proper to ſend any on ‘their part.’ It ſeems, the States had been given to underſtand, that the emperor would not admit any miniſter from the queen of Great-Britain (though ſhe had appointed Mr. Charles Whitworth for that purpoſe) nor from them, that there might be no diſtinction.

On the other hand, the emperor, to ſhew his reſentment of the negotiation at Utrecht, not only reſolved to conclude his treaty with France, without the intervention of the maritime powers; but, as a further mortification to Great-Britain, baron Heems declared to the ſtates-deputies, ‘That his imperial majeſty was diſpoſed to treat with ‘the States, concerning a barrier in the Netherlands: that ‘the treaty might be prepared and brought to ſome maturity at the Hague; but that the emperor would be glad ‘to have it concluded at Vienna, whither the States were ‘deſired to ſend a miniſter: and that Oſtend might not ‘be alienated from the Netherlands.’ The ſtates-deputies having acquainted the earl of Strafford with this declaration, he expreſſed his great ſurprize at it, and told them, ‘He was obliged to inform them, that the States were ‘guarantees of the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, as ‘well as the queen was guarantee of the barrier in the ‘Spaniſh Netherlands; and that the proteſtant ſucceſſion ‘ſhould ſtand good, and have effect, as it ſhould come in ‘order; but that ſhe would never ſuffer any laws to be ‘preſcribed or impoſed upon her on that account: that the ‘queen, as well as the States, was intereſted in the affair of ‘the barrier; and therefore no ſtep ought to be taken in it, ‘without acting in concert with her: that he had orders ‘to declare, in the name of the queen, that the treating ‘and concluding on the barrier at Vienna ſeemed to be ‘propoſed, with intention only to exclude her from the ‘negotiations about it: That, in ſuch a caſe, ſhe would ‘forthwith renounce all engagements with the republic; ‘for that ſhe abſolutely inſiſted upon ſending a miniſter ‘likewiſe thither, for the reaſons before-mentioned: that ‘ſhe had ſent to the king of France for an explanation,

‘touch-

'touching the exchanging ſome places in the Spaniſh 1713.
'Netherlands, according to the treaty of Radſtadt, and had
'received for anſwer, that the king of France would not
'concern himſelf therein: that, as to what baron Heems
'had mentioned in relation to Oſtend, he, the earl of Straf-
'ford, declared, he was content with it; but earneſtly de-
'ſired, that the States would not ſend to Vienna, nor do
'any thing in this negotiation, but in concert with her ma-
'jeſty: adding once more, that, purſuant to his orders, he
'muſt declare, that ſhe would look upon ſuch a proceed-
'ing as a formed deſign to diſſolve all engagements now
'ſubſiſting between her and the States.' Had the Dutch
been as warm as the Britiſh miniſters, and taken them at
their word, the conſequences muſt have been fatal to both:
but the matter was accommodated afterwards. The earl
of Strafford endeavoured to draw to the Hague the negotia-
tion of peace in the north; and engaged the court of France,
by monſieur de Chateauneuf, their ambaſſador at the Hague,
to offer their mediation for that purpoſe to the northern al-
lies. But, the king of Pruſſia having cauſed the king of
Poland to be ſounded, whether he was inclined to enter in-
to the engagement, baron Sparre and the count de Rotten-
burg had propoſed at the Hague, on the part of France,
his Poliſh majeſty ſignified, that he could never have any
ſuch thoughts, for it could never be his intereſt to ſeparate
himſelf from his allies.

By this time the earl of Strafford, and indeed all the mini- Promotions.
ſters at the Hague were more attentive to the tranſactions in
Great-Britain, than to any thing, that paſſed on the conti-
nent. The queen, upon her recovery, being informed of
the death of Dr. Sharp, archbiſhop of York, named Sir
William Dawes to that metropolitan ſee, which had been
ſtrongly ſollicited by biſhop Atterbury. At the ſame time,
Dr. Smallridge was made biſhop of Briſtol, and lord Almo-
ner to the queen, and Dr. Gaſtrell, preacher at Lincoln's
Inn, biſhop of Cheſter, in the room of Sir William Dawes.
The ſecond troop of horſe grenadier guards, vacant by the
death of the earl of Crawford, was given to the young earl
Mariſchal, a Scots peer of known zeal for the jacobite
cauſe.

On the 6th of February, being the anniverſary of the
queen's birth-day, it was celebrated with great ſolemnity;
and the whigs, particularly the Hanover club, took this oc-
caſion to ſignalize their zeal and affection for the proteſtant

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1713-14. ſucceſſion, by cauſing the effigies of the devil, the pope and the pretender, to be carried in proceſſion from Charing-Croſs to the Royal-Exchange, and ſo back to Charing-croſs, where they were burnt. Three drummers of the foot guards attending the proceſſion, and having, contrary to the rites of the city, beat their drums there, were ſeized, and committed to Newgate by warrant of the lord-mayor. Some endeavoured to repreſent this proceſſion as a formed plot againſt the government; but, the miniſtry not thinking proper to take notice of the affair, the drummers were diſcharged.

Mr. Harley ſent to Hanover.

Whatever profeſſions of affection to the proteſtant ſucceſſion were made by ſome of the miniſters, it was obvious, that every ſtep, others took in favour of France, was alſo in favour of the pretender. The treaſurer, during the queen's illneſs, endeavoured to perſuade her to ſend the duke of Kent to Hanover, with a public character. But the duke declined the employment, unleſs he was impowered to offer more real ſecurities than fair words and promiſes. However, Mr. Harley, Gaſin to the treaſurer, went from the Hague to the court of Hanover, about the middle of February, accompanied by ſecretary Bromley's ſon, Mr. Creſſet, and Mr. Winnington.

1714. The 4th parliament of Great-Britain meet. Feb. 16.

On the 16th of February, the new parliament met, and the lord Scudamore propoſed Sir Thomas Hanmer for ſpeaker, and was ſeconded by three or four other members, particularly by Mr. Steele, who obſerved, 'That at the cloſe 'of the laſt parliament, her majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed 'to declare from the throne, that the late rejected bill of 'commerce between Great-Britain and France ſhould be 'offered to this houſe. That this declaration was certain-'ly made, that every gentleman, who ſhould have the ho-'nour to be returned to parliament, might make himſelf 'maſter of that important queſtion. That it is a demon-'ſtration, that was a moſt pernicious bill; and therefore no 'man could have a greater merit to this houſe, than his, 'by whoſe weight and authority that pernicious bill was 'thrown out. That he roſe up to do Sir Thomas Han-'mer honour, and diſtinguiſh himſelf by giving that gen-'tleman his vote for that his inеſtimable ſervice to his 'country.' At Mr. Steele's mentioning the bill of commerce, the clamour againſt him began; at calling it pernicious, it increaſed; and at the words, 'doing him honour,' it grew inſupportably loud: by which he ſaw the temper of 'the

the houſe with regard to himſelf. But Sir Thomas Hanmer was choſen without any oppoſition, and the houſe adjourned to the 2d of March. 1713-14. Pr. H. C. Vol. V.

During the adjournment, the ſouth-ſea company held a general court, in which the directors communicated to them ſeveral papers they had prepared in concert with the lord-treaſurer, relating to the Aſſiento contract. Several members were extremely ſurprized at the propoſals; for, whereas they expected, that the queen had procured the whole Aſſiento contract for the company, they now found, that one half of the clear profits were reſerved for the queen, and the king of Spain, beſides ſeven and a half per cent. granted to an unknown perſon. Beſides theſe exceptions, Mr. Milner, a Portugal merchant, declared his opinion, 'That 'the company might very well ſpare the trying the expe'riment of a trade, by which other nations were known 'to have been loſers; eſpecially upon ſuch terms, as were 'offered to the company; the rather, becauſe the trade 'would be precarious, and at the mercy of the late recon'ciled enemies.' He was ſupported by other merchants, ſo that Arthur Moore, who ſpoke in behalf of this trade, could not make many proſelytes to his opinion. The reſult of this aſſembly was an order for the printing of the papers laid before them, in order to their being further conſidered in another general court. This ſecond meeting was very numerous; and after the reading of the papers, ſeveral ſpeeches were made for and againſt the accepting the Aſſiento contract, of which Mr. Moore and Mr. Ward endeavoured to ſhew the great advantages. But Mr. Cragge, Mr. Newman, Mr. Fiſher, and ſome other gentlemen of great ſkill and experience in commercial affairs, maintained the contrary opinion, with ſuch force of argument, that it was thought, if the queſtion had then been put for accepting, or not accepting, it would have been carried for the latter by a great majority. But it being moved and agreed, to decide the queſtion by ballot, and the members to have one vote for every five hundred pounds capital ſtock; what by the influence of the directors, who were to be the managers of the trade, and who (as in all other ſocieties of this nature) were almoſt ſure to be gainers, whatever became of the reſt; what by the contrivance of ſtock-jobbers, whoſe buſineſs was to keep the public funds in perpetual fluctuation, and, in order to that, to engage companies in dubious adventures; what by the juſt

The Aſſiento contract excepted againſt.

1713-14. apprehenſions the generality of the members were under, that the rejecting of this trade would be interpreted as an affront to the lord-treaſurer, who might reſent it to ſuch a degree, as to grow leſs ſollicitous for the concerns of the company, who wanted his protection for the annual proviſion of the intereſt of the capital ſtock, till the year 1716: upon theſe, and ſome other conſiderations, it was carried by a great majority, 'That the general court agreed with 'the reſolution propoſed by the court of directors, relating 'to the Aſſiento contract.'

but agreed to at laſt.

Peace with Spain proclaimed.

About the ſame time, were brought over from Holland the ratifications exchanged of the treaty of commerce between Great-Britain and Spain, and the peace was proclaimed on the 1ſt of March. The chief articles were: France and Spain were never to be united: the proteſtant ſucceſſion acknowledged, and never to be oppoſed on any pretence: navigation and commerce, as in the treaty of 1667: no licence to be given to the French or other nations to introduce negroes, or any merchandiſes, into the Spaniſh dominions in America, except what might be agreed by the treaty of commerce, and the privileges granted in the Aſſiento de negroes; except alſo what ſhould be granted by the catholic king, after the Aſſiento de negroes ſhould be determined: the American dominions were not to be alienated from the crown of Spain, to the French or other nation: Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca were given up for ever to England: no Moors to come there, but on account of traffick: all the Spaniſh inhabitants to enjoy their eſtates and religion; or to ſell their eſtates and retire: the ſouth-ſea company to have the privilege, excluſive of others, to introduce negroes into ſeveral parts of America for thirty years, beginning from 1713, in the ſame manner as enjoyed by the French; the Catalans to have a full pardon, with the poſſeſſion of all their privileges, eſtates, and honours, and likewiſe the ſame privileges with the inhabitants of both Caſtiles: Sicily was yielded to the duke of Savoy, but to return to Spain, in caſe of no heirs. By two ſeparate articles, the queen promiſed to perſiſt in the meaſures, by which ſhe had taken care, that no other part of the Spaniſh monarchy ſhould be torn from it: and obliged herſelf to procure the princeſs Urſini to be put into poſſeſſion of Limburg, or ſome other country in the Netherlands, which ſhould produce thirty thouſand crowns a year, purſuant to a grant from king Philip, September 28, 1711.

The

The day after the publication of this peace, the queen went in a chair to the houſe of lords (the parliament having been opened by commiſſion) and made the following ſpeech to both houſes: 1713-14.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I Have much ſatisfaction in being able, at the opening of this parliament, to tell you, that the ratifications of the treaties of peace and of commerce with Spain are exchanged, by which my ſubjects will have greater opportunities than ever to improve and extend their trade. Many advantages, formerly enjoyed by connivance, and procured by ſuch methods, as made a diſtinction between one Britiſh merchant and another, are now ſettled by treaty, and an equal rule is eſtabliſhed. The queen's ſpeech to both houſes, March 2. Pr. H. C.

"It has pleaſed God to bleſs my endeavours to obtain an honourable and advantageous peace for my own people, and for the greateſt part of my allies. Nothing, which I can do, ſhall be wanting to render it univerſal; and I perſuade myſelf, that, with your hearty concurrence, my interpoſition may at laſt prove effectual to compleat the ſettlement of Europe.

"In the mean while, I congratulate with my own ſubjects, that they are delivered from a conſuming land-war, and entered on a peace, the good effects whereof nothing but inteſtine diviſions can obſtruct.

"It was the glory of the wiſeſt and greateſt of my predeceſſors to hold the balance of Europe, and to keep it equal, by caſting in their weight as neceſſity required. By this conduct they inriched the kingdom, and rendered themſelves dreadful to their enemies, and uſeful to their friends. I have proceeded on the ſame principle, and I doubt not but my ſucceſſors will follow theſe examples.

"Our ſituation points out to us our true intereſt; for this country can flouriſh only by trade, and will be moſt formidable by the right appplication of our naval force.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I have ordered ſuch accounts to be prepared and laid before you, as will ſhew you, at the concluſion of the war, the true ſtate of your condition, whereby you will

1713-14. " be better able to judge what aids are neceſſary: and I " only aſk of you ſupplies for the current ſervice of the " year, and for the diſcharge of ſuch debts as you ſhall " find, on examination, to be juſt and reaſonable.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The joy, which has been generally expreſſed on my " recovery from my late indiſpoſition, and on my coming " to this city, I eſteem as a return to that tender affection " which I have always had for my people.

" I wiſh that effectual care had been taken, as I have " often deſired, to ſuppreſs thoſe ſeditious papers and facti- " ous rumours, by which deſigning men have been able to " ſink credit, and the innocent have ſuffered.

" There are ſome, who are arrived to that height of ma- " lice, as to inſinuate, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the " houſe of Hanover is in danger under my government.

" Thoſe who go about thus to diſtract the minds of men " with imaginary dangers, can only mean to diſturb the " preſent tranquillity, and bring real miſchief upon us.

" After all I have done to ſecure our religion and your " liberties, and to tranſmit both ſafe to poſterity, I cannot " mention theſe proceedings without ſome degree of warmth; " and I muſt hope you will all agree with me, that at- " tempts to weaken my authority, or to render the poſſeſ- " ſion of the crown uneaſy to me, can never be proper " means to ſtrengthen the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

" I have done, and ſhall continue to do my beſt for the " good of all my ſubjects. Let it be your endeavour, as it " ſhall be mine, to unite our differences, not by relaxing " from the ſtricteſt adherence to our conſtitution in church " and ſtate, but by obſerving the laws yourſelves, and in- " forcing a due obedience to them in others.

" A long war has not only impoveriſhed the public (how- " ever ſome particular men have been gainers by it) but " has alſo greatly affected government itſelf.

" Let it be your care ſo to improve the preſent opportu- " nity, as to lay the foundation of recovering from thoſe " diſorders.

" I had the concurrence of the laſt parliament in making " the peace. Let it be the honour of this to aſſiſt me in " obtaining ſuch fruits from it, as may not only derive bleſ- " ſings on the preſent age, but even down to the lateſt po- " ſterity."

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It is obſervable, though the queen ſaid in her ſpeech, that ſhe was perſuaded her interpoſitions might at laſt prove effectual, and compleat the ſettlement of Europe, the emperor, then in treaty with France, would not let her know any thing of what was tranſacted, or have the leaſt communication with her to the laſt hour of her life. But how diſſonant ſoever the queen's ſpeech was in ſeveral particulars, both lords and commoners fell in for the moſt part with it; and, after ſhe had thanked the lords for their affectionate addreſs, ſhe added, 'That they who were neareſt the 'throne, would firſt of her ſubjects feel the evil conſequences of any diminution of the regal authority; that it was 'a comfort to her ſhe had the aſſurance of their ſupport; 'and they might depend upon it, ſhe would never give way 'to the leaſt attempt on the juſt authorities of the crown, 'or any of their rights and privileges.' 1713-14. The lords addreſs of thanks. March 3.

The commons likewiſe reſolved on an addreſs without oppoſition, only Sir Peter King, recorder of London, ſuggeſted, 'That they ought not to act by a ſpirit of diviſ'nation, and return thanks for the treaty of commerce with 'Spain, before they knew, whether the ſame was advanta'geous or not:' which occaſioned ſome modifications in the addreſs with reſpect to that head. The next day the convocation (which had met with the parliament, and choſen Dr. Stanhope, prolocutor, complimented the queen in a joint addreſs 'on her recovery, and happy return to her 'royal city in health and ſafety:' concluding with their wiſhes, 'That, after a long and happy reign, ſhe might 'be able to tranſmit the protection of this church and ſtate 'to a proteſtant ſucceſſor in the illuſtrious houſe of Hano'ver, which her majeſty, to the great ſatisfaction and com'fort of all her faithful and good ſubjects, had ſo often de'clared to be at her royal heart.' Notwithſtanding this, and the angry expreſſions in the queen's ſpeech, the fears and jealouſies of the well-affected to the Hanover ſucceſſion were rather increaſed than removed, who, from the daily diſcouragements and even inſults they met with, could not but conclude that ſucceſſion to be in danger. The commons addreſs. March 5.

The earl of Wharton made a complaint in the houſe of lords againſt a libel, intitled, 'The public ſpirit of the 'whigs ſet forth in their generous encouragement of the 'author of the criſis.' This libel (which was fathered upon Dr. Swift and lord Bolingbroke) was written in the ludicrous and ſarcaſtic ſtrains of 'the tale of a tub.' After ſome ſcurilous reflections on Mr. Steele, and occaſionally Complaint of a libel in the houſe of lords. Pr. H. C.

1713-14. on the earl of Nottingham, with ſome jeſts on the implicit munificence of the ſubſcribers to the criſis: the author attacks the union, reflects on the whole Scots nation, and, without reſerve, inſults the duke of Argyle, who of late had broken all meaſures with the miniſtry (m). This piece was

(m) The paſſage that gave moſt offence to the lords was as follows:

'This work (the union of the two kingdoms) was unſucceſsfully attempted by ſeveral of her majeſty's predeceſſors, though I do not remember it was ever thought on by any, except king James the firſt, and the late king William. I have read indeed that ſome ſmall overtures were made by the former of theſe princes towards an union between the two kingdoms, but rejected with indignation and contempt by the Engliſh. And the hiſtorian tells, that, how degenerate and corrupt ſoever the court and parliament then were, they would not give ear to ſo infamous a propoſal. I do not find, that any of the ſucceeding princes before the revolution ever reſumed the deſign; becauſe it was a project, for which there could not poſſibly be aſſigned the leaſt reaſon or neceſſity. For I defy any mortal to name one ſingle advantage, that England could ever expect from ſuch an union. But, towards the end of the late king's reign, upon an apprehenſion of the want of iſſue from him or the princeſs Anne, a propoſition for uniting both kingdoms was begun, becauſe Scotland had not ſettled their crown upon the houſe of Hanover, but left themſelves at large, in hopes to make their advantage. And it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the iſland, inhabited by a poor, fierce northern people, at liberty to put themſelves under a different king. However, the oppoſition to this work was ſo great, that it could not be overcome until ſome time after her preſent majeſty came to the crown, when, by the weakneſs or corruption of a certain miniſter ſince dead, an act of parliament was obtained for the Scots, which gave them leave to arm themſelves; and ſo the union became neceſſary, not for any actual good it could poſſibly do us, but to avoid a probable evil; and at the ſame time ſave an obnoxious miniſter's head, who was ſo wiſe, as to take the firſt opportunity of procuring a general pardon by act of parliament, becauſe he could not with ſo much decency or ſafety deſire a particular one for himſelf. Theſe facts are well enough known to the whole kingdom. And I remember, diſcourſing above ſix years ago with the moſt conſiderable perſon* of the adverſe party, and a great promoter of the union, he frankly owned to me, that this neceſſity, brought upon us by the wrong management of the earl of Go-

* Lord Sommers.

'dol-

was generally looked upon as very impolitic and ill-timed; since the ſixteen Scots peers, who ſat in the houſe of lords, and who (at leaſt there) were the principal ſupport of thoſe at the helm, were involved in the general reflections on the Scots nation. The earl of Wharton's complaint againſt this 1713-14.

'dolphin, was the only cauſe 'of the union.

'Therefore I am ready to 'grant two points to the author 'of the criſis; firſt, that the 'union became neceſſary for the 'cauſe above related; becauſe 'it prevented this iſland from 'being governed by two kings, 'which England would never 'have ſuffered; and it might 'probably have coſt us a war of 'a year or two to reduce the 'Scots. Secondly, that it 'would be dangerous to break 'this union, at leaſt in this 'juncture, while there is a pre-'tender abroad, who might 'probably lay hold of ſuch an 'opportunity. And this made 'me wonder a little at the ſpi-'rit of faction laſt ſummer 'among ſome people, who, 'having been the great pro-'moters of the union, and ſe-'veral of them the principal 'gainers by it, could yet pro-'ceed ſo far, as to propoſe in 'the houſe of lords, that it 'ſhould be diſſolved; while at 'the ſame time thoſe peers, 'who had ever oppoſed it in the 'beginning, were then for pre-'ſerving it upon the reaſon I 'have juſt aſſigned, and which 'the author of the criſis hath 'likewiſe taken notice of.

'But when he tells us, The 'Engliſhmen ought, in genero-'ſity, to be more particularly 'careful in preſerving this uni-'on, he argues like himſelf.

'The late kingdom of Scotland, '(ſaith he) had as numerous a 'nobility as England, &c. They 'had indeed; and to that we 'owe one of the great and ne-'ceſſary evils of the union, upon 'the foot it now ſtands. Their 'nobility is indeed ſo numerous, 'that the whole revenues of 'their country would be hardly 'able to maintain them accord-'ing to the dignity of their 'titles; and, what is infinitely 'worſe, they are never likely to 'be extinct, until the laſt pe-'riod of all things, becauſe the 'greateſt part of them deſcend 'to heirs general. I imagine, 'a perſon of quality prevailed 'on to marry a woman much 'his inferior, and without a 'groat to her fortune, and her 'friends arguing, ſhe was as 'good as her huſband, becauſe 'ſhe brought him as numerous 'a family of relations and ſer-'vants, as ſhe found in his 'houſe. Scotland in the taxes 'is obliged to contribute one 'penny for every forty pence 'laid upon England: and the 'repreſentatives, they ſend to 'the parliament, are about a 'thirteenth. Every other Scots 'peer hath all the privileges 'of an Engliſh one, except that 'ſitting in parliament; and even 'precedence before all of the 'ſame title, that ſhall be created 'for the time to come. The 'penſions and employments poſ-'ſeſſed by the natives of that

1713-14. this libel being warmly eſpouſed by the majority of the peers, the lord-treaſurer proteſted he knew nothing of it; exclaimed againſt the malicious inſinuations contained in it; and readily joined with the houſe, in an order for committing John Morphew, the publiſher, to the cuſtody of the black-rod. Morphew, upon his examination, having declared, that an unknown porter had brought to his houſe the copies of the pamphlet in queſtion, from the houſe of John Barber, printer of the gazette, and of the votes of the houſe of commons, Barber was alſo ordered into cuſtody, and both he and Morphew were, ſeverally, examined at the bar of the houſe of lords. Morphew ſtood to his former declaration, and owned the publiſhing and ſelling of that libel; but Barber ſaid, he knew nothing of it, and inſiſted 'not to anſwer any queſtions, the anſwer to which might 'tend to accuſe himſelf, or to corroborate the accuſation 'againſt him.' Being both withdrawn, the earl of Wharton ſaid, 'They had nothing to do either with the pub-'liſher or printer; but that it highly concerned the honour 'of that auguſt aſſembly, to find out the villain, who was 'the author of that falſe and ſcandalous libel, in order to 'do to the Scots nation juſtice:' and moved, 'That, in 'order to that diſcovery, Barber might be again examined 'the next day, together with his journeymen and ſervants.' This was readily agreed to; but, the next day, the earl of Mar, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, acquainted the houſe, that, purſuant to the queen's commands, he had directed John Barber to be proſecuted. The earl of Wharton deſired to know, upon what evidence they deſigned to proceed againſt him? But the earl of Mar replied, That he wondered, ſuch a queſtion ſhould be put to a ſecretary of ſtate, who was known to be under an oath of ſecrecy:

Morphew and Barber taken into cuſtody.

March 5.

'country now among us do 'amount to more than the 'whole body of their nobility 'ever ſpent at home; and all 'the money, they raiſe upon the 'public, is hardly ſufficient to 'defray their civil and military 'liſts. I could point out ſome 'with great titles, who affected 'to appear very grievous for 'diſſolving the union, although 'their whole revenues before 'that period would have ill 'maintained a Welch juſtice of 'the peace; and have ſince 'gathered more money than 'ever any Scotſman, who had 'not travelled, could form an 'idea of.'

This paſſage, by reaſon of the offence it might give to the Scots peers, was, a few days after the publication of the libel, cancelled and the reſt publiſhed with a new title under pretence of a ſecond edition. But it was reſtored by Dr. Swift, in the late edition of his political tracts.

and

and this put a ſtop to all further enquiries about Barber's affair, in a parliamentary way. Three days after, Barber and Morphew were, upon their petition, inlarged from the cuſtody of the black-rod. However, the lords reſolved upon an addreſs, reciting the ſteps they had taken in this affair; notwithſtanding which, 'they had not been able to diſcover 'the author of the libel, which they conceived to be a falſe, 'malicious, and factious libel, highly diſhonourable and 'ſcandalous to her majeſty's ſubjects of Scotland, tending to 'the deſtruction of the conſtitution, and (by making falſe 'and unjuſt reflections upon the union, and the ſteps and 'motives to it) moſt injurious to her majeſty, who had 'been pleaſed often to declare from the throne, that the 'union of the two kingdoms was the peculiar happineſs of 'her reign, in making a full proviſion for the peace and 'quiet of her people, and the ſecurity of their religion, by 'ſo firm an eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant ſucceſſion 'throughout Great-Britain. That nothing therefore might 'be wanting on their parts towards the diſcovering and 'puniſhing ſo great a criminal, they humbly beſought her 'majeſty to iſſue her royal proclamation, with a reward to 'any perſon, who ſhould diſcover the author.' Accordingly, the ſame day, a proclamation was publiſhed, with a reward of three hundred pounds. But, nevertheleſs, Dr. Swift, the reputed author, remained undiſcovered to the public, though at the ſame time, notwithſtanding the indecency of his character as well as of his writings, he was daily careſſed by the lord-treaſurer, as Barber the printer was by the lord Bolingbroke (n). 1713-14.

A bill to limit the number of officers in the houſe of commons. Pr. H. C. Steel's apol.

The commons, having readily voted a ſupply, proceeded on controverted elections, and, coming to ſeveral reſolutions about qualifying the members to ſerve in parliament (o), they ordered a bill to be brought in, 'for ſecuring the 'free-

(n) Dr. Swift, in his advertiſement prefixed to this pamphlet among his political tracts, ſays, the reaſon of offering ſo ſmall a reward was, becauſe 'the queen and miniſtry had no 'deſire to have the author taken 'into cuſtody.'

(o) Theſe reſolutions were: 'I. That, notwithſtanding 'the oath taken by any candi- 'date, on or after any election, 'his qualification may be afterwards examined into. 'II. That, the perſon, whoſe 'qualification is expreſly objected to, in any petition relating to his election, ſhall, 'within fifteen days after the 'petition read, give, to the 'clerk of the houſe of commons, a paper ſigned by him- 'ſelf,

1713-14. 'freedom' of parliaments, by limiting the number of offi-
'cers in the houſe of commons:' which was perfected to-
wards the end of March.

Steele obnoxious to the miniſters.

Notwithſtanding all the care and induſtry uſed by the court-managers in the late elections, many profeſſed enemies of the preſent miniſters were choſen. But, of theſe, none were ſo obnoxious to the men in power as Mr. Steele, who in ſeveral public writings, had arraigned the late meaſures with great boldneſs, as one, who was encouraged, and ſure to be ſupported, by the whole whig party. It was therefore agreed by the miniſters (how much ſoever they differed in other matters) to exert their endeavours to remove him from his ſeat in parliament. A petition, which was lodged againſt his election, happening to be the ſeventeenth of that kind, and therefore not like to come on this ſeſſion, it was reſolved to take a ſhorter way, and attack him about ſome of his late political writings. Mr. Hungerford, a noted lawyer, who had been expelled the houſe of commons for bribery in the reign of king William, moved, on the 11th of March, to take into conſideration that part of the queen's ſpeech, which related to the ſuppreſſing ſeditious libels; and complained, in particular, of ſeveral ſcandalous papers lately publiſhed, under the name of Richard Steele, eſq; a member of that houſe. He was ſeconded by Mr. auditor Foley, a near relation to the lord-treaſurer, who ſuggeſted, 'That unleſs means were found to reſtrain 'the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, and to ſhelter thoſe, who

'ſelf, containing a rental or 'particular of the lands, tene-'ments, or hereditaments, 'whereby he makes out his 'qualification: of which any 'perſon concerned may have a 'copy.

'III. That, of ſuch lands, 'tenements, or hereditaments, 'whereof the party hath been 'in poſſeſſion for three years 'before the election, he ſhall 'alſo inſert in the ſame paper, 'from what perſon, and by 'what conveyance, or act in 'law, he claims and derives the 'ſame; and alſo the conſidera-'tion, if any paid, and the 'names and places of abode of 'the witneſſes to ſuch convey-'ance and payment.

'IV. That, if a ſitting mem-'ber ſhall think fit to queſtion 'the qualification of a petitioner, 'he ſhall, within fifteen days 'after the petition read, leave 'notice thereof in writing with 'the clerk of the houſe of com-'mons; and the petitioner ſhall, 'in ſuch caſe, within fifteen 'days after ſuch notice, leave 'with the ſaid clerk of the 'houſe the like account in wri-'ting of his qualification, as is 'required from a ſitting mem-'ber.'

'had

'had the honour to be in the adminiſtration, from malici- 1713-14.
'ous and ſcandalous libels; they, who by their abilities are
'beſt qualified to ſerve their queen and country, would de-
'cline public offices and employments.' This was ſup-
ported by Sir William Wyndham, who added, 'That ſome
'of Mr. Steele's writings contained inſolent injurious re-
'flections on the queen herſelf, and were dictated by the
'ſpirit of rebellion.' The next day, auditor Harley (the Complaint
lord-treaſurer's brother) made a formal complaint to the againſt
houſe againſt certain paragraphs of the three printed pam- Mr. Steele.
phlets, which had given moſt offence to the court; 'The
'Engliſhman, of January 19; The criſis; and The laſt
'Engliſhman, all ſaid to be written by Richard Steele, Eſq;
which pamphlets being brought up to the table, it was or-
dered, that Mr. Steele ſhould attend in his place the next
morning.

This brought a great concourſe of members and ſpectators Mar. 13.
to the houſe; and, Mr. Steele attending, ſeveral para-
graphs, contained in the pamphlets complained of, were
read: after which, Mr. Foley, Mr. Harley, and ſome
other members, ſeverely animadverted upon the rancour
and ſeditious ſpirit conſpicuous in thoſe writings. Mr. James
Craggs junr. ſtanding up to ſpeak in Mr. Steele's behalf, he
was prevented by a confuſed noiſe of ſeveral voices calling
to order; intimating, that, according to the order of the
day, Mr. Steele was to be heard himſelf in his place. Upon
this, Mr. Steele ſaid, 'That, being attacked on ſeveral
'heads without any previous notice, he hoped the houſe
'would allow him, at leaſt, a week's time to prepare for
'his defence.' Auditor Harley having excepted againſt ſo
long a delay, and moved for adjourning this affair to the
Monday following, Mr. Steele, to ridicule his two prin-
cipal proſecutors, Foley and Harley, who were known to
be rigid preſbyterians, though they now ſided with the
high-church, aſſumed their ſanctified countenance, and
owned, 'in the meekneſs and contrition of his heart, that
'he was a very great ſinner; and hoped, the member,
'who ſpoke laſt, and who was ſo juſtly renowned for his
'exemplary piety and devotion, would not be acceſſary
'to the accumulating the number of his tranſgreſſions,
'by obliging him to break the ſabbath of the Lord, by per-
'uſing ſuch profane writings, as might ſerve for his juſti-
'fication.' This ſpeech, ſpoken in a canting tone, having
put the generality of the aſſembly in good humour,
Mr. Steele carried his point; and the further conſideration
of

1713-14. of the charge againſt him was deferred for a week, by which time it was expected, that Sir Richard Onſlow, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Lechmere, and ſome other leading members of the whig-party, who were abſent, would be come to town. This ſucceſs encouraged Mr. Steele, not only to ſtand upon the defenſive, but even to attack his accuſers. As he believed a great part of the ill-will, he had brought upon himſelf, was owing to what he writ about Dunkirk, he thought it would make for his defence, to have what paſſed, relating to the colluſive demolition, appear to the houſe before his day came on. He therefore moved, on the very Monday propoſed by Mr. Harley for his trial, 'That an addreſs be preſented to the queen, to 'give directions, that the ſeveral repreſentations of her 'engineers and officers, who had the care and inſpection 'of the demolition of Dunkirk, and all orders and in-'ſtructions given thereupon, be laid before the houſe.' But the motion was rejected by two hundred and fourteen voices, againſt one hundred and nine. But the court-party did not think fit to oppoſe another motion, which, with the ſame intent, was then made by the lord Lumley, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Scarborough, who being ſeconded by the earl of Hertford, it was unanimouſly reſolved, 'That 'an addreſs be preſented to her majeſty, that ſhe would 'be pleaſed to order an account to be laid before the houſe, 'what ſteps had been made for the removing the preten-'der from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain, pur-'ſuant to the addreſs of both houſes of the laſt parlia-'ment; and what anſwers had been given by the duke of 'Lorrain.'

Steele's motion about Dunkirk is rejected. Mar. 15.

Steele's trial in the houſe of commons.

On the 18th of March, the day appointed for Mr. Steele's trial, the court-party thought proper to clear the houſe of all ſtrangers; which being done, auditor Foley moved, that, before they proceeded any farther, Mr. Steele ſhould declare, whether he acknowledged the writings, that bore his name? Upon which Mr. Steele owned all the papers laid to his charge to be parts of his writings: that he wrote them in behalf of the houſe of Hanover, and owned them with the ſame unreſervedneſs, with which he had abjured the pretender. Then, a debate ariſing upon the method of proceeding, Mr. Foley propoſed, that Mr. Steele ſhould withdraw; but, after ſeveral ſpeeches, it was carried, without dividing, that he ſhould ſtay, in order to make his defence. Mr. Steele deſired, he might be allowed to anſwer to what might be urged againſt him,

para-

paragraph by paragraph; but though he was powerfully supported by Mr. Robert Walpole, general Stanhope, the lord Finch, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Nottingham; and the lord Hinchinbroke, ſon to the earl of Sandwich; yet his accuſers inſiſted, and it was carried, 'That he ſhould proceed to make his defence generally, upon the charge 'given againſt him.' Mr. Steele proceeded accordingly, being aſſiſted by Mr. Addiſon, who ſat near him, to prompt him, upon occaſion; and for near three hours ſpoke to the ſeveral heads, extracted out of the three pamphlets above mentioned (which had been given in print to all the members) with ſuch temper, eloquence, and unconcern, as gave entire ſatisfaction to all, who were not prepoſſeſſed againſt him. 1713-14.

Mr. Steele being withdrawn, moſt members expected, that Mr. Foley would have ſummed up, and anſwered his defence: but he contented himſelf, with ſaying, in general, 'That, without amuſing the houſe with long ſpeeches, 'it was plain, that the writings, that had been complained 'of, were ſeditious and ſcandalous, injurious to her ma'jeſty's government, the church and the univerſities, and 'moved, that the queſtion ſhould be put.' This occaſioned a very warm debate, which laſted till eleven at night. Mr. Robert Walpole, who ſpoke firſt in favour of Mr. Steele, made a long and elegant ſpeech. He began with ſhewing, 'that this extraordinary and violent proſecution ſtruck at 'the liberties of the ſubject in general, and of the mem'bers of that houſe in particular. He then juſtified 'Mr. Steele on all the heads of the accuſation raiſed 'againſt him; and ſaid, he hoped the houſe would not 'ſacrifice one of their members to the reſentment and 'rage of the miniſtry, for no other crime, than his ex'poſing their notorious miſmanagements; and, like a 'good patriot, warning his countrymen againſt the immi'nent dangers, with which the nation in general, and in 'particular her majeſty's ſacred perſon, were threatened, 'by the viſible encouragement, that was given to the pre'tender's friends. If a papiſt (ſaid Mr. Walpole) nay an Iriſh prieſt *, who for many years has been ſervant to 'the late king James, and the pretender; one, who has 'borne arms againſt her majeſty in France and Spain; 'one, who is ſtrongly ſuſpected of having imbrued his 'hands in the blood of the late duke of Medina-Celi, and 'marquis of Leganez; if ſuch a man be not only per'mitted to come into England, but to appear at court, in 'the

Mr. Walpole's ſpeech in his favour.

* Sir Patrick Lawleſs.

1713-14. 'the preſence-chamber; if he be careſſed by the miniſters; 'nay, I ſpeak it with horror, if ſuch a man be admitted 'to her majeſty's private audience in her cloſet, will not 'every good ſubject think her majeſty's perſon in danger? 'And is it then a crime in Mr. Steele to ſhew his juſt con-'cern for ſo precious a life?

As to that paſſage in Mr. Steele's criſis, wherein he ſays, 'That a late treaſonable book on the ſucceſſion of hereditary 'right has publiſhed the will of king Henry VIII, 'which ſeems to be intended as a pattern for the like oc-'caſion;' and a little lower, 'Let thoſe, who act under 'the preſent ſettlement, and yet pretend to diſpute for an 'abſolute hereditary right, quiet themſelves with the ar-'guments they have borrowed from popery;' Mr. Wal-'pole ſaid, it could not be denied, 'That the lord-trea-'ſurer was the patron of learned men, for whoſe uſe and 'improvement he had ſet up a fine library; and that it ap-'peared by the book, called, "The hereditary right of "the crown of England aſſerted, &c." that the author 'had free acceſs to that library, and had drawn very ma-'terial paſſages out of ſome manuſcripts in it. But that 'the lord-treaſurer's care to ſupply him with materials to-'wards that work went yet further, ſince his lordſhip had 'employed a man to look among old muſty papers for the 'will and teſtament of king Henry the Eighth, which the 'author had inſerted at length in the appendix to his book. 'That he appealed to Mr. Lowndes, a member of the 'houſe, and ſecretary to the treaſury, whether he had not 'paid, by the lord-treaſurer's order, twelve or fourteen 'pounds to the perſon, that had made that great diſco-'very; but, that in caſe he ſhould deny it, he had evi-'dence to prove it.' Mr. Lowndes ſeemed not to deny the fact; and only ſaid, that will was not ſo rare a piece, ſince it was to be ſeen in a place, which he named, in Weſt-minſter-abbey. On this occaſion Mr. Walpole mentioned three points, in which he endeavoured to prove, that the peace had already been broke: 'The firſt, he ſaid, was 'the demolition of Dunkirk, which ought to have been 'finiſhed five months after ſigning the treaty; but, inſtead 'of that, the French had yet only pulled down part of the 'outward fortifications, without touching the foundations, 'which, on the one hand, rendered the Engliſh garriſon 'uſeleſs, and expoſed to any inſults; and, on the other 'hand, would afterwards make it eaſy for the French to 'reſtore and rebuild thoſe fortifications; which was the

more

'more probable to be in their thoughts, since, instead of 1713-14.
'ruining the harbour, they were actually repairing the
'sluices, and working on a new canal. The second point
'was, the renunciations of the princes of the house of
'Bourbon, which were laid down as the foundation and
'basis of the peace, and as a pretence, that thereby the
'crowns of France and Spain would be more divided than
'ever: but that, supposing (what he could not, by any
'means grant) that those renunciations were to be depend-
'ed upon, they were yet conditional, and supposed the
'emperor's renunciation of the crown of Spain: and
'therefore, as no care had been taken to engage his impe-
'rial majesty to agree to that necessary condition, so the re-
'nunciations of the princes of the house of Bourbon be-
'came not binding and void.' The third instance, which Mr. Walpole gave of the violation of the peace, was the French king's ordinance, dated September the 18th, 1713, N. S. 'forbidding the children of French refugees, though
'born out of his dominions, to come into them, without
'his permission, upon pain of being sent to the gallies.'
This ordinance was against natural right and the law of nations, and in particular derogatory to the rights and liberties of the British nation, which the children of the refugees, born in England, were entitled to enjoy, as well as the other natives. That he would adventure to say in their behalf, that it were to be wished, that all, who have the happiness to be born in England, were as good Englishmen as the sons of the refugees; and that the British nation was the more concerned in having that ordinance repealed, in that the refugees and their children were the fittest to carry on a trade with France.

Mr. Horace Walpole seconded his brother in favour of the French refugees, 'and deplored the lamentable condi-
'tion of their ministers and the poor amongst them, to
'whom the lord-treasurer had not paid one penny of the
'fifteen thousand pounds per annum, voted by parliament,
'and allowed in the civil list, towards their subsistance and
'relief, since he came into his office.' Adding, 'That
'some amongst the refugees suffered now more in Eng-
'land, than they did during the persecution in France;
'since there were always some charitable people, who re-
'lieved them, while they were in prisons and dunge-
'ons, whereas here they were left to starve.'

The lord Finch supported, likewise, Mr. Robert Walpole, and justified Mr. Steele with relation to the tenderest

1713-14. derer part of the charge againſt him, his third Wiſh, in the cloſe of his laſt Engliſhman: 'That his electoral 'highneſs of Hanover would be ſo grateful, as to ſignify 'to all the world the perfect good underſtanding he had 'with the court of England, in as plain terms, as her ma-'jeſty was pleaſed to declare ſhe had with that houſe on 'her part.' He ſaid, 'That, ſuppoſing there were in 'this wiſh ſome injurious inſinuations, yet the ſame could 'not, without injuſtice, be applied to the queen, but only 'to her miniſters: that no body doubted the good under-'ſtanding between her majeſty and the houſe of Hanover; 'but that it was notorious, that the miniſters ſhewed no 'great regard to that illuſtrious houſe. Witneſs (to 'paſs over other inſtances) the ſlight they put upon the ba-'ron Bothmer's memorial, which the queen had perhaps 'never ſeen, had not the ducheſs of Somerſet ſhewed it her 'majeſty in print in the Daily Courant.' He likewiſe juſti-fied Mr. Steele in relation to his reflections on the peace. 'We may, ſays he, give it all the fine epithets we pleaſe: 'but epithets do not change the nature of things. We 'may, if we pleaſe, call it here, honourable; but I am 'ſure, it is accounted ſcandalous in Holland, Germany, 'Portugal, and over all Europe, except France and Spain. 'We may call it advantageous; but all the trading part of 'the nation find it to be otherwiſe. If therefore it be really 'advantageous, it muſt be ſo to the miniſtry, that made 'it.' Sir William Wyndham replying, 'That the mi-'niſtry would not ſay, the peace was advantageous to 'them;' the lord Finch anſwered, 'Then it was plain 'it was advantageous to no body but our late ene-'mies.'

The lords *Lumley* and Hinchinbroke, and ſome other members, ſpoke alſo in favour of Mr. Steele, and againſt the conduct of the miniſtry. But Mr. Foley, Sir William Wyndham, the attorney-general, and ſome other courtiers, being ſupported by a great majority, ſtill inſiſted on the queſtion, and it was carried at laſt by two hundred forty-five voices againſt one hundred fifty-two. Firſt, 'That a 'printed pamphlet, intitled, 'The Engliſhman, being 'the cloſe of the paper ſo called,' and one other pam-'phlet, intitled, "The criſis," written by Richard Steele, 'Eſq; a member of this houſe, are ſcandalous and ſedi-'tious libels, containing many expreſſions highly reflecting 'upon her majeſty, and upon the nobility, clergy, gentry, 'and univerſities of this kingdom, maliciouſly inſinua-

'ting,

'ing, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hano- 1713-14.
'ver is in danger under her majeſty's adminiſtration, and
'tending to alienate the affections of her majeſty's good
'ſubjects, and to create jealouſies and diviſions among
'them. Secondly, That Richard Steele, Eſq; for his of- Mr. Steele expelled the houſe.
'fence in writing and publiſhing theſe ſcandalous and ſe-
'ditious libels, be expelled this houſe.'

It is obſervable, that only two Scots members ſpoke in this long debate, Mr. Baillie, and Sir James Stuart, judge-advocate in North-Britain. Baillie ſaid, 'He was little 'acquainted with the affairs of England, but had made it 'his buſineſs to know thoſe of his own country; and, by 'all the obſervations he could make for ſome years paſt, 'they, who appeared the moſt zealous for the preten-'der's intereſt, were the moſt favoured and counte-'nanced by thoſe in power.' This was confirmed by Sir 'James Stuart, who added, 'That, to his certain know-'ledge, three or four thouſand pounds had been yearly re-'mitted to the high-land clans, whoſe chiefs, and the men 'under their command, were known to be entirely devoted 'to the chevalier.' Hence it appears, this affair gave the enemies of the miniſtry an occaſion to take notice of ſeve-ral things, which, but for this proſecution, had perhaps never been mentioned in the houſe of commons; and which, being ſpoken in the hearing of ſeveral lords, occaſioned the like reflections and ſtricter enquiries in the houſe of peers. A few days after, the commons adjourned till after the eaſter holidays; and in the mean time Sir James Stuart was removed from his place for what he had ſaid.

On the 17th of March, the lords taking into conſide- Debate on the ſtate of the nation. Pr. H. L.
ration the ſtate of the nation, the earls of Wharton, Not-tingham, and Sunderland, the lords Cowper, Hallifax, and ſome others, repreſented the danger that threatened the proteſtant ſucceſſion, by reaſon of the pretender's not being *yet* removed from Lorrain, and the ill condition the affairs of Europe were left in by the late treaties of peace, and moved, that addreſſes be preſented to the queen, 'Firſt, 'for an account of what ſteps had been taken for removing 'the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain, 'and what anſwers had been given by that duke. Se-'condly, An account of the negotiations of peace; 'what meaſures had been taken, to render the peace 'univerſal: and what obſtructions her majeſty had met 'with. Thirdly, An account of what inſtances had 'been made for reſtoring to the Catalans their antient pri-

1713-14. 'vileges, and all letters relating thereto. Fourthly, An ac-
'count of the monies granted by parliament, ſince the
'year 1710, to carry on the war in Spain and Portugal.'
Theſe addreſſes were ordered to be preſented to the queen without any oppoſition. But, in the mean time, to give the houſe ſome amuſement, the lord-treaſurer moved for leave to bring in 'a bill for the further ſecurity of the pro-
'teſtant ſucceſſion, by making it high-treaſon to bring
'any foreign troops into the kingdom:' which greatly ſurprized many peers. Among the reſt, the earl of Nottingham, who immediately perceiving the dangerous conſequence of that motion, repreſented; 'That ſuch a bill
'might be turned againſt the very guarantees of the pro-
'teſtant ſucceſſion, and ſo weaken that happy ſettlement,
'for the ſecurity of which the bill was pretended to be de-
'ſigned.' The lord Bolingbroke replied, 'He doubted
'not, but the noble peer, who made the motion, meant
'only ſuch foreign troops, as might be brought into the
'kingdom by the pretender or his adherents.' The lord-
'treaſurer having declared this to be his meaning, it was anſwered, 'In that caſe ſuch a bill was altogether unne-
'ceſſary, ſince ſuch troops were either open enemies, if
'foreigners, or traitors and rebels, if natives.' The earl of Angleſea put an end to the debate, with ſaying, 'That
'the lord, who made the motion, was not acquainted with
'the methods of proceeding in that houſe; for every peer
'has the privilege of bringing in what bill he thinks fit:
'that the lord-treaſurer's aſking leave for it, was but a
'compliment to the houſe; and therefore, when he had
'brought in the bill, it would be then a proper time to
'conſider of it.' So the motion was dropped. The ſame day, a noble lord reflected on the biſhop of Sarum's preface to his Paſtoral care; but, that prelate offering to vindicate himſelf, no farther notice was taken of it.

Two days after, in a farther debate on the ſtate of the nation, ſeveral lords ſpoke again in favour of the Catalans, and inſiſted, 'That the houſe ought ſtrictly to examine
'how that poor people came to be abandoned, after they
'had been ſollicited and drawn in to declare for the em-
'peror.' The earl of Angleſea, ſeeing the miniſtry thus attacked, endeavoured to ward off the blow, by ſaying,
'That, for his own part, he was one of the firſt that ap-
'peared againſt the late miniſters, becauſe he was fully
'convinced of their male-adminiſtration, corruption, ava-
'rice, and unbounded ambition. That he would, in like

'manner,

'manner, be one of the firſt that ſhould attack the preſent 1713-14.
'miniſters, if he thought them guilty of the ſame faults.
'But, as he had obſerved, it was merely out of ſpleen
'and envy, that ſome perſons were for inquiring into the
'conduct of patriots, who had given ſignal proofs of their
'zeal for the public good, he was of opinion, that they
'ought to examine into the conduct both of the late and
'preſent miniſters, that ſo, by comparing one with the
'other, they might ſee, which had committed leſs errors.'
However, the whig lords purſued their point, and in particular took notice of the danger, both the queen's perſon and the proteſtant ſucceſſion were in, from the great number of out-lawed Jacobites, who were permitted to come over from beyond ſea; and complained of the favour ſhewn to the pretender's friends, in granting noli proſequi's to perſons (meaning Daniel de Foe among others) who were under proſecution for writing againſt the proteſtant ſucceſſion. They animadverted upon the debts of the navy being much increaſed, though nothing had been done at ſea for two or three years. The court-party having nothing to ſay to theſe particulars, it was moved and reſolved to addreſs the queen, that ſhe would order the proper officers to lay before the houſe, 'Firſt, an account of the 'debts and ſtate of the navy. Secondly, an account of 'noli proſequi's granted ſince her acceſſion to the throne. 'And, thirdly, a liſt of perſons outlawed, attainted, or 'that had borne arms in the ſervice of her majeſty's, or 'the late king's enemies, who had got licenſes to return 'into Great-Britain, or other her majeſty's dominions, 'ſince the year 1688.' After this, upon a motion for adjourning, the whig lords propoſed to adjourn only to the Monday following. But, the miniſtry being highly concerned to put a ſtop to ſuch enquiries, the lord-treaſurer, with a ſhew of devotion, repreſented, 'That the ſolemnity of the feſtival of Eaſter approaching, the next week 'ought, according to the primitive inſtitution, and the 'conſtant practice of the church of England, to be ſet 'apart for works of piety;' and therefore moved to adjourn to the 31ſt of March. The treaſurer being ſeconded by the lord Trevor, the earl of Wharton ſaid, 'God forbid he ſhould oppoſe that noble lord, who had 'made ſo pious and religious a motion; but that he appealed to that venerable bench (pointing to the biſhops) 'whether humanity and charity did not require it at their 'hands, not to loſe one moment of time, in addreſſing

1713-14. 'her majeſty in behalf of the diſtreſſed Catalans, who 'were reduced to ſuch an extremity, that the leaſt delay 'in procuring them relief, might prove their ruin for 'ever.' Then it was reſolved, without oppoſition, to preſent the addreſs; and the earl of Oxford's motion for adjourning to the 31ſt of March was carried in the affirmative. It is obſervable, the commons having, the day before, made an order for clearing the houſe of all ſtrangers, not excepting the peers, it was moved in the lords houſe to make the like order, without excepting the commons: but this was oppoſed by the duke of Argyle, who ſaid, 'It 'was for the honour of that auguſt aſſembly to ſhew, that 'they were better bred, and had more complaiſance than 'the commons.'

A remarkable declaration publiſhed by the miniſtry.

At this time the miniſtry, in order to allay the fears, which many entertained of a deſign between Great-Britain and France, to bring over the pretender; cauſed a remarkable declaration, made ſome time before by the French ambaſſador at the Hague, to be publiſhed in the Poſt-boy of the 18th of March, which was to this effect: 'It is 'not only in Holland, that falſe reports are ſpread of the 'king my maſter's equipping a fleet, with a deſign to 'ſupport the intereſts of the chevalier de St. George; but 'theſe falſe reports have alſo reached England. As it is 'eaſy to imagine for what end they have been invented, 'I am ordered by his majeſty, to acquaint you with the 'malicious deſign of them: they will ſoon vaniſh, being 'without foundation, and even the leaſt appearance of 'any. It is, however, neceſſary, that truth ſhould be 'known.'

This declaration, however, with the leaſt diſcerning, paſſed only for a political amuſement: and indeed it was but a fond imagination in the Britiſh miniſters, to believe that any verbal aſſurances and proteſtations were able to diſpel the jealouſies and apprehenſions, occaſioned by the daily removal of the firmeſt friends to the proteſtant ſucceſſion from public employments, and advancing in their ſtead, thoſe, whom they found inclined blindly to follow the queen's meaſures; which was now become the watch-word, and, as it were, the ſtandard of civil and military merit. Upon this rule, at a cabinet-council, it was reſolved to remove the duke of Argyle from all his places; to order the earl of Stair to diſpoſe of his regiment of Scots royal dragoons; and to turn out ſeveral other inferior officers. Accordingly, a few days after it was declared,

Removals and Promotions.

clared, that the command of the Scots troop of life-guards, of which the duke of Argyle was colonel and captain, was given to the young earl of Dundonald, a Scots peer (for which, however, the queen was ſaid to have paid the uſual price of ten thouſand pounds to the duke) that the earl of Peterborough was made governor of the iſland of Minorca, and the earl of Orkney governor of Edinburgh caſtle, both in the room of the duke of Argyle; that the earl of Portmore had bought the earl of Stair's regiment for ſix thouſand pounds; that major-general Davenport was orderd to ſell his poſt of lieutenant of the firſt troop of life-guards to brigadier Panton, that major-general Holmes, major of the cold-ſtream regiment of foot-guards, had leave to diſpoſe of his company to lieutenant-colonel Gibbons, late of colonel Kane's regiment of foot; that lieutenant-colonel Egerton, brother to the earl of Bridgewater, and lieutenant-colonel Sidney, brother to the earl of Leiceſter, were ordered to ſell their companies in the foot-guards, for the ſum of a thouſand pounds each, to the lieutenant-colonels Markham and Owen; and that lieutenant-colonel Oughton and lieutenant-colonel Paget were alſo ordered to diſpoſe of their companies. It was about the ſame time ſtrongly reported, that ſeveral other officers, who, being cloſeted, had demurred upon the queſtion, that was put to them, 'Whether they would 'ſerve the queen, without aſking queſtions?' were likewiſe to be turned out of their poſts; ſome of which were to be filled up by the creatures of the lord Bolingbroke, the principal adviſer and promoter of the new-modelling the army. One branch of this ſcheme was to break nine of the battalions in Ireland; to lay aſide ſeventy-two officers, who were thought improper inſtruments for the deſigns in hand; and to raiſe fifteen other battalions, that ſhould be ſure to obey all commands; and one of which was ſaid to be deſigned for the lord Poor, an Iriſh Roman catholic peer, who had a long time ſerved in France. It was alſo generally reported, that either the earl of Angleſea, or colonel Owen, who ſoon after went over to Dublin, carried theſe orders to Sir Conſtantine Phipps, but whatever ground there was for ſuch a report, that part of the model never took place.

1713-14.

Further deſigns of new-modelling the army.

The lord Bolingbroke and his friends, who by this time had got the aſcendant over the lord-treaſurer in the cabinet-council, were the more haſty in their meaſures, both becauſe they began to deſpair of the queen's ſurviving the

The queen again indiſpoſed.

1713-14. next ſummer, and becauſe they were not ignorant, that the whigs, in concert with the court of Hanover, took all imaginable precautions to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The queen being taken ill (p), thoſe who were moſt concerned in her life, puſhed on their ſchemes, knowing how precarious that life was; and, at the ſame time, the better to carry on their deſigns, gave out, that ſhe was in no manner of danger, being only troubled with a ſmall fit of the gout. But though, the better to conceal the true ſtate of her health, only Dr Arbuthnot, who was devoted to their party, was for a long time admitted to ſee her leg; yet thoſe, who watched for the ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, did not want intelligence of her dangerous condition, and took all poſſible meaſures to defeat any attempt, that ſhould be made to bring in the pretender, at or before her death. As that caſe never happened, thoſe meaſures are for the moſt part a ſecret; but it may be obſerved, that about this time the pretender's friends were not a little alarmed at a ſecret treaty, which was ſaid to be concluded between the elector of Brunſwick and the States-general; whereby the States, in conſideration of a certain ſum, engaged to furniſh the elector with a certain number of ſhips

Meaſures taken by the whigs to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

(p) Dr. Shadwell, in a letter to the duke of Shrewſbury, gives the following account of her illneſs:

On the 11th of March, after the queen had ſunned herſelf at the window, ſhe was ſeized with a chilneſs, vomiting, a pain in the leg, the pulſe very diſordered, and in every manner as two months before, except that the queen did not ſhiver; but the cold and chilneſs continued twelve hours, and was then ſucceeded by very great heat, thirſt, and all the ſymptoms of a high fever, which laſted till the next morning. Some of her phyſicians were for adminiſtring the ſnake-root; but Dr. Shadwell oppoſed it, by reaſon of the inflammatory fever, and Eryſipelas; preſſed for temperate cordial medicines, to diſcharge the blood; and cupping, as well as other evacuations, to prevent too great a load of humours falling upon the leg. This he inſiſted on the next day, tho' the fever was off; apprehending the conſequence of that limb being too much loaded: and though, on Sunday the 14th, the queen eat a chicken with very good appetite; though all the other phyſicians thought matters ſo well, as not to need any preſcription; yet that very good appearance did not eaſe Dr. Shadwell of his fears, for what might happen to the leg, if the Eryſipelas ſhould turn to an impoſthumation: which it did, according to his prognoſtic, not long after; and proved at laſt the immediate cauſe of the queen's death.

and

and land-forces (beſides their engagements as guarantees of the ſucceſſion) to ſupport his claim to the crown of Great-Britain. Be this as it will, certain it is, that the court of Hanover did not rely on the fair promiſes, given them by the Britiſh miniſters, and which were manifeſtly contradicted by matters of fact. And as ſome of the Britiſh miniſters and generals were, at this juncture, very intent upon new-modelling the army; ſo on the other hand, the duke of Argyle, the generals Stanhope and Cadogan, and ſeveral other experienced commanders, were no leſs active, though with more caution, in keeping ſteady and preparing againſt all events, ſuch military men, as they knew to be well affected to the proteſtant ſucceſſion. general Stanhope, in particular, had ſeveral private conferences with the principal officers among the French refugees; who being a conſiderable body, and all zealous for the cauſe, no ſmall ſtreſs was laid on their aſſiſtance, as well as that of their countrymen. So, if things had been brought to extremities, excluſive of the interpoſition of foreign forces, the well-affected to the houſe of Hanover would have been equal, if not ſuperior to the pretender's friends. This will appear more than probable, if we conſider, that in either houſe of parliament few were for altering the preſent ſettlement: that moſt of the merchants and monied men in the city of London (which, in all revolutions, has the greateſt influence over the reſt of the kingdom) were intirely devoted to the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and it is *now* known, that ſome of the principal of them had agreed with the generals Cadogan and Stanhope to exert their whole intereſt in the city, whenever any attempt ſhould be made upon the ſucceſſion; and that meaſures were *early* concerted by the kit-cat-club, with a major-general, who had a conſiderable poſt in the foot-guards, to ſeize the tower, upon the firſt appearance of danger, and to ſecure in it ſuch perſons, as were juſtly ſuſpected to favour the pretender (q). And the late lord Onſlow uſed to ſay, that himſelf had been ſent over with an aſſociation ſigned by the moſt eminent of the whigs to the duke of Marlborough, who did not think proper to give it the ſanction of his name; which was a great ſurprize to his old friends. 1713-14.

The parliament, according to their adjournment, met on the 31ſt of March. The chief debates were in the 1714.

(q) This Boyer, the hiſtorian, had from the major-general's own mouth, whoſe name he had not liberty to reveal.

1714. Debates about the Catalans. Pr. H. L.

houſe of lords, concerning the Catalans, the proteſtant ſucceſſion, removal of the pretender out of Lorrain, and the late treaties. The papers, which had been addreſſed for, being laid before the houſe, thoſe relating to the Catalans were read on the 2d of April. Then the earls of Wharton and Sunderland, the lords Halliſax, Cowper, and others, repreſented, 'That, the crown of Great-Britain 'having drawn in the Catalans to declare for the houſe of 'Auſtria, and engaged to ſupport them, thoſe engage-'ments ought to have been made good.' To this the lord Bolingbroke anſwered, 'That the queen had uſed all her 'endeavours to procure to the Catalans the enjoyment of 'their antient liberties and privileges; but that, after all, 'the engagements ſhe was entered into, ſubſiſted no lon-'ger than while king Charles was in Spain; but that 'prince being advanced to the imperial dignity, and hav-'ing himſelf abandoned the Catalans, ſhe could do no more 'than interpoſe her good offices in their behalf, which ſhe 'had not been wanting to do.' To this it was replied, 'That God almighty had put more effectual means into 'her majeſty's hands.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the lord Cowper moved for an addreſs to the queen, importing, 'That, her endeavours for preſerving to the Catalans the 'full enjoyment of their antient liberties, having proved 'ineffectual, their lordſhips made it their humble requeſt, 'that ſhe would continue her interpoſition in the moſt 'preſſing manner in their behalf.' None of the peers oppoſed this motion; only the lord-chancellor, in order to juſtify all that had been done by the miniſtry, ſaid, 'This 'addreſs would be more grateful to her majeſty, if the 'word ineffectual was left out, and if they ſhould only 'thankfully acknowledge her majeſty's endeavours in fa-'vour of the Catalans,' which was agreed to. But, notwithſtanding this compliment, the addreſs being the next day preſented to the queen, 'ſhe thanked, indeed, the 'lords, for the ſatisfaction they expreſſed in the endeavours 'ſhe had uſed for ſecuring to the Catalans their juſt liber-'ties;' but then ſhe added, that, 'at the time ſhe con-'cluded her peace with Spain, ſhe reſolved to continue her 'interpoſition upon every proper occaſion for obtaining 'thoſe liberties, and to prevent, if poſſible, the misfor-'tunes, to which that people were expoſed by the conduct 'of thoſe more nearly concerned to help them.' This anſwer occaſioned ſome reflections: and indeed, it quickly appeared, that Sir James Wiſhart, who, about this time,

was

was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, was rather inſtructed to aſſiſt king Philip in the reduction of Barcelona, than in relieving the diſtreſſed Catalans. 1714.

On April the 5th, the lords taking into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, ſeveral ſpeeches were made in relation to the dangers to which all Europe in general was left expoſed by the late treaties of peace, and which, in particular, threatened the proteſtant ſucceſſion. To this purpoſe the whig lords mentioned the countenance and favour which were publickly ſhewn by thoſe in power to the friends of the pretender; and his continuing in Lorrain (r). The earl Debate on the ſtate of the nation. Pr. H. L.

(r) Some time before the parliament met, the following letter, ſaid to be written by the duke of Lorrain, was handed about, firſt in manuſcript and afterwards in print:

'Madam,

'We could not be more ſurprized at the addreſſes of the Britiſh parliament laſt ſummer, than with the late remonſtrances of your majeſty's miniſter at Utrecht, in relation to the removal of the chevalier de St. George from the dominions of Lorrain. Before we would abſolutely comply with the requeſt of the moſt chriſtian king in that affair, the profound reſpect we have for your quiet, made us apprehenſive of giving the leaſt uneaſineſs to your majeſty. But when we were aſſured, on the contrary, that this expedient would be highly agreeable to all ſides, as the only means to remove one of the chief obſtacles to the general peace of Europe, ſo much wanted and deſired: proud of ſo great an honour, we could no longer refrain from opening our arms, to receive a prince, the moſt accompliſhed, the moſt virtuous, and moſt amiable of human race, who only wants to be ſeen to be admired, and known to be almoſt adored: whoſe magnanimity, in his ſufferings, renders him worthy his high birth; beſides his other great and commendable qualities, which confeſs the royal blood that flows in his veins.

We therefore hope your majeſty, and the Britiſh nation, will not take in ill part, that we cannot comply with a demand ſo inconſiſtent with our own honour, and the laws of hoſpitality; that, after our protection once given, we ſhould voluntarily abandon, to the rage of his enemies, an innocent, diſtreſſed prince, who knows no crime, but being born the laſt heir male to that illuſtrious family, which, for ſeveral ages, has given ſo many great monarchs to the world (amongſt the reſt, your majeſty) of whoſe heroic virtues he is a happy imitator; and whoſe conſpicuous and great actions have reflected as much luſtre, as you have received from your noble and truly royal progenitors. 'That God almighty would take your

1714. earl of Sunderland added, 'That, notwithſtanding the 'earneſt application made laſt ſeſſion by both houſes to her 'majeſty, to uſe her utmoſt endeavours to get him re-'moved from thence, yet he was aſſured by baron Foſtner, 'the duke of Lorrain's miniſter, ſome weeks before his 'departure, that, to his certain knowledge, no inſtances 'had yet been made to his maſter for that purpoſe.' The lord Bolingbroke ſaid, 'He wondered baron Foſtner ſhould 'make ſuch a declaration, ſince he himſelf had made thoſe 'inſtances to the baron in the queen's name.' But the lord Halliſax confirmed what the earl of Sunderland had advanced, ſaying, 'baron Foſtner had told him as much 'but four days before; ſo that the lord Bolingbroke muſt 'be miſtaken, at leaſt, in point of chronology.' The earl of Wharton having urged the dangers, which threatened the nation, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion from the male-adminiſtration of affairs, a queſtion was propoſed, 'whe-'ther the proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger under the pre-'ſent adminiſtration?' The court lords, who had a mind to ſcreen the miniſtry under the queen's name, inſiſted, that the laſt words of the queſtion ſhould be, under her majeſty's adminiſtration? the whig lords alledged, 'that the 'queen ought not to be mentioned in a queſtion, that did 'not at all concern her majeſty: for, by our conſtitution, 'the ſovereign can do no wrong; and, if any thing be 'done amiſs, the miniſters alone are accountable for it.' But it was urged, 'That the queen having, in her ſpeech 'from the throne, taken notice of the inſinuations, that 'the proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger under her govern-'ment; the queſtion ought to be taken in her majeſty's 'expreſſions about the ſame ſubject.' This being agreed to, the queſtion was warmly debated from two in the afternoon, till nine o'clock in the evening, when the proteſtant ſucceſſion was voted out of danger by a majority of twelve voices only, ſeventy-ſix againſt ſixty-four. The moſt remarkable circumſtance of this debate was, that the Archbiſhop of York and the earl of Angleſea ſpoke and voted with the whig lords, which added great ſtrength to

The proteſtant ſucceſſion voted out of danger.

your majeſty into his holy protection, is the ardent wiſh of,

MADAM,

Your Majeſty's, &c.'

This letter, though, with different views, was diſperſed with equal induſtry by both parties, and, with other concurring circumſtances, greatly increaſed the fears and jealouſies of the well-affected to the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

that

that ſide; the archbiſhop drawing after him the whole bench of biſhops, three courtiers only excepted; and the other being followed by the earls of Abingdon and Jerſey, the lords Aſhburnham and Carteret, and ſome other temporal peers; who, like the lord Angleſea, had, upon moſt occaſions, voted for the court lords; ſo that the victory, now gained, was owing either to the Scots peers, or to the late creation. And it was the general opinion, that this ſeeming advantage was in reality a kind of defeat. The earl of Angleſea's ſpeech upon this occaſion, was much taken notice of: He ſaid, among other things, 'That, when he came in-'to the houſe, he thought indeed the proteſtant ſucceſſion 'to be ſtill in danger on the part of France, whoſe intereſt 'it was to reſtore the pretender: But that, after he had 'heard what ſo many noble members of that auguſt aſſem-'bly, perſons of undoubted honour and probity, had al-'ledged againſt the miniſters, and no anſwer offered to 'confute it, either by the miniſters themſelves, or their 'friends, he could not but believe the ſucceſſion to be in 'danger under ſuch an adminiſtration.' He afterwards endeavoured to clear himſelf, as to the ſhare he had in ſome late tranſactions: 'I own (ſaid he) I gave my aſ-'ſent to the ceſſation of arms, for which I take ſhame to 'myſelf, and aſk God, my country, and my conſcience 'pardon. But, however, this fault I did not commit, 'till that noble lord (turning towards the lord-treaſurer) 'had aſſured the council, That the peace would be glo-'rious and advantageous both to her majeſty and her allies. 'Adding, that, as the honour of his ſovereign, and the 'good of his country, were the rule of his actions, ſo he 'had no reſpect of perſons; and if he found himſelf im-'poſed upon, he durſt purſue an evil miniſter, from the 'queen's cloſet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the 'ſcaffold.' The lord-treaſurer, againſt whom this was levelled, ſaid, 'That the peace was as glorious and advan-'tageous, as could be expected, conſidering the neceſſity 'of affairs, and the contradiction the queen's miniſters 'had met with, both at home and abroad.' Several lords replied, That no miniſters ever had it in their power to make ſo honourable and advantageous a peace, as the queen's miniſters had: and the duke of Argyle in particular added, 'That he had lately croſſed the kingdom of 'France, both in going to, and returning from Mi-'norca. That it was indeed one of the fineſt countries 'in the univerſe, but that there were marks of a general 'deſolation

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1714. 'desolation in all the places through which he passed. 'That he had rid forty miles together without meeting a 'man fit to carry arms: that the rest of the people were 'in the utmost misery and want; and therefore he did 'not apprehend what necessity there was to conclude a 'peace so precipitately with a prince, whose dominions were 'so exhausted of men, money, and provisions.' As to the question now under debate, he said, 'he firmly believed 'the succession in the electoral house of Hanover to be in 'danger from the present ministers, whom he durst charge 'with male-administration, both within those walls, and 'without: that he knew, and offered to prove, that the 'lord-treasurer had yearly remitted four thousand pounds 'to the high-land clans of Scotland, who were known to 'be intirely devoted to the pretender, in order to keep 'them under discipline, and ready for any attempt: that, 'on the other hand, the new-modelling of the army, by 'disbanding some regiments out of their turn, and by re-'moving from their employments a vast number of officers, 'merely upon account of their known affection to the 'house of Hanover, were clear indications of the de-'signs in hand: that it was a disgrace to the nation, 'to see men, who had never looked an enemy in the 'face, advanced to the posts of several brave officers, 'who, after they had often exposed their lives for their 'country, were now starving in prison for debt, for want 'of their pay.' The lord-treasurer, laying his hand upon his breast, said, 'He had, on so many occasions, given 'such signal proofs of his affection to the protestant succes-'sion, that he was sure no member of that august assembly 'did call it in question. That he owned, he had remitted, 'for two or three years past, three thousand eight hundred 'pounds to the High-land clans; but that he hoped the 'house would give him an opportunity to clear his con-'duct as to that point. And, as for the reformed officers, 'he had given orders, they should forthwith be paid.' The lord Ashburnham, who had lately been advanced to the command of a troop of life-guards, thinking himself re-flected on by some expressions, which had dropped from the duke of Argyle, took that occasion to say, 'That the 'queen had no better, nor a more loyal subject than him-'self; but that, at the same time, he was ready to spill 'every drop of his blood, and spend all his fortune, for the 'security of the protestant succession.'

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Though, after ſome other ſpeeches, the proteſtant ſucceſſion was voted out of danger, as the court-party deſired, yet the lord Halliſax, in order to put their profeſſions of affection to the proteſtant ſucceſſor to the teſt, moved, 'That 'an addreſs be preſented to the queen, that ſhe would renew her inſtances for the ſpeedy removing the pretender 'out of Lorrain; and that ſhe would, in conjunction with 'the States-general, enter into the guaranty of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover; and alſo with 'ſuch other princes, as ſhe ſhould think proper.' He was ſeconded by the earl of Wharton, who moved likewiſe, that, in the addreſs, 'Her majeſty might be deſired to 'iſſue out a proclamation, promiſing a reward to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the pretender, dead or alive:' This motion was ſupported by the duke of Bolton, who alſo moved, 'That the reward might be ſuitable to the im'portance of that ſervice.' Nothing was ſaid in oppoſition to theſe motions; but, it being late, ſome members cried, Adjourn, adjourn. But the other ſide calling for the queſtion, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the addreſs ſhould be preſented. Before this debate came on, the lord North and Grey moved, that all the ſtrangers that were in the houſe ſhould withdraw; upon which the earl of Wharton deſired, that they might be permitted to ſtay; and he was ſeconded by the duke of Argyle. But, the lord, who made the motion, inſiſting upon it, all ſtrangers were obliged to withdraw, except baron Schutz, envoy from Hanover, whoſe ſtanding behind the throne among the peers ſons was connived at. It is very probable, he did not fail giving a full account of this day's tranſactions to his court; and that the earl of Angleſea was noted down in the liſt of the perſons, whom, by the act of ſettlement, the proteſtant ſucceſſor was impowered to appoint to have a ſhare in the regency, in caſe of a demiſe. But it was obſerved, that the ſame evening the earl ſupped with the lord Bolingbroke, and, two days after, appeared at the treaſurer's levee; from whence it was conjectured, they had found means to regain him by the promiſe of the government of Ireland.

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Debate about the removal of the pretender out of Lorrain.

When the addreſs againſt the pretender was reported by the committee appointed to draw it, the lord North and Grey made a long ſpeech, 'wherein he endeavoured to 'ſhew the barbarity of ſetting a reward upon any body's 'head; which, he ſaid, was an encouraging of murder and 'aſſaſſination; and how repugnant ſuch a practice was to 'chriſtianity, the law of nature, and the laws of all civi-

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1714. 'lized nations.' To which purpoſe he quoted ſome paſſages out of Grotius, Puffendorf, and other civilians. He repreſented in particular, 'how inconſiſtent ſuch a proceeding was with the honour and dignity of ſo auguſt an aſſembly in a nation and government, famed for lenity and clemency;' and in concluſion ſaid, 'No man either had more reſpect and affection for the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, or would do more to ſerve them, than himſelf: but that they muſt excuſe him, if he would not venture damnation for them.' He was ſupported by the lord Trevor, who ſaid, 'What that noble peer had ſpoke, was ſufficient to ſhew, how inconſiſtent ſuch a proceeding was with chriſtianity, and the civil law; and therefore he would confine himſelf to our own laws; and, if he knew or underſtood any thing of theſe, he was confident, they were no leſs oppoſite to ſuch proceedings than the civil law. He knew, he did not ſpeak there as a lawyer or judge, but as a peer. But he was ſo fully ſatisfied of our law diſcountenancing all ſuch proceedings, that, if ever any ſuch caſe ſhould come before him as a judge, he would think himſelf bound in juſtice, honour, and conſcience to condemn ſuch an action as murder; and therefore he hoped, the ſupreme court of judicature in England, and the moſt auguſt tribunal in the univerſe, would not make a precedent for encouraging aſſaſſination:' concluding, that it was ſufficient, and therefore he moved, 'Firſt, that the reward ſhould be for apprehending and bringing the pretender to juſtice, in caſe he ſhould land, or attempt to land, either in Great-Britain or Ireland. Secondly, That her majeſty iſſue her royal proclamation, whenever, in her great wiſdom, ſhe ſhould judge it neceſſary.' The lords Cowper and Halifax ſaid, 'That ſuch a proceeding, as repugnant as it might be to the precepts of chriſtianity, was yet warranted by the practice of the old Romans, of the moſt civilized nations in Europe, and of our nation. For, without recurring to remoter inſtances, we had the example of king James the ſecond, who ſet a price on the head of his own nephew, the duke of Monmouth.' But theſe two lords were but weakly ſupported by their own party; and, the earl of Angleſea, and lords Aſhburnham, Carteret, and Orrery, who, three days before, had left the court-party, having approved the lord Trevor's motion, and moſt of the biſhops, who were againſt ſuch an addreſs, being abſent from the houſe, theſe mitigations were, upon a diviſion, carried by a majority of ten voices.

The

The same day, upon a motion made by the lord Halifax, the lords resolved to present another address to the queen, 'That she would issue out a proclamation against all jesuits, popish priests, and bishops; as also against all such, as bore arms against the late king William and queen Mary, or her present majesty.' Upon this occasion, some severe reflections were made against those persons, who, being outlawed for adhering to the late king James and the pretender, had the assurance, and were encouraged, not only to come over, but even to appear here with a public character. The earl of Anglesea said, on this occasion, 'That, for his own part, he was against widening our domestic divisions, by keeping up odious distinctions; and therefore, if they, who were born her majesty's subjects, and had been in arms against their country, were sensible of their fault, and inclined to return to their bounden allegiance, they ought, in his opinion, to open the door for them to come in.' But the house had other thoughts of the matter, and the next day resolved, '1. That no person, not included in the articles of Limerick, and who had borne arms in France or Spain, should be capable of any employment civil or military. 2. That no person, who is a natural born subject of her majesty, should be capable of sustaining the character of public minister from any foreign potentate.' These resolutions were made with a view to Sir Patrick Lawless, who, having been the pretender's envoy at the court of Madrid, had come over with a credential letter from king Philip. But, upon the noise, which his being here made in both houses of parliament, he thought fit to go to Holland. 1714. Votes against persons outlawed, papists, and others.

As a reflection had been made against the treasurer, for remitting yearly about four thousand pounds to the clans of Scotland, as if that sum were designed to keep in heart and discipline the pretender's friends, the lord Townshend moved for taking that affair into consideration. The duke of Argyle represented, 'That, the Scots highlanders being, for the most part, either rank papists, or declared jacobites, the giving them pensions was, in effect, keeping up popish seminaries, and fomenting rebellion.' In answer to this, the treasurer alledged, 'That in this particular he had but followed the example of the late king William, who, after he had reduced the highlanders, thought fit to allow yearly pensions to the heads of the clans, in order to keep them quiet; and, if the present ministry could be charged with any mismanagement on that article, it was only The treasurer's conduct in remitting money to the highlanders approved.

1714. 'only for retrenching part of that huſh-money,' Nothing being alledged againſt this apology, the lord North and Grey made a motion for returning the treaſurer the thanks of the houſe for his good ſervices. But the lord Bolingbroke, to put it off, ſaid, 'He was perſuaded the treaſurer 'was contented with the teſtimony of his own conſcience, 'and deſired no further ſatisfaction, than to have his con-'duct approved by that auguſt aſſembly.' Which was accordingly done. Upon this unſucceſsful attempt upon the treaſurer, the lord North and Grey ſaid, with an air of triumph, 'That, having, by this time, removed all fears and 'jealouſies about popery and the pretender, he hoped the 'enemies of the miniſtry would now ſpeedily produce all 'the objections they had againſt their conduct:' and moved, that a day might be appointed for taking into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, with regard to the treaties of peace and commerce. He was ſeconded by the earl of Clarendon; and then the houſe adjourned to the 13th of April; but, the day before, the lord chancellor attended only by the whig lords, preſented to the queen their addreſs againſt the pretender (s), to which ſhe returned the following anſwer:

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(s) The addreſs was as follows;

'We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the 'lords ſpiritual and temporal in 'parliament aſſembled, having 'a juſt and tender concern for 'your majeſty, and our country, 'and being encouraged by that 'zeal your majeſty has ſo often 'expreſſed from the throne, for 'the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the 'illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, 'do now preſume to renew our 'moſt humble application to 'your majeſty, upon a ſubject 'ſo agreeable to you, as this 'which is neareſt your own royal heart, and do humbly be-'ſeech your majeſty, that whenever your majeſty, in your 'great wiſdom, ſhall judge it 'neceſſary, you will be graciouſly pleaſed to iſſue your royal proclamation, promiſing a 'reward to any perſon, who 'ſhall apprehend and bring the 'pretender to juſtice, in caſe he 'ſhall land, or attempt to land, 'either in Great-Britain or Ireland, ſuitable to the importance of that ſervice, for the 'ſafety of your majeſty's perſon, and the ſecurity of the 'proteſtant ſucceſſion in the 'houſe of Hanover.

'We alſo deſire leave to expreſs our great concern, That 'your majeſty's inſtances, for 'removing the pretender out of 'Lorrain, have not yet had 'their effect; and do humbly 'intreat your majeſty, that you 'will be graciouſly pleaſed to 'inſiſt upon, and renew your 'inſtances for the ſpeedy re-

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1714.

My lords,

" It would be a real ſtrengthening to the ſucceſſion in " the houſe of Hanover, as well as a ſupport to my govern- " ment, that an end were put to thoſe groundleſs fears and " jealouſies, which have been ſo induſtriouſly promoted.

" I do not, at this time, ſee any occaſion for ſuch a pro- " clamation. Whenever I judge it to be neceſſary, I ſhall " give my orders for having one iſſued.

" As to the other particulars of this addreſs, I will give " proper directions therein."

The queen's anſwer to the addreſs againſt the pretender.

This anſwer revived the hopes of the pretender's friends, who, before the warm ſpeeches againſt him in both houſes, were ſo elated and ſecure of protection, that, towards the end of March, an agent of king James's queen offered to file a bill in chancery, wherein he demanded, in her name, the ſum of ſix hundred fifty thouſand pounds, due to her by the crown of England, for the dowry of fifty thouſand pounds per annum ſince the death of king James the ſecond. But, the agent having in the bill given her the title of queen-mother, the officer refuſed to file it; upon which the agent changed the title, and preſented it in the name of 'the 'moſt illuſtrious princeſs Maria, relict of James the ſecond, 'king of England.' Though no notice was taken of this formal demand, yet, purſuant to a private agreement made in France by the lord Bolingbroke, about fifty thouſand pounds were remitted thither for her uſe.

Demand of king James's queen delivered in Chancery.

The very day the addreſs againſt the pretender was preſented, an incident happened, which, as ſoon as known, threw the miniſters into the utmoſt confuſion. On the 10th of April, moſt of the whig lords held a conſultation at the lord Hallifax's, to which baron Schutz, envoy from the elector of Hanover, was admitted. It was reſolved, purſuant either to the orders, Schutz had received from his court, or to the diſcretionary power, which was lodged with ſome of theſe lords, that the envoy ſhould take the firſt opportunity to demand a writ for the electoral prince to ſit in the houſe

Conſultation of the whig lords.

A writ demanded for the duke of Cambridge.

'moving the pretender out of 'Lorrain; and likewiſe, that 'your majeſty will be graciouſ- 'ly pleaſed, in conjunction with 'the States-general, to deſire 'the emperor to enter into the 'guaranty of the proteſtant ſuc- 'ceſſion in the houſe of Hano- 'ver, and alſo all ſuch other 'princes, as your majeſty ſhall 'think proper.'

1714. of peers, as duke of Cambridge. Accordingly on the 12th of April, baron Schutz made a viſit to the lord chancellor, and among other civilities, acknowledged the affection, he had ſhewn, on ſeveral occaſions, to the moſt ſerene electoral houſe of Hanover. The lord chancellor told him, 'he was 'extremely ſenſible of the honour he did him by his viſit and 'compliment; and deſired him to aſſure the elector, of his 'intire devotion to his ſervice; hoping his electoral highneſs 'gave no credit to the falſe reports, that were induſtriouſly 'ſpread abroad, in order to give him jealouſies of her ma-'jeſty's miniſters.' The baron anſwered, he would not fail diſcharging ſo agreeable a commiſſion; but he had a favour to aſk of him, in the name of the electoral prince, that his lordſhip would be pleaſed to make out a writ for his ſitting in the houſe of peers, as duke of Cambridge. The lord-chancellor *ſurprized* at this unexpected demand, told the baron, 'It was not uſual to make out writs for peers, 'who were out of the kingdom. However, he would forth-'with apply to her majeſty for directions in this caſe.' The baron anſwered, 'He did not doubt, his lordſhip knew, 'and would perform the duty of his office. But, as to the 'objection of the duke of Cambridge's being out of the 'kingdom, he would aſſure him, his electoral highneſs had 'reſolved to come over very ſpeedily, and perhaps might be 'landed before the writ was made out.' Upon this, the baron taking his leave, the chancellor deſired him to remember, 'He did not refuſe his demand, but only thought it 'proper to acquaint the queen with it; which he would do 'immediately.' To this the baron ſaid, 'He likewiſe de-'ſired his lordſhip to remember, that he applied himſelf to 'him for the duke of Cambridge's writ.' The chancellor having the ſame evening acquainted the queen, and her chief miniſters, with theſe paſſages, a council was immediately called; and, having ſat from nine o'clock till after eleven, it was reſolved, That the lord chancellor ſhould make out a writ for duke of Cambridge. This tranſaction, which, the next morning, was firſt whiſpered about in the court of requeſts, caſt a ſudden damp on the ſpirits of the open and ſecret friends of the pretender. It was then a queſtion, whether baron Schutz had made that demand by expreſs directions from his maſter, or only by the advice of ſome whig lords. But it is certain, the queen took ſo ill the baron's applying himſelf to the chancellor, before he acquainted her with his orders, that ſhe ſent the maſter of the ceremonies to forbid him the court. Two days after, a meſ-

meſſenger was diſpatched to Mr. Thomas Harley, at the court of Hanover, with inſtructions relating to the new ſcene opened by baron Schutz; who, about a week after thought fit to return to Hanover, having left with reſident Kreyenberg a letter to Mr. Bromley, telling him, 'That, 'having had the misfortune to incur her majeſty's diſpleaſure, 'and being thereby rendered incapable of ſerving his maſ-'ter any longer in this court, he thought it his duty to re-'turn home.' Kreyenberg delivered this letter to Mr. ſecretary Bromley, who told him, 'That either he, or any 'other miniſter, whom the elector of Hanover would pleaſe 'to ſend over, would be well received by her majeſty.' This affair occaſioned various conjectures: and, as Schutz's declaration of the duke of Cambridge's intention ſuddenly to come over alarmed the pretender's adherents, ſo it raiſed the ſpirits of the well affected to the houſe of Hanover. What was the ſenſe of the courtiers about the duke of Cambridge's coming over, and the preſent juncture of affairs, may be gathered from ſome remarkable paſſages in a pamphlet publiſhed about this time with the title of 'Hannibal not 'at our gates; or an inquiry into the grounds of our pre-'ſent fears of popery and the pretender;' of which one of the principal writers of the examiner was ſuſpected to be the author. In this pamphlet, it was, among other things, ironically inſinuated, 'That a certain gentleman was gone 'to Hanover to bamboozel.' And indeed it was the general opinion that Mr. Harley, who arrived at Hanover on the very day baron Schutz demanded the writ, was ſent only to amuſe that court with profeſſions of the treaſurer's and all his friends devotion to the electoral family; and (it is ſaid) as a proof of that devotion, with the very original of a letter, the queen had writ with her own hand to the pretender. But, as the ſubject of Mr. Harley's laſt ambaſſy is ſtill a ſecret, no ſtreſs can be laid on the various conjectures, it occaſioned. It may only be obſerved, he met with a cold reception at Hanover, and, making no long ſtay there, came back to London on the 25th of May. It may likewiſe be remarked, that, upon the firſt ſurprize of baron Schutz demanding the writ for the duke of Cambridge, the lord Paget, who was named envoy extraordinary to the court of Hanover, had declined that employment in ſo critical a juncture; and the earl of Clarendon was afterwards appointed.

1714.

The lord-chancellor having on the 13th of April, reported to the houſe of peers the queen's anſwer to the addreſs

1714. againſt the pretender, ſome expreſſions in it did not pleaſe the whig lords, who moved for another addreſs to return her majeſty thanks for her anſwer: and containing the grounds and reaſons of their former addreſs. The court-lords, foreſeeing, that, if ſuch an addreſs was carried, the prevailing party might advance to more vigorous reſolutions, ſtrenuouſly inſiſted not to enter into ungrateful particulars, but to confine themſelves to expreſſions in the queen's anſwer. An order for ſuch an addreſs being offered, the duke of Leeds moved, that at the cloſe of it, where mention was made of the 'fears and jealouſies univerſally ſpread,' the words [and induſtriouſly] might be added: which, after a debate of four hours, wherein the biſhop of Sarum made a long ſpeech, was carried only by the majority of two proxies, the votes in the houſe being equal, ſixty-one on each ſide. This victory of the courtiers was by their antagoniſts treated as little better than a defeat. And it is certain, that the whig lords had that day carried their point, had it not been for the accidental loſs of four votes: the duke of Rutland, being then at Newmarket with a proxy in his pocket; the duke of Grafton, being ſent for home to his ducheſs then in labour with her firſt child; and the earl of Gainſborough, being taken ſo ill that very morning, that he could not ſign his proxy. It was alſo remarkable, that of ſixteen biſhops then in the houſe, two only, Rocheſter and Durham, voted with the court: that the new biſhops of London and Briſtol, who were thought blindly devoted to the miniſtry, joined with the whigs; as did alſo the earl of Angleſea; which was undoubtedly owing to baron Schutz's demanding a writ for the duke of Cambridge, which viſibly gave life and weight to the whig-party. However, the reſolution being laid before the queen, ſhe only anſwered, 'She 'thanked them for their addreſs; and that ſhe took very 'kindly the aſſurances they gave.'

Reſolution for a ſecond addreſs about the pretender. Pr. H. L.

Debate about the treaties of peace and commerce. April 14. Pr. H. L.

On the 14th of April, a motion was made for taking into conſideration the treaties of peace and commerce; and ſome ſpeeches were made on both ſides, after which the debate was adjourned to the 16th. That day the whig lords being apprehenſive, that, if any debate aroſe about the Spaniſh treaty, the other party would propoſe an addreſs to the queen, approving of that treaty, which they thought abſurd, they therefore agreed to ſay nothing againſt the treaty, that might draw them into a debate. The lord North and Grey ſtood up firſt, and ſaid, If any lord had any objections againſt the Spaniſh treaty, he was ready to anſwer

anſwer them; and ſo, in a challenging manner, went on for ſome time. After he had done, there was a ſilence for a quarter of an hour; and then the earl of Clarendon ſaid, 'My lords, ſince no objection can be raiſed againſt 'the Spaniſh treaty, we ſhould addreſs her majeſty to re- 'turn her our moſt humble thanks, for having, by a ſafe, 'honourable, and advantageous peace with Spain, delivered 'theſe nations from a long, conſuming land war; and to 'deſire her, notwithſtanding any obſtructions, that may 'be thrown in her way, to proceed to the ſettlement of Eu- 'rope, according to the principles laid down in her moſt 'gracious ſpeech.' To this the lord Cowper anſwered, 'My lords, this is the moſt barefaced attempt, that ever 'was made by this or any other miniſtry, to ſecure them- 'ſelves, by endeavouring to get the ſanction of this houſe 'for themſelves. My lords, I have no objections againſt 'theſe treaties. Are the miniſters themſelves jealous, that 'their actions ſtand in need of the ſanction of this houſe? 'Elſe why this endeavour at an addreſs, to make their act 'the act of the houſe? The lord, that ſpoke firſt, acting 'like a ſoldier, would, by ſkirmiſhing, have drawn on a 'general engagement; but the troops are too well diſci- 'plined to fall into an ambuſcade of his laying. But I 'cannot remove my finger from the original of our mis- 'fortunes, "the ceſſation of arms." We were then told, 'that, if a blow had been ſtruck, it would have ruined the 'peace. Would to God it had ruined this peace.' To ſupport this, the lord Halliſax ſaid, 'What was laſt men- 'tioned, my lords, makes me riſe into the higheſt reſent- 'ment of the vile uſage given my lord duke of Ormond; 'a lord, for whom I have the moſt profound reſpect.' My 'lord Ormond went over into Flanders with a true Engliſh 'heart, which, my lords, is the beſt in the world, with a 'deſire to do his country all the ſervice his great ability ca- 'pacitated him to do. Therefore, it muſt be inconceiv- 'able, the horrible anguiſh it muſt give his noble and ge- 'nerous heart to receive ſuch ſhocking orders, reſtraining 'the noble ardour of the ſoldiers, flaſhed with former vic- 'tories; and hopes of ſtill greater.' The earl of Notting- ham ſaid, 'My lords, I never knew the like addreſs to this 'ever offered at but once, in the caſe of the duke of Suf- 'folk, who, in Henry the Seventh's days, had made a 'treaty, for which he thought it convenient to get the 'ſanction of this houſe by an addreſs, and got ſeven lords 'made at one time to carry the vote. Yet he was called 1714.

1714. 'to an account afterwards for the treaty, notwithſtanding 'the addreſs. I ſay no more of the man, becauſe he came 'to an untimely end.' The biſhop of Saliſbury likewiſe ſaid, 'My lords, I do not underſtand what law or reaſon 'can be given, to impower one ally to diſengage himſelf 'from his other allies, unleſs in a proper manner and time 'he acquaints them, he has done his ultimus conatus *; 'and that to proceed further would be a certa pernicies †. 'That we had not come to our ultimus conatus is plain, 'ſince in the year of the ceſſation of arms, and the year 'following, wherein nothing was done, we made as great 'efforts as the former, when we did ſo many glorious 'things; and to proceed further, in all human probability, 'it would have been certa pernicies to our then enemy 'the French.' The biſhop of London, who had been one of the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, anſwered, 'My 'Lords, at the ceſſation of arms, our caſe was the very 'caſe in point, which the biſhop of Sarum puts, for we 'had then come to our ultimus conatus, and, for aught 'we know, to proceed further would have been certa 'pernicies.' The earl of Wharton replied, 'I did deſign 'to have ſaid a great deal to-day, but I find it anticipated 'by the lords, who have ſpoken before me. Only I muſt 'ſay what I learn by ſitting here, that the carrying this 'vote is the ultimus conatus of the miniſtry; and, if they 'do not carry it, it will be to them certa pernicies. Good, 'my lords, gratify my curioſity, to let me ſee what certa 'pernicies will be.' Some other whig lords maintained, that there was no abſolute neceſſity of making a peace, the nation having given almoſt as much money for theſe three years paſt, as during any three years of the war; and, as for the pretended advantages, gained by the treaty with Spain, it was plain they were no more than what had been ſtipulated before by the treaty of the year 1667. They alſo complained of the method, in which the negotiation of peace had been carried on, and of our giving up the intereſts of the emperor, the king of Portugal, and of the Catalans. But after a warm debate, that laſted till nine o'clock in the evening, it was reſolved by a majority of eighty-two votes againſt ſixty-nine, to preſent an addreſs, to acknowledge 'her majeſty's goodneſs to her people, in delivering 'them by a ſafe, honourable, and advantageous peace with 'France and Spain, from the burthen of a conſuming land 'war, unequally carried on, and become, at laſt, impracti-'cable; and to intreat her majeſty to purſue ſuch meaſures,

* Utmoſt effort.
† Certain ruin.

An addreſs of thanks for the peace voted.

as

'as ſhe ſhould judge neceſſary for compleating the ſettle- 1714.
'ment of Europe on the principles laid down in her maje-
'ſty's ſpeech.' An addreſs to that purpoſe was the next day agreed to, and ſent down to the commons for their concurrence.

In the mean time, to prepare the commons to give their approbation to the conduct of the miniſtry, in concluding their treaties with France and Spain, ſeveral papers were laid before the houſe: particularly, a report, with obſervations from the commiſſioners of public accounts, ſetting forth the abuſes and miſmanagements in cloathing the army, in diſpoſing the off-reckonings of regiments, and in other inſtances. Then, to give a view how heavy the war was become to England, and how inſupportable the continuance of it would have proved, there was added 'a ſtate of the 'expence of the late war' for twelve years, which, with the ſupply of 2,776,228 *l.* granted this ſeſſion, amounted to above ſixty-eight millions and a half. But the moſt remarkable paper of all was an account of the ſtate of the ſeveral treaties of peace, between the queen and her allies, and France and Spain, with the obſtructions ſhe had met with, in her endeavours to make the ſame univerſal and compleat; and of what was done relating to the Catalans.

Report of the commiſſioners of public accounts. April 13. Pr. H. C.

Account of the late treaties laid before the commons. Pr. H. C.

This account (ſuppoſed to be drawn up by the lord Bolinbroke, in order to remove the objections againſt the late treaties, particularly, the giving up the intereſts of the king of Portugal and of the Catalans) was ſo varniſhed over with gloſſes and popular pretences, that many members, who were willing to believe what was ſaid, and had no opportunity or inclination to be better informed, were perſuaded of the truth of it, and induced to ſide with the miniſtry in all the debates about the ſucceſſion and treaties (t).

Many members gained by it.

On

(t) The ſubſtance of this account was as follows: the author began with artfully ſuggeſting, 'That her majeſty 'looked upon the peace between Spain and Portugal to 'be as good as concluded: 'that, in the mean while, her 'majeſty had taken the moſt effectual care of the intereſts of 'the king of Portugal, having given to that prince, on 'the 18th of Auguſt 1713, of her 'own motion, a new guaranty, 'whereby the queen obliged 'herſelf to ſecure the reſtitution, 'even by force of arms, if that 'ſhould become neceſſary of any 'thing, which might be taken 'from Portugal, before the concluſion of the peace; to procure to that crown the colony 'of the Sacrament, or, in lieu 'thereof, ſuch an equivalent, as 'the

1714. On the 15th of April, a motion was made in a committee of the whole houſe, by Sir Edward Knatchbull, and the queſtion put, 'Whether the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the 'houſe of Hanover be in danger under her majeſty's government? Mr. ſecretary Bromley endeavoured to prove 'it was not, by repreſenting what the queen had done for 'ſe-

The proteſtant ſucceſſion voted out of danger by the commons. Pr. H. C.

'the king of Portugal himſelf 'ſhould be contented to accept: 'to obtain ſatisfaction to the 'Portugueſe, for what they 'claim to be due to them on account of their Aſſiento, or contract with the crown of Spain; 'and to ſet on foot, after the 'peace, an amicable negotiation, for accommodating the 'differences, which had ariſen, 'concerning ſeveral eſtates ſituated in Portugal, and claimed 'by ſubjects of Portugal, reſiding in Spain; and concerning 'thoſe Spaniſh ſhips which were 'about the beginning of the 'war, ſeized by the Portugueſe. 'That on theſe principles the 'earl of Strafford made a ſolemn declaration to the miniſters of Spain in February laſt, 'when he exchanged with them 'the inſtruments of ratification 'of the treaties between her majeſty and the catholic king. 'That the peace, which the 'queen then ratified, did not 'diſpenſe with the obligations, 'which ſhe lay under to the 'king of Portugal, as well by 'her guaranty lately granted, 'as by her defenſive alliance 'made in 1703.' As to the Catalans, it was alledged, 'That 'the landing of the earl of Peterborough in Catalonia, and 'her majeſty's entering into 'that part of the war, were in 'conſequence of the ſolicitations of the Catalans, and other 'Spaniards, affected to the houſe 'of Auſtria; and that all the 'engagements, which ſhe gave 'to theſe people, went no farther than the obtaining from 'king Charles the third a confirmation of their rights and 'privileges: and although her 'majeſty offered, at that time, 'to give a guaranty for the 'ſame, and to enter into a treaty with that people; yet it did 'not appear that ſuch a guaranty was ever given, or that 'ſuch a treaty was ever made. 'That notwithſtanding the 'treatment the queen had received from the emperor, and 'the juſt provocation ſhe had to 'leave him to ſtruggle with the 'conſequences of his own meaſures; yet, at the end of the 'year 1713, her majeſty ſet a 'negotiation on foot for the evacuation of Catalonia, and the 'neutrality of Italy. That her 'majeſty's aim, by the firſt part 'of this treaty, was, to ſecure 'the return of the emperor, and 'of the imperial troops; and, 'ſince ſhe could no longer ſupport the Catalans by her arms, 'to provide for them by the 'terms of peace. That her 'majeſty's aim, in the ſecond 'part, was to leave as little 'room as poſſible for France, or 'Spain, to attack his imperial 'majeſty, when the treaties between her majeſty and the 'States-general ſhould be con-

'cluded

'securing that ſucceſſion, and removing the pretender from 1714.
'Lorrain.' He was anſwered by Mr. Walpole, who, with great ſpirit, ſhewed the proteſtant ſucceſſion to be in danger, not from her majeſty, but from the dubious conduct of ſome perſons in high ſtations; and therefore inſiſted, that the queen might not be mentioned in the queſtion. Mr. Campion,

'cluded with the moſt chriſtian 'king. That the queen con'ſidered, that theſe treaties, and 'the barrier of the States, 'would ſecure the ten provin'ces of the Netherlands from 'any invaſion; and, by this 'convention for a neutrality in 'Italy, the emperor's territo'ries in that country were like'wiſe covered; ſo that by the 'care, which her majeſty took, 'ſince he was determined to 'run the riſk of continuing 'ſingle in the war, he would lie 'open in no frontier but that of 'the Rhine, where, by the ſame 'means, he would be able con'ſiderably to increaſe his 'ſtrength, as well with draughts 'out of Italy, as with the Ger'mans, and other forces, which 'were to be tranſported from 'Spain. That it was no ſoon'er than the end of January 'in 13, that, by the good 'offices of her majeſty's mini'ſters at Utrecht, the imperial 'and French plenipotentiaries 'were brought to meet upon 'this negotiation; and, in the 'mean time her majeſty endea'voured to induce the catholic 'king to facilitate this matter 'as much as poſſible, and par'ticularly on the head of the 'privileges of the Catalans, in 'which the miniſters of France 'concurred with the greateſt 'earneſtneſs. But that it ſoon 'appeared, that his catholic 'majeſty, who ſaw the advan'tage which the conduct of 'the imperial court gave him, 'would hardly be prevailed 'upon to grant any thing more 'than a general act of oblivion, 'and a reſtitution of honours 'and eſtates. That on the 14th 'of March, N. S. 1713, the 'convention for the neutrality 'of Italy, and the evacuation of 'Catalonia was executed, and 'the article concerning the 'privileges of the Catalans left 'undetermined; a right being 'reſerved to her majeſty to in'ſiſt, whenever the emperor 'ſhould treat of peace, that 'thoſe privileges ſhould be pre'ſerved to them; and the moſt 'chriſtian king declaring, that 'he would concur with the 'queen to the ſame end. That, 'in May 1713, the treaty of 'peace between her majeſty 'and the catholic king was 'ſigned proviſionally here, and 'in July definitively at Utrecht; 'whereby there was not only 'an abſolute amneſty, with a 'full poſſeſſion of all their 'eſtates and honours, but alſo 'the privileges of the Caſtili'ans granted to the Catalans; 'which article was, at leaſt in 'this reſpect, conſiderable, that 'the people of Catalonia are 'thereby intitled to hold any 'employments in the Weſt-'Indies, or to trade directly thi'ther, in as full and ample a 'man-

1714. pion, having ſpoken in vindication of the miniſtry, was anſwered by the earl of Hertford. The lord Hinchinbroke expreſſed likewiſe his fears of the proteſtant ſucceſſion being in danger, from the encouragement, that was given to the pretender's friends, and particularly in North-Britain, which he had an opportunity to obſerve, when he was there with the regiment, in which he had a troop. After ſome other ſpeeches, the court-party, being apprehenſive the queſtion would go againſt them, endeavoured to drop it, by moving, that Mr. Freeman, chairman of the committee, ſhould leave the chair. Upon this, Sir Thomas Hanmer, the ſpeaker, made a memorable ſpeech, importing, 'That 'he was ſorry to ſee, that endeavours were uſed to wave 'that queſtion, and ſtop their mouths; but he was of opinion, 'this was the proper, and perhaps the only time for patriots 'to ſpeak. That a great deal of pains were taken to ſcreen 'ſome perſons; and, in order to that, to make them 'overlook the dangers, that threatened the queen, the nation, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. That, for his own 'part,

'manner, as the people of Caſtile, from which they were 'formerly as much excluded as 'any foreign nation whatever. 'That the preſervation of their 'antient privileges was neither 'granted nor directly refuſed 'by this article; ſo that the 'queen, either when the peace 'ſhould come to be treated be'tween their imperial and ca'tholic majeſties, or on another 'favourable occaſion, which 'might offer itſelf, was at li'berty to renew her application 'upon this head. That in the 'mean time it was certain, that 'the refuſal of the people of 'this principality, as well as 'the iſland of Majorca, to ſub'mit to the catholic king, 'when, in purſuance of the 'treaty of neutrality, theſe 'countries were evacuated by 'the emperor's forces, and 'their obſtinate reſiſtence, ſince 'that time, muſt, have ren'dered the obtaining of their 'privileges ſtill more difficult 'than it was. In ſhort, that, if 'the antient privileges of theſe 'people, in their full extent, 'were not obtained, it muſt be 'attributed to thoſe, who ren'dered it impracticable to treat 'effectually for them, before 'the withdrawing of the queen's 'forces out of Catalonia; and, 'if their condition was become 'ſince more deſperate, thoſe 'only were to anſwer for it, 'who had encouraged them 'not to ſubmit a ſecond time to 'their prince, with the hopes 'of relief, which they, who 'gave ſuch hopes, muſt have 'known themſelves in no con'dition of making good.' As to the treaty with France, after a long detail of the negotiation, upon the overtures made by that crown in April 1711, it

was

'part, he had all the honour and reſpect imaginable for her majeſty's miniſters; but that he owed ſtill more to his country than to any miniſter. That, in this debate, ſo much had been ſaid to prove the ſucceſſion to be in danger, 1714.

'and

was alledged, 'That by 'the conferences held with 'monſieur Buys here, by the 'accounts which came from abroad, and by the repreſentations, which ſome of the allies 'made to her majeſty, it appeared undeniably evident, not 'only that the war was become, 'on the preſent foot, abſolutely 'impracticable, but alſo that no 'alteration could be attempted, 'either in the method of carrying it on, or in the views towards which it was directed, 'without diſſolving at once the 'confederacy; and that the diſpute was in fact, not whether 'a peace, by which Spain and 'the Indies would be left to 'Philip, ſhould be made, but 'who ſhould have the making 'of it? That the real annual 'expence of this kingdom amounted to more than ſeven 'millions; whereas we were 'not in a condition effectually 'to raiſe near ſix millions in the 'courſe of a year; from hence 'it follows, that, if this proportion had been continued, 'about nine millions would 'have been the true charge of 'a ſecond year, and about eleven millions that of a third. 'But this was the ſtate of our 'affairs, whilſt the houſe of 'Auſtria contributed nothing 'but one regiment to the war 'of Spain, little to that of Italy, had but few forces, and 'thoſe intirely unactive on the 'Rhine; and ſent none into 'the Netherlands, except ſuch 'as thoſe haraſſed provinces 'were obliged to maintain, and 'were thereby rendered unable 'to furniſh troops, or make the 'neceſſary proviſions for the 'operations of the army; both 'which they might otherwiſe 'have done, and both which 'they did in an eminent degree, whilſt they were under 'the government of the preſent 'king of Spain. That the 'States-general bore a conſiderable burthen; but, as they 'had, from the year 1708, 'ſent no ſupplies of any kind, 'either to Portugal, or to Catalonia, and had drawn themſelves almoſt entirely out of 'the Spaniſh war; as they furniſhed, in no proportion, their 'quota for the ſea-ſervice; as 'they had reduced their joint 'contributions with the queen, 'in all payments, to one third 'of the whole; and as they 'were very backward in anſwering even this ſhare of expence; ſo the load of Great-Britain came, upon their account, as well as upon the 'emperor's, to be vaſtly increaſed. As to the reſt of the allies, all the troops which they 'furniſhed, were maintained by 'the queen and the States, except a few, and thoſe almoſt 'wholly employed in covering 'their own frontiers. That, in 'this ſituation of affairs, her 'majeſty declared to the Imperialiſts, and to the Dutch,

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1714. 'and ſo little to make out the contrary, that he could not 'but believe the firſt.' He concluded with taking notice of 'Sir Patrick Lawleſs being ſuffered to come over, and ad- 'mitted to an audience of her majeſty.' This ſpeech had

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'that if they would not allow 'France to have given ſuffi- 'cient grounds for opening the 'conferences; if they were de- 'ſirous to carry on the war, and 'determined to accept of no 'terms of peace, inferior to 'thoſe, which had been for- 'merly demanded and refuſed; 'ſhe was, on her part, ready to 'concur with them. But that, 'in juſtice to herſelf, and to 'them, ſhe thought herſelf 'bound to let them know, that 'ſhe could no longer bear ſo diſ- 'proportionate a burthen: That 'it was evident, that the com- 'mon effort muſt be ſtill greater 'than it was; or that there 'would remain no proſpect of 'arriving at the ends which 'they propoſed; and that for 'theſe reaſons it would be in- 'cumbent upon them, if the 'war continued, to increaſe 'their expences, whilſt the 'queen reduced hers. That 'the miniſters of the States- 'general were very candid and 'open upon this head: mon- 'ſieur Buys aſſerted, that his 'maſters had done their utmoſt 'already; and could be oblig- 'ed to no more: many of the 'others had, on ſeveral occa- 'ſions, declared their country 'unable to ſupport the charge 'they were at another ſum- 'mer; and the penſionary him- 'ſelf, in a deputation of the 'States, appointed to attend the 'earl of Stanford, in October '1711, declared, that it was 'impoſſible to think of conti- 'nuing the war another year. 'That what from the emperor, 'and what from the princes of 'the north, we ſhould be in the 'utmoſt danger, ſhould we at- 'tempt to do it; and finally, 'that They were traitors to 'their country, who were a- 'gainſt the peace. That many 'inſtances might be produced to 'ſhew, that there was at leaſt 'as little reaſon to expect from 'the houſe of Auſtria, as from 'the States-general, a greater 'effort than they had hitherto 'made. That the imperial mi- 'niſters confeſſed, that their 'maſter expected the queen 'ſhould furniſh all the money; 'and that the utmoſt he could 'do, would be to ſend troops 'at her expence; in the ſame 'breath avowing the emperor's 'intention to break the negotia- 'tion of peace, and to continue 'the war, till Spain was con- 'quered; the intire monarchy 'whereof he expected. That 'upon the death of the late 'emperor Joſeph, in the begin- 'ning of the year 1711, the 'eyes, not only of the princes 'of the empire, but of all the 'confederates, and of her ma- 'jeſty, in the firſt place, were 'immediately fixed on his bro- 'ther. And this event occa- 'ſioned a great alteration in the 'counſels of Europe, and gave 'a new turn to the ſentiments 'of many princes. That there 'was reaſon to believe, that the

'miniſters

a great influence on the unbiaſſed and unprejudiced members; but nevertheleſs, after a long and warm debate, it was reſolved, by a majority of two hundred and fifty ſix voices againſt two hundred and eight, 'Firſt, that it was 'the 1714.

'miniſters of Vienna themſelves began to cool in the 'project of recovering Spain 'and the Indies. They ſeemed to intend nothing more, 'than to get the preſent emperor into Germany, and to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Italy to 'themſelves. That, in Holland, a partition of the Spaniſh monarchy ſeemed almoſt 'the general ſcheme; and the 'conduct of that republic, as 'well as the confeſſion of its 'miniſters, ſhewed, that the 'project of driving Philip out 'of Spain was looked upon 'there to be pure chimera. 'That her majeſty had been 'acquainted, that ſome of the 'princes of the empire thought 'it a point which deſerved the 'moſt ſerious reflection, whether they ſhould ſuffer the imperial and Spaniſh crowns to 'be united on the ſame head; 'and whether it might not be 'proper, in the capitulation of 'the empire, to inſiſt on the ſeparating of them. That other 'members of the grand alliance, and thoſe the only two, 'with whom her majeſty had 'entered into any formal engagement for recovering the 'intire Spaniſh monarchy, repreſented upon the ſame occaſion againſt placing this 'crown on the emperor's head. 'And it was urged by one of 'the moſt conſiderable princes 'in the alliance, that the principle, upon which he engaged 'in the war, was now altered; 'and that, inſtead of fighting 'to procure the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, his intereſt, and even 'his ſafety, required, that he 'ſhould fight to prevent it. 'That the caſe therefore ſtood 'thus: the preſent emperor, 'even after his brother's death, 'and his own election, would 'content himſelf with nothing 'leſs, than the whole Spaniſh 'monarchy, and inſiſted, that 'the war ſhould be proſecuted in this view. Of the 'other allies, ſome looked on 'this proſpect as chimerical, 'others as dangerous: from 'whence it follows, that to 'keep the grand alliance united in this principle was impracticable; and it muſt be 'allowed, that to have many 'different intereſts, and to have 'formed a ſyſtem intirely new, 'in the midſt of the war, was 'an experiment too hazardous 'to be attempted. That in this 'ſituation of affairs no time 'was to be loſt. The queen 'knew very well, that attempts 'to open a treaty with France 'ſeparately from her were made 'by thoſe, who clamoured the 'loudeſt againſt her meaſures; 'and the preſent emperor had 'thought fit, on board one of 'her majeſty's ſhips, and by 'her own miniſters, to ſend her 'a meſſage of the ſame nature. 'She therefore inſiſted with the 'Imperialiſts, and with the 'Dutch,

1714. ‘ the opinion of this committee, that the proteſtant ſucceſ-
‘ ſion in the houſe of Hanover was in no danger under her
‘ majeſty's government. Secondly, that the houſe be mov-
‘ ed, for an addreſs to return the thanks of the houſe to her
‘ majeſty,

‘ Dutch, that ſhe would be at
‘ ſome certainty, and that they
‘ ſhould comply with her in the
‘ meaſures either of war or
‘ peace. The war being be-
‘ come impracticable, as was
‘ ſhewn before, the author of
‘ the Account relates what ob-
‘ ſtructions there were to the
‘ carrying on a treaty of peace.
‘ That the principal, and only
‘ avowed diſpute between her
‘ majeſty and the States at this
‘ time, concerned the method
‘ of carrying a negotiation for-
‘ ward. That, the States pre-
‘ tended, that a fair opportu-
‘ nity would be given to the
‘ miniſters of France to divide
‘ the confederates, if they were
‘ ſuffered to meet together in a
‘ general congreſs, before the
‘ eſſential articles of peace were
‘ ſettled by ſpecific prelimina-
‘ ries. That the uſe which had
‘ been made of this method on
‘ a former occaſion, to evade
‘ the concluding of any peace,
‘ when, according to the con-
‘ feſſion of the Dutch miniſters
‘ themſelves, the difference, on
‘ which the allies and France
‘ broke off, did not deſerve the
‘ life of a ſingle ſoldier, gave
‘ no great encouragement to
‘ purſue the ſame again: be-
‘ ſides which, as the queen
‘ would not take upon her to
‘ ſettle the intereſts of others,
‘ neither would ſhe ſuffer others
‘ to determine thoſe of her own
‘ kingdoms: and, if all the
‘ confederates were to aſſemble,
‘ in order to adjuſt a prelimi-
‘ nary treaty, the objection
‘ made by the States returned
‘ upon them. That, in De-
‘ cember 1711, the States con-
‘ curred with her majeſty in
‘ fixing the place and time of
‘ the treaty: and, if nothing
‘ had happened to revive the
‘ ſpirits of thoſe who were bent
‘ againſt the peace, it is highly
‘ probable, by the little time
‘ which it coſt to conclude moſt
‘ of the treaties, after the con-
‘ ferences that had been inter-
‘ rupted, were reſumed at
‘ Utrecht, and the allies pro-
‘ ceeded in earneſt to negotiate,
‘ that the treaties of all the con-
‘ federates with France might
‘ have been finiſhed, before the
‘ ſeaſon of opening the cam-
‘ paign in 1712: But that, be-
‘ fore monſieur Buys returned
‘ into Holland, or the confe-
‘ rences could begin, the efforts
‘ were renewed with the great-
‘ eſt vigour, to break off the
‘ negotiations; the cry againſt
‘ a peace, by which Spain and
‘ the Indies ſhould be left to
‘ any branch of the houſe of
‘ Bourbon, became louder than
‘ ever; and letters and memo-
‘ rials were not only delivered,
‘ but printed; and appeals made
‘ againſt her majeſty's proceed-
‘ ings to all Europe, and even
‘ to her own ſubjects. That,
‘ on theſe encouragements, the
‘ good diſpoſitions towards
‘ peace received a check; and
‘ ſome of thoſe who had owned
‘ them-

'majeſty, for the inſtances ſhe had uſed for the removal of 1714.
'the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain;
'and to beſeech her to renew her inſtances for his ſpeedy
'removal from thence.' When theſe reſolutions were reported

'themſelves againſt the proſe-
'cution of the war, to recover
'the whole Spaniſh monarchy
'to the houſe of Auſtria, join-
'ed now, under this very pre-
'tence, to break the meaſures
'of peace. That the treatment
'which her majeſty met with at
'this time, will appear in the
'cleareſt light from this cir-
'cumſtance: the miniſter of the
'States-general propoſed to her
'majeſty's ſervants, that, con-
'ſidering the difficulties which
'the queen lay under, how im-
'poſſible it was to recover by
'war, or by treaty, the Spaniſh
'monarchy from king Philip,
'and how impoſſible he appre-
'hended it to be for her ma-
'jeſty to carry on any negotia-
'tion, by which this monarchy
'ſhould be left to Philip, he
'was ready (to extricate her
'majeſty from this dilemma,
'and to ſcreen her miniſters in
'carrying on the work which
'they had begun) in the name
'of his maſters, to preſent a
'memorial, by which the point
'of obtaining Spain and the
'Indies ſhould be given up;
'provided he might be aſſured,
'that the Dutch ſhould have an
'equal ſhare with her majeſty's
'ſubjects in the Aſſiento, which
'contract, he ſuppoſed, it was
'ſtipulated ſhould be made with
'Great-Britain. That from the
'cauſes, and by the ſteps a-
'bovementioned, was the diſ-
'union among the allies arri-
'ved to the higheſt pitch, at the
'opening of the conferences in
'January 1711-12, when the
'ſtricteſt union amongſt them
'was more than ever neceſſary,
'and when the whole fruit of
'thoſe ſucceſſes, wherewith
'God had bleſſed their cauſe,
'in the courſe of the war,
'depended on it. That they
'ſent their ſeveral plenipoten-
'tiaries to Utrecht; but it was
'very apparent, that moſt of
'them acted on that maxim,
'which one of them profeſſed,
'that giving into the meaſures
'of peace was the ſureſt way
'to continue the war. They
'flattered themſelves, that the
'imperial miniſters, in con-
'junction with thoſe of Britain,
'having, two years before, baf-
'fled the deſigns of Holland to
'make peace, it would be, at
'leaſt, as eaſy for the miniſters
'of the empire, in conjunc-
'tion with thoſe of the States-
'general, to render fruitleſs,
'at this time, all her majeſty's
'endeavours to the ſame end.
'And that, after this, it would
'not appear ſurprizing, if the
'utmoſt dexterity was exerted
'to delay the entering on buſi-
'neſs at Utrecht, and to wait
'for the events of the cam-
'paign. Concluding, that, from
'this ſtate of the ſeveral trea-
'ties between her majeſty, her
'allies, and France and Spain,
'the reaſonableneſs of all the
'ſteps her majeſty had taken,
'and thoſe deſigns which had
'been purſued at firſt, to wreſt
'the

1714. ported the next day to the houſe, there aroſe a debate, in which Mr. Walpole, Mr. Lechmere, and general Stanhope made very ſtrong ſpeeches. Mr. Walpole, among other things, applauded the public ſpirit, which the ſpeaker had ſhewn the day before; but added, he deſpaired of ſeeing truth and juſtice prevail, ſince, notwithſtanding the weight of a perſon of his known integrity, merit, and eloquence, the majority of votes had carried it againſt reaſon and argument, general Stanhope endeavoured to prove the proteſtant ſucceſſion to be in danger by this ſingle but forcible induction, 'That as it was univerſally acknowledged, it 'had been the French king's intention, ſo it was ſtill his 'intereſt, and he had it now, more than ever, in his pow-'er to reſtore the pretender.' However, it was carried without a diviſion, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion was out of danger, and that an addreſs of thanks ſhould be preſented to the queen. To which addreſs ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would renew her inſtances for the removal of the pretender out of Lorrain.

The Commons agree with the lords in an addreſs upon the treaties of peace. Pr. H. C.

The lords having ſent (as hath been ſaid) a meſſage to the commons for their concurrence, in an addreſs of thanks for the treaties of peace and commerce with France and Spain, the meſſage was taken into conſideration on the 22d of April, and a warm debate aroſe. The moſt material objections were raiſed by Mr. Ward, an eminent merchant, to the treaties of commerce, in which many eſſential points, particularly the duties on ſeveral ſorts of goods and merchandize, were left looſe and undetermined, and therefore liable to arbitrary explanations. Mr. Auditor Foley having anſwered him, he was replied to by Mr. Horace Walpole, who was ſupported by Sir Peter King. Mr. Aiſlabie, who had, ſome time before, left the court-party, and was therefore removed from his place of one of the lords of the admiralty, ſpoke, on this occaſion, with great vehemence againſt the miniſters, for having made ſo precarious a peace. They were anſwered by Mr. Campion; and the leading men among the whigs plainly perceiving, from the noiſe

'the negotiation out of her 'hands, and ſince to unravel 'all that had been done, and 'to throw us into confuſion, 'would ſufficiently appear.'

This account made a great impreſſion upon the generality of the members; yet the weight of it will be eaſily taken off, by comparing it with the original papers relating to thoſe tranſactions, which were afterwards inſerted in the report of the committee of ſecrecy.

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and laughter of their antagoniſts, that they were ſure of a majority, gave up the conteſt, and did not think fit to inſiſt on a diviſion, which would but expoſe their weakneſs. So it was reſolved to agree with the lords in the following addreſs, which was preſented, the 24th of April, by both houſes to the queen: 1714.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, "the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in "parliament aſſembled, beg leave to expreſs the juſt ſenſe, "which we have of your majeſty's goodneſs to your people, in delivering them, by a ſafe, honourable and advantageous peace with France and Spain, from the "heavy burthen of a conſuming land war, unequally "carried on, and become at laſt impracticable. And we "do moſt earneſtly intreat your majeſty, that you will be "pleaſed, with the ſame ſteadineſs, notwithſtanding all the "obſtructions, which have been, or may be thrown in "your way, to purſue ſuch meaſures, as you ſhall judge "neceſſary for compleating the ſettlement of Europe, on "the principles laid down by your majeſty in your moſt "gracious ſpeech from the throne."

To which the queen returned this anſwer:

My lords and gentlemen,

"The ſtate of public affairs in Europe, as well as the "neceſſities of my own kingdom, obliged me to enter into "a negotiation of peace; and, notwithſtanding all ob"ſtructions and difficulties, I have, by the bleſſing of God, "brought it to a happy concluſion.

"I eſteem this addreſs as the united voice of my affectionate and loyal ſubjects; and I return you all the heartieſt thanks, which can be given by a ſovereign, who "deſires nothing more, than to ſee her people ſafe and "flouriſhing (u)." Thus

(u) Though the queen eſteemed this addreſs, as the united voice of her loyal ſubjects, yet the Lords, in their firſt addreſs to king George I. ſaid, 'It is 'by no means to be imputed to 'the nation in general:' and the commons, in leſs than a year afterwards, ſaid: 'We are 'ſenſibly touched not only with 'the diſappointment, but with 'the reproach brought upon 'the

1714. Thus the miniſters obtained a parliamentary ſanction to their late meaſures, and by that means thought themſelves ſecure from any future enquiries.

A letter from Leſley in favour of the pretender.

In the mean time, notwithſtanding the proceedings and addreſſes of both houſes againſt the pretender, his friends, depending on a ſuperior power, ſtill endeavoured to promote his intereſt with great induſtry. To this purpoſe, a letter written by Mr. Leſley, a famous nonjuring clergyman, from Barleduc in Lorrain, the pretender's reſidence, to a member of parliament in London, was openly handed about, containing a particular account of the ſtate of affairs, and what obſervations Mr. Leſley had made ſince his coming thither (x).

About

'the nation by the unjuſtifiable 'concluſion of a war, which 'was carried on at ſo vaſt an 'expence, and was attended 'with ſuch unparalleled ſucceſſes: but, as that diſhonour 'cannot in juſtice be imputed 'to the whole nation, ſo we 'firmly hope, and believe, that, 'through your majeſty's great 'wiſdom, and the faithful endeavours of your commons, 'the reputation of theſe your 'kingdoms, will, in due time, 'be vindicated, and reſtored.'

(x) This letter is dated, April 23, 1714, and begins with a deſcription of the pretender's perſon and character; his graceful mien, magnanimity of ſpirit, devotion free from bigotry, application to buſineſs, ready apprehenſion, ſound judgment, and affability; ſo that none converſed with him, but what were charmed with his good ſenſe and ſweetneſs of temper. Then, coming to the main deſign of this letter, Mr. Leſley ſaid, That the chevalier expreſſed no reſentment at the cruel proceedings of the parliament, to leave him no place to flee unto. But that other men were aſtoniſhed, and ſaid, 'For what is all this 'rage? What has he done? 'Was it a crime in him to be 'born? If his birth was ſuppoſititious, it was a good reaſon indeed to bar his acceſſion to the throne, but none 'to perſecute him, or ſet a 'price on his head, as was propoſed in parliament, by a rich 'and powerful party, to encourage the aſſaſſination of 'him.' He added, 'That, 'ſince ſo much depended on his 'birth, why was it not inquired 'into? That the prince of 'Orange promiſed it in his firſt 'declaration, and referred it 'to be examined in parliament: but, this not having 'been done, either by parliament, court of judicature, 'or any other authority whatever, it afforded an infallible 'demonſtration of the truth of 'his birth; ſince, by the laws 'of God and man, every child, 'that is owned by both parents, is to be received as 'ſuch, unleſs evident proof be 'made to the contrary. That 'it was very obvious, why for-

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About the ſame time, both parties being in ſuſpenſe, upon the hopes or fears of the coming over of the duke of Cambridge, the authors of the Examiner plainly enough diſcovered the perplexity ſome of the miniſters were in at that

1714.

The queen writes to the princeſs Sophia about the duke of Cambridge's coming over.

'mer parliaments, and in a 'former reign, would not enter into the examination of 'his birth, becauſe they knew 'the truth of it, and that no 'proof could be made againſt 'it. But the falſe rumours and 'ſuppoſitions, which were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad concerning it, to make way for 'the prince of Orange more 'eaſily to aſcend the throne '(having ſerved their turn) were 'laid aſide, like ſcaffolding, 'when a houſe is built. That 'he hoped it was reſerved for 'this parliament, to make a 'full examination, and to ſet 'the nation at reſt upon this 'material point; if not, the 'birth of this prince was infallibly confirmed. That there 'was no danger herein to his 'ſiſter, who now reigned; for 'none could doubt but he 'would be very well pleaſed 'to make ſuch a compromiſe 'with her, that ſhe might hold 'the crown during her life, 'provided his ſucceſſion after 'her were ſettled; and give all 'the ſecurity for this, that could 'be deſired, even to put his 'perſon into her hands, if ſhe 'thought fit. And that would 'unite both their intereſts, and 'render her reign more ſecure 'and comfortable to her, than 'it was or could otherwiſe be. 'That, if we were afraid of a 'popiſh ſucceſſor, why did we 'make the next ſucceſſor a papiſt? For it was they did it, 'who baniſhed him, when an 'infant, into a popiſh country, 'and paſſed an act of attainder 'againſt him, if he ſhould return to be inſtructed in our religion; and had ſent to all 'the proteſtant courts in Europe 'not to admit him, or to drive 'him thence, if he ſhould 'come, and had excluded him 'from the crown, without any 'reſerve for him, though he 'ſhould become a proteſtant; 'and at the ſame time declared 'openly, they would not believe him, if he ſhould profeſs it: which things were ſo 'irrational, that they had no 'tolerable foundation to ſtand 'upon. That the Britiſh nation had no reaſon to be afraid of the chevalier's introducing popery and ſlavery, ſince 'he had neither foreign force 'nor alliances; and, if he were 'upon the throne, he muſt be 'perfectly in the hands of his 'people. That, as to religion, 'he had promiſed to hear, in 'due time and place, what 'could be ſaid on that ſubject; which was all that could 'be expected. But that, whatever ſhould be the iſſue of his 'hearing, as to his own private judgment, the church of 'England, might be no leſs ſecure; for it was always his 'fixed perſuaſion, that the ſecurity of the crown and church 'of England, was, next under 'God, in their mutual ſupport 'of each other. And becauſe

1714. that juncture *. On the other hand, Mr. Toland publiſhed the reaſons and neceſſity of the duke of Cambridge's coming and reſiding in Great-Britain; the laſt of which reaſons was, 'That the prince's coming over would bring 'to the teſt ſome great perſons, who were reported to act 'on perfidious and dangerous principles to the Hanover 'family.' But neither the queen nor her miniſters were willing to put things upon that iſſue; for, upon a report, that the princeſs Sophia intended to deſire the queen's approbation for the duke of Cambridge's coming into England, her majeſty, with the advice of her cabinet council, wrote to that princeſs the following letter:

* See Examiner of April 23. 1714.

'the greateſt hurt any king of 'England can do to the church 'of England is putting bad bi'ſhops upon her; this being a 'corrupting the fountain; there'fore, to avoid all jealouſies, 'he was willing, during his 'reign, ſo far to wave his pre'rogative in the nomination of 'biſhops, deans, and other ec'cleſiaſtical preferments in the 'gift of the crown, that five 'biſhops ſhould be appointed, 'of which the archbiſhop of 'Canterbury, for the time be'ing, always to be one; who, 'upon any vacancy, might name 'three perſons to him of whom 'he would chooſe one. And 'the church of England, as by 'law eſtabliſhed, ſhould be ſe'cured in the ſole poſſeſſion, 'not only of all the churches, 'but of the univerſities, and 'even ſchools. And, as a fur'ther mark of his favour, he 'remitted, during his time, the 'tenths and firſt-fruits payable 'by the biſhops and clergy to 'the crown. That he had in'formed himſelf of paſt miſ'carriages, and knew well the 'difference between the office 'of a king and a miſſionary. 'That therefore he would con'cern himſelf with no man's 'religion, but was reſolved to 'defend that, which was legal'ly eſtabliſhed, and whoſe prin'ciples are true to monarchy, 'and ſafe for government. 'That, for the ſatisfaction of 'the church of England, and 'his own reſtoration, he thought 'himſelf obliged to do every 'thing that was conſiſtent with 'conſcience and honour. That, 'as an inſtance of his good in'tentions, he had ſent for Mr. 'Leſley to officiate to the pro'teſtants in his family; had 'cauſed a room to be fitted up 'in his own houſe for a chapel 'for them; and had taken out 'of their congregation his pre'ſent ſecretary of ſtate and 'chief miniſter.' And, in order to prejudice the people againſt the proteſtant ſucceſſion, Mr. Leſley ſubjoined, 'That 'the avowed doctrine of the il'luſtrious houſe of Hanover was 'conſubſtantiation; which was as 'erroneous, and as contrary to 'the doctrine of the church of 'England, as tranſubſtantiation; 'and yet no proviſion had been 'made, that, when they ſhould 'come into Great-Britain, they 'ſhould be of the communion 'of the church of England.'

Madam,

1714.

Madam, ſiſter, aunt,

'Since the right of ſucceſſion to my kingdoms has been declared to belong to you and your family, there have always been diſaffected perſons, who, by particular views of their own intereſt, have entered into meaſures to fix a prince of your blood in my dominions, even whilſt I am yet living. I never thought, till now, that this project would have gone ſo far, as to have made the leaſt impreſſion on your mind. But, as I have lately perceived by public rumours, which are induſtriouſly ſpread, that your electoral highneſs is come into this ſentiment, it is of importance, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion of your family, that I ſhould tell you, ſuch a proceeding will infallibly draw along with it ſome conſequences, that will be dangerous to that ſucceſſion itſelf, which is not ſecure any other ways, than as the prince, who actually wears the crown, maintains her authority and prerogative. There are here (ſuch is our misfortune) a great many people, that are ſeditiouſly diſpoſed. So I leave you to judge what tumults they may be able to raiſe, if they ſhould have a pretext to begin a commotion. I perſuade myſelf, therefore, you will never conſent, that the leaſt thing ſhould be done, that may diſturb the repoſe of me or my ſubjects.

'Open yourſelf to me with the ſame freedom I do to you, and propoſe whatever you think may contribute to the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion, I will come into it with zeal, provided that it do not derogate from my dignity, which I am reſolved to maintain. I am, with a great deal of affection, &c.'

St. James's, May 19. 1714.

Superſcribed,

To my ſiſter and aunt, electreſs dowager of Brunſwick and Lunenburg.

The queen, at the ſame time, wrote a letter to the duke of Cambridge to this effect:

Couſin,

'An accident, which has happened in my lord Paget's family, having hindered him from ſetting forward ſo ſoon

1714. ‘as he thought to have done, I cannot defer any longer ‘letting you know my thoughts with reſpect to the deſign ‘you have of coming into my kingdoms. As the opening ‘of this matter ought to have been firſt to me; ſo I ex- ‘pected you would not have given ear to it, without ‘knowing my thoughts about it. However, this is what ‘I owe to my own dignity, the friendſhip I have for you, ‘and the electoral houſe, to which you belong; and the ‘true deſire I have, that it may ſucceed to my kingdoms: ‘and this requires of me, that I ſhould tell you, that no- ‘thing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my ‘dominions, and the right of ſucceſſion in your line, and ‘conſequently more diſagreeable to me, than ſuch a pro- ‘ceeding at this juncture.’

I am,

With a great deal of friendſhip,

Your very affectionate couſin,

St. James's, May 19, 1714. ANNE R.

The lord-treaſurer, who began now to be ſenſible of the aſcendant lord Bolingbroke had over him at court, thought it his beſt way to ſecure a retreat behind the proteſtant ſucceſſion, which the other was undermining with more precipitation than before. For, the queen having never recovered her fit at Chriſtmas, it was thought proper to haſten the meaſures that were taken to defeat the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The treaſurer, who was no ſtranger to theſe proceedings, though he was not concerned in them, wrote alſo a letter to the elector of Brunſwick:

May it pleaſe your royal highneſs,

‘Though I expect Mr. Harley every moment in return ‘from your court, and thereby ſhall have another opportu- ‘nity of doing myſelf the honour to preſent your royal ‘highneſs with my moſt humble duty, and the aſſurance of ‘my utmoſt ſervice; yet I cannot ſlip this occaſion of the ‘queen's meſſenger attending your royal highneſs with her ‘majeſty's letter, to lay myſelf at your feet. I have no ‘enemy, that knows me, who is not juſt enough to allow ‘me, to be inviolably devoted to your ſucceſſion, nothing ‘coming

'coming in competition with that, becauſe I know I pleaſe 1714.
'the queen, when I am zealous for the ſervice of your ſe-
'rene houſe. I hope, therefore, I ſhall find credit with
'your royal highneſs, when I humbly lay my ſincere opi-
'nion before you. The queen is moſt heartily for your
'ſucceſſion. If there be any thing, which may render it
'more ſecure, which is conſiſtent with her majeſty's ſafe-
'ty, it will be accompliſhed. It is not the eager deſires of
'ſome, nor what flows from the advice of others, whoſe
'diſcontents perhaps animate their zeal, can balance the
'ſecurity you have in the queen's friendſhip, and the duti-
'ful affection of all her faithful ſubjects; for, as I am ſure
'your royal highneſs's great wiſdom would not chuſe to
'rule by a party, ſo you will not let their narrow mea-
'ſures be the ſtandard of your government. I doubt not,
'but the accident, that happened about the writ, may be
'improved, to increaſe the moſt perfect friendſhip between
'the queen and your moſt ſerene family. I will ſtudy to
'do every thing to demonſtrate the profound veneration
'and reſpect, wherewith I am, &c.

OXFORD.

There was another letter from the queen to the elector of Brunſwick, but written in a ſtyle ſo unbecoming the one and the other, that the perſons, to whom theſe letters were tranſmitted, did not think fit to give copies of it; but, upon a report induſtriouſly ſpread by the pretender's agents, that the duke of Cambridge might have came over, if the elector his father would have let him, but, that the elector did not think the crown of Great-Britain worth accepting, the copies of the other three letters were diſperſed in print. This gave ſo great offence to the miniſters, that the publiſher, and the perſon who ſent him the letters, were ſeized by lord Bolingbroke's warrant, and bound over to appear at the queen's-bench.

The princeſs Sophia, now in the 84th year of her age, was much affected by theſe letters, and on the 28th of May, the day after the receipt, being ſeized as ſhe was walking in the gardens at Herenhauſen with a fit of the apoplexy, died in the arms of the electoral princeſs (the late queen Caroline) and the counteſs of Pickenburg, who were talking with her, before any other perſon could come to her aſſiſtance. This princeſs was fourth and youngeſt daughter of Frederick, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth of England, only daughter of king James the firſt; and was born

Death of the princeſs Sophia. May 28.

Her pedigree and character

1714. at the Hague, the 3d of October, 1630: ſo ſhe was eighty-three years, eight months, and five days old at her death. In the year 1658, ſhe was married to Erneſt Auguſtus, duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, (fourth and youngeſt ſon to George duke of Lunenburg-Zell) who, in 1662, ſucceeded count Francis of Wirtenberg, in the biſhopric of Oſnaburg: in 1680, on the death of his eldeſt brother, John Frederic duke of Hanover, Erneſt Auguſtus ſucceeded him alſo in that dignity; and, in the year 1692, he received the inveſtiture of the electoral dignity of Brunſwick Lunenburg. This prince died on the 23d of January 1698, having had, by the princeſs Sophia, ſix ſons, George Lewis, Frederic Auguſtus, Maximilian William, Charles Philip, Chriſtian, and Erneſt Auguſtus, and one daughter, Sophia Dorothy, who, in the year 1684, became the ſecond wife of Frederic the third, king of Pruſſia. The princeſs Sophia had a very ſtrong healthy conſtitution, and was endowed with great abilities natural and acquired. She was perfect miſtreſs of the Low-Dutch, German, Engliſh, French, and Italian languages, and had a genius equally turned for converſation or buſineſs, which rendered her not only the ornament and delight of her court, but qualified her to manage and ſupport the higheſt intereſts. The greatneſs of her ſoul bore proportion to her birth, and the ſtation which ſhe filled; but with all was tempered with ſo much ſweetneſs and affability, that the duty of thoſe below her became their pleaſure. No one ever gave liberties with a better choice, or could act without reſerve to greater advantage. She behaved in both parts to admiration, as a daughter of England, and as a mother of Germany. Her wit was ſpritely, curious, and ſurprizing; her judgment ſolid and penetrating, founded upon the nobleſt maxims from reading and ſtudy, explained by obſervation and experience. Nothing could exceed the beauties and advantages of her converſation, but her letters; both were eaſy, entertaining, and uſeful. She had a fund of happineſs within herſelf, which gave a reliſh to her retirements: but her care in government and oeconomy ſhewed the juſt ſenſe ſhe had of being born for the good of others. Her piety was exemplary, without affectation; her ſentiments of religion juſt and noble, neither perplexed with doubts, nor inſlaved by ſuperſtition. The neighbourhood of the jeſuits ſerved only to confirm her in the opinion ſhe had of the impoſtures and corruptions of their church and order. But, though bred up in the reformed religion, according

cording to the Calvinian diſcipline, yet ſhe ever had a great eſteem for the liturgy and conſtitution of the church of England. She hated every thing, that was ſour, malicious, or ill-natured to ſuch a degree, that none could be more ſedulous to oppoſe, or more active to ſuppreſs, every little quarrel and party, that grew up, where ſhe had any influence. 1714.

Baron Bothmar arrived at London on the 25th of June, with the character of envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover, and, in a private audience of the queen, notified the death of the princeſs Sophia; upon which, an order was made in council for mourning, and for praying for the elector of Brunſwick, in the liturgy of the church of England.

In the conſultation held by the miniſtry, after the demand of the duke of Cambridge's writ, wherein it was debated, Whether the queen ſhould invite over that duke? The lord-treaſurer, the lord-chancellor, the lord privy-ſeal, and another privy-counſellor, were for it; but the lord Bolingbroke having oppoſed it, and carried the negative, reſolved to puſh his point, and to uſe all poſſible means to defeat the proteſtant ſucceſſion. With that view he is ſaid to have broke all meaſures with the treaſurer, and united himſelf more cloſely with the high-church party. As the farther diſcouragement and even ruin of the diſſenters was thought neceſſary for accompliſhing this ſcheme, it was begun with the famous ſchiſm-bill. A motion for it, on the 12th of May, by Sir William Wyndham, was introduced, by reading the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th ſections of the 'act of 'uniformity,' paſſed after the reſtoration, by which, above two thouſand miniſters were turned out of their livings. The motion being approved, a bill was ordered to be brought in, 'to prevent the growth of ſchiſm, and for the further 'ſecurity of the church of England as by law eſtabliſh-'ed (x).' On the other hand, in order to ſtrengthen the jacobite

The ſchiſm bill moved for. Pr. H. C.

(x) Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Cholmondley, Sir John Stonehouſe, Sir Arthur Kay, Mr Campion, Mr. Gore, Mr. Aldworth, Mr. Secretary Bromley, lord Downe, Mr. Finch, Mr. Windſor, Sir William Whitlocke, and Dr. Paſke were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill. Whilſt this was doing, it was reſolved to addreſs the queen for a copy of the inſtructions given to the earl of Straſford, with relation to the declarations made by him on the part of her majeſty, to the miniſters of the ſeveral allies who had any troops in her majeſty's pay

1714. jacobite party in Scotland, a motion was made for a bill, to inveſt the Scots biſhops revenues and rents in the queen, to be applied to the ſupport of the epiſcopal clergy. To render this bill ineffectual, it was propoſed by the whigs, that theſe revenues ſhould be applied to ſuch only of the epiſcopal clergy, as ſhould pray for the queen and the princeſs Sophia in expreſs words. As the court-party could not well oppoſe this addition, and as the reſuming of the epiſcopal revenues (which had been forfeited at the revolution, and given to the miniſters of the kirk of Scotland) would have been attended with great difficulties, the bill was ſuffered to drop. It was, however, reſolved to finiſh the ſchiſm-bill. When this bill was ingroſſed and read the third time in order to be paſſed, there aroſe a long and warm debate. Mr. Hampden, Mr. Robert Walpole, general Stanhope, Mr. Lechmere, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, and Sir Peter King, exerted their eloquence in oppoſing it, repreſenting in general, 'That it looked more like a decree of 'Julian the apoſtate, than a law enacted by a proteſtant 'parliament, ſince it tended to raiſe as great a perſecution 'againſt our proteſtant brethren, as either the primitive 'chriſtians ever ſuffered from the heathen emperors, or the 'proteſtants from popery and the inquiſition.' Mr. Stanhope ſhewed, in particular, the ill conſequences of this law, as it would of courſe occaſion foreign education; which, on the one hand, would drain the kingdom of great ſums of money; and, which was ſtill worſe, fill the tender minds of young men with prejudices againſt their own country. He illuſtrated and ſtrengthened his argument by the example of the Engliſh popiſh ſeminaries abroad, which, he ſaid, were ſo pernicious to Great-Britain, that, inſtead of making new laws to encourage foreign education, he could wiſh thoſe already in force againſt papiſts were mitigated; and that they ſhould be allowed a certain number of ſchools. The chief advocates for the bill were Mr. ſecretary Bromley, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Hungerford, and Mr. Collier. Mr. Bromley maintained, 'The diſſenters were 'equally dangerous to church and ſtate. However, if the 'members, who ſpoke in their behalf, would have this

A bill, for reſuming the epiſcopal revenues in Scotland is dropped. May 22.

Debate about the ſchiſm bill, which paſſed. Pr. H. C.

pay before the ceſſation of arms. This addreſs was voted with intention to prepare the way for refuſing to pay the arrears of 65,022 *l.* 8 *s.* 8 *d.* due to the elector of Hanover's troops, which had been lately demanded by the electoral highneſs's miniſter.

'bill

'bill drop, he would readily conſent to it, provided another 1714.
'bill were brought in, to incapacitate them either to ſit in
'that houſe, or to vote in elections of members of parlia-
'ment.' Mr. Walpole anſwered this ſpeech with great force; after which Mr. Hungerford recapitulated, and, in his uſual ludicrous way, faintly laboured to confute what had been offered by the whig members.

Mr. Collier, who brought up the rear, did ſtill worſe. This man, formerly an attorney, had, by a wife, got the directorſhip of the play-houſe in Drury-lane; and afterwards, by his intruding aſſurance, the acquaintance and intimacy of the lord Bolingbroke. At whoſe earneſt requeſt, Mr. Collier, though ſcarce worth thirty pounds a year, was, by the duke of Beaufort's intereſt, brought into the houſe of commons, where he took this ſolemn occaſion to ſignalize his zeal for the cauſe he was to ſerve. With this intention he ſeconded Mr. Hungerford, and, in order to expoſe the diſſenters, he deſired leave to read to the houſe a collection of abſurdities and impious expreſſions, which he pretended to have taken from their writings. After reading part of this impertinent legend, he fell on a paſſage extracted from the nonſenſical rhapſodies of the late Mr. Hickeringhill, miniſter at Colcheſter, wherein Mr. Collier ſaid, he averred, 'That our bleſſed Saviour was a ſon of a 'w——.' At theſe ſhocking expreſſions, Mr. Bromley interrupted him, ſaying, 'Such impious words ought not 'to be repeated in that aſſembly.' On the other hand, ſome other members obſerved, that Mr. Hickeringhill was not a diſſenting teacher, but a miniſter of the church of England: and that he was known to be crack-brain'd; and therefore his extravagancies and blaſphemies proved nothing againſt any ſet of men, much leſs againſt the diſſenters. Mr. Lechmere ſpoke againſt the bill with great vehemence; and, among other things, took notice, 'That the indul-
'gence granted to proteſtant diſſenters, ſince the revoluti-
'on, had been ſo far from hurting the church, that it had
'rather inlarged its pale; and it was notorious, that ſome
'perſons [meaning the treaſurer, the chancellor, and the
'lord Bolingbroke] who had been bred among ſchiſmatics,
'were, or, at leaſt pretended to be, the ſtrongeſt ſupports
'of the eſtabliſhed church.' Several other ſpeeches were made for and againſt the bill; which was carried by a majority of two hundred and thirty-ſeven voices againſt one hundred and twenty-ſix; and Sir William Wyndham, chancellor of the exchequer, who brought it into the houſe,

and

1714. and promoted it with all his power, was ordered to carry it to the lords.

The public were divided in their opinions whether the lord-treaſurer was for or againſt this bill. It is ſaid * that the ſchiſm-bill was caſtrated by him, and that he took out the moſt malicious and perſecuting part which had been formed by Atterbury, Bolingbroke, and Wyndham. However this be, the lord Harley, his ſon, Mr. Thomas Harley his couſin (lately returned from Hanover) and all his friends, except his brother the auditor, voted for the bill.

* Hiſt. of the white ſtaff.

When the bill was read the firſt time in the houſe of peers, the lord Bolingbroke ſaid, 'It was a bill of the laſt 'importance, ſince it concerned the ſecurity of the church 'of England, the beſt and firmeſt ſupport of the monar-'chy; both which all good men, and, in particular, that 'auguſt aſſembly, who derive their luſtre from, and are near-'eſt the throne, ought to have moſt at heart: and there-'fore, he moved, that it ſhould be read a ſecond time.' The lord Cowper ſaid, 'No man was more ready than 'himſelf to do every thing, that ſhould appear neceſſary to 'attain the ſeeming intention of this bill, the preventing 'the growth of ſchiſm, and the further ſecuring the church 'of England. But the enacting part would be ſo far from 'anſwering the title of it, that, in his opinion, it would 'have a quite contrary effect, and prove equally pernicious 'to church and ſtate.' He ſpoke on theſe two heads near half an hour, and, among other things, repreſented, 'That inſtead of preventing ſchiſm, and inlarging the pale 'of the church, this bill tended to introduce ignorance, 'and its inſeparable attendants, ſuperſtition and irreligion.' To this purpoſe he took notice, 'That, in many country 'towns, reading, writing, and grammar-ſchools were chief-'ly ſupported by the diſſenters; not only for the inſtructi-'on and benefit of their own children, but likewiſe of thoſe 'of poor churchmen; ſo that the ſuppreſſing of thoſe ſchools 'would, in ſome places, ſuppreſs the reading the holy 'ſcriptures.' On the other hand, he obſerved, 'That this 'bill ſtruck at the antient rights and prerogative of the 'houſe of peers; which, by the conſtitution, is the ſupreme 'court of judicature, and the dernier reſort in all cauſes; 'whereas, by this bill, the juſtices of the peace were im-'powered finally to hear and determine the offences againſt 'the ſame. My lords, added he, I would rather enlarge, 'than abridge the power of juſtices of the peace, were 'it but to encourage gentlemen to take upon them an of-

'fice,

'fice ſo troubleſome, and at the ſame time ſo unprofitable, 1714.
'unleſs it be perhaps in the county of Middleſex. But,
'my lords, I ſhall never conſent to give up the birth-right
'and antient privileges of this auguſt aſſembly, of which
'I have the honour to be a member.'

The earl of Wharton, in his ironical way, ſaid, 'He was
'agreeably ſurprized to ſee, that ſome men of pleaſure
'were, on a ſudden, become ſo religious, as to ſet up for
'patrons of the church. But he could not but wonder,
'that perſons who had been educated in diſſenting acade-
'mies, whom he could point at, and whoſe tutors he could
'name, ſhould appear the moſt forward in ſuppreſſing
'them. That this was but an indifferent return for the
'benefit the public had received from thoſe ſchools, which
'had bred thoſe great men, who had made ſo glorious a
'peace, and treaties that executed themſelves; who had
'obtained ſo great advantages for our commerce, and who
'had paid the public debts, without any further charge to
'the nation. So that he could ſee no reaſon there was to
'ſuppreſs thoſe academies, unleſs it were an apprehenſion,
'that they might ſtill produce greater genius's, that ſhould
'drown the merits and abilities of thoſe great men. My
'lords, continued he, to be ſerious, it is no leſs melancholy
'than ſurprizing, that, at a time, when the court of France
'proſecutes the deſign they have long ſince laid to extir-
'pate our holy religion; when, not only ſecret practices
'are uſed to impoſe a popiſh pretender on theſe realms,
'but men publickly inliſted for his ſervice; it is melan-
'choly and ſurprizing, I ſay, that, at this very time, a bill
'ſhould be brought in, which cannot but tend to divide
'proteſtants; and conſequently to weaken their intereſt,
'and haſten their ruin. But then the wonder will ceaſe, if
'we conſider what madmen were the contrivers and pro-
'moters of this bill.' He excepted, in particular, againſt
the word ſchiſm, with which the frontiſpiece of the bill was
ſet off, and ſaid, 'It is ſomewhat ſtrange, they ſhould call
'ſchiſm in England what is the eſtabliſhed religion in Scot-
'land; and therefore, if the lords, who repreſented the no-
'bility of that part of Great-Britain, were for this bill, he
'hoped, that, in order to be even with us, and conſiſtent
'with themſelves, they would move for the bringing in
'another bill, to prevent the growth of ſchiſm in their own
'country.' He ſaid alſo, on another occaſion (for he ſpoke
more than once) 'That both in this bill, and in the ſpeech-
'es of thoſe, who declared for it, ſeveral laws were recited

'and

1714. 'and alledged; but that there was a law, that had not yet 'been mentioned. I expected, added he, that venerable 'bench [turning to the biſhops] would have put us in mind 'of it; but ſince they are pleaſed to be ſilent in this debate, 'I will myſelf tell them, that it is the law of the goſpel, 'To do unto others as we would be done unto.'

The earls of Abingdon and Angleſea ſpoke afterwards for the bill; and Angleſea ſaid, among other things, 'That the diſſenters were equally dangerous both to church 'and ſtate: that they were irreconcilable enemies to the 'eſtabliſhed church, which they had ſufficiently manifeſt-'ed in the late king James the ſecond's reign, when, in 'order to obtain a toleration, they joined themſelves with 'the papiſts; and that they had rendered themſelves un-'worthy of the indulgence the church of England granted 'them at the revolution, by endeavouring to engroſs the 'education of youth; for which purpoſe they had ſet up 'ſchools and academies in moſt cities and towns in the 'kingdom, to the great detriment of the univerſities, and 'danger of the eſtabliſhed church.'

The lord Haliſax ſpoke on the other ſide, and urged, 'That the very bringing in of this bill was injurious to 'the queen; and he could not believe, her majeſty would 'ever give her royal aſſent to ſuch a law, after the ſolemn 'declaration ſhe had made from the throne, that ſhe would 'inviolably maintain the toleration, which this bill viſibly 'ſtruck at. That her majeſty made it the glory of her 'reign to follow the ſteps of queen Elizabeth, who had 'not only entertained and protected the reformed Wal-'loons, who took ſanctuary in her dominions from the 'Spaniſh inquiſition, but had likewiſe allowed them the 'public exerciſe of their religion, and cauſed a clauſe in 'their favour to be inſerted in the act of uniformity. That, 'by that means, that wiſe and glorious queen had vaſtly 'increaſed the wealth of the realm, the Walloons having 'ſettled here the woollen manufactures, which are the beſt 'branch of the national trade. That the protection and 'encouragement the late king William and queen Mary, 'and her preſent majeſty, had given to the French refu-'gees, had proved no leſs advantageous to Great-Britain: 'and therefore it would be a piece of barbarity to make an 'act, which ſhould debar many French proteſtants of means 'of ſubſiſting, either by keeping public ſchools, or teaching 'in private families; eſpecially conſidering their late hard 'uſage, the government not having, for above three years 'paſt,

'paſt, paid them any part of the fifteen thouſand pounds 1714.
'per ann. allowed by parliament in the civil liſt, towards
'the maintenance of their miniſters and poor.' He concluded with taking notice 'of the fatal conſequences of 'perſecuting the diſſenters in king Charles the Firſt's reign, 'which kindled a furious and unnatural civil war, and ended 'in the total overthrow of Church and ſtate, and in the 'king's parricide.'

The lord Townſhend ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and, among other arguments, repreſented the ill effects of perſecution in general. He ſaid, 'He had lived a long time in *Holland*, 'and had obſerved, that the wealth and ſtrength of that 'great and powerful commonwealth lay in the number of 'its inhabitants: and at the ſame time he was perſuaded, 'that, if the States ſhould cauſe the ſchools of any one 'ſect, tolerated in the united provinces, to be ſhut up, 'they would ſoon be as thin of people as Sweden or Spain, 'whereas they now ſwarm with inhabitants.'

The lord North and Grey, who ſpoke for the bill, maintained the general aſſertion of his party, 'That the church 'was in danger from the growth of ſchiſmatics.' The earl of Nottingham ſaid, 'He owned he had formerly been of 'opinion, that the occaſional conformity of diſſenters was 'dangerous to the eſtabliſhed church; and therefore he 'ever promoted the bill to prevent it. But that, the church 'having now that ſecurity, he believed her ſafe and out of 'danger; and therefore he thought himſelf in conſcience 'obliged to oppoſe ſo barbarous a law as this, which tend-'ed to deprive parents of the natural right of educating 'their own children. He added, He had obſerved both 'from hiſtory and his own experience, that all the perſe-'cutions, that had been raiſed in England againſt ſchiſma-'tics, originally proceeded from, and tended to favouring 'popery.' He particularly excepted againſt that part of the bill, which enacts, 'That any perſon, who ſhould keep 'any public or private ſchool, or inſtruct any youth as tu-'tor, ſhould have a licence of the reſpective archbiſhop or 'biſhop of the place, &c. My lords, ſaid he, I have many 'children; and I know not whether God almighty will 'vouchſafe to let me live, to give them the education I 'could wiſh they had. Therefore, my lords, I own, I 'tremble, when I think, that a certain divine, who is 'hardly ſuſpected of being a chriſtian [meaning Dr. Swift] 'is in a fair way of being a biſhop; and may one day give 'licences to thoſe, who ſhall be intruſted with the inſtruc-

'tion

1714. 'tion of youth.' Some other lords made ſpeeches for and againſt the bill. But the lord treaſurer contented himſelf with ſaying, 'That he had not yet conſidered of it; but, 'when he had, he would vote according as it ſhould appear 'to him, to be either for the good or detriment of his coun-'try. And therefore he was for reading the bill a ſecond 'time;' which was agreed to without dividing, and put off to the 7th of June.

After this, the preſbyterians petitioned that they might be heard by their counſel againſt the bill; but their petition was rejected by a majority of ſeventy-two voices againſt ſixty-ſix. It was obſerved on this occaſion, earl Powlet, the lord Foley, the lord Manſel, and ſome other friends of the lord-treaſurer, voted with the whig lords, for allowing the petition; and the lord-treaſurer himſelf was out of the houſe, that he might not be obliged to declare on either ſide; which ſtrengthened their opinion, who thought the bill levelled againſt him, with a view, that, if he voted for it, he would loſe the diſſenters and the whigs entirely; if he voted againſt it, he would loſe the queen.

On the day appointed, the lords read the ſchiſm bill a ſecond time, and after a ſhort debate, agreed, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted in the bill in favour of the French proteſtant churches. Two days after, in a committee of the whole houſe, of which the archbiſhop of York was chairman, the bill was examined paragraph by paragraph, from one in the afternoon till eight in the evening. The biſhop of London having ſuggeſted, 'That the diſſenters had made 'this bill neceſſary, by their endeavours to propagate their 'ſchiſm, and to draw the children of churchmen to their 'ſchools and academies;' the lord Halifax anſwered, 'That what they did was with the knowledge and conſent of 'the parents, who, in many places, had not ſufficient 'means to educate their own children:' for which reaſon he moved, 'That, ſince this bill was occaſioned, as was 'ſuggeſted, by the diſſenters endeavouring to ingroſs the edu-'cation of the youth of both perſuaſions, they might be 'allowed ſchools to inſtruct their own children.' This motion, being formed into a queſtion, was debated near three hours. The lord Cowper and Halifax, the earl of Sunderland, and ſome other peers, made ſeveral ſpeeches for the affirmative. But the lord Bolingbroke, the earl of Abingdon, and the lord chancellor, inſiſted on the negative, which was at laſt carried by ſixty-two votes againſt forty-eight. After this it was moved, that diſſenters might, at

at leaſt, be ſuffered to have ſchool-miſtreſſes to teach their children to read, which, after a debate of about half an hour, was carried without dividing; as was alſo a clauſe, 'That this act ſhould not extend to any perſon, who ſhould 'inſtruct youth in reading, writing, arithmetick, or any 'part of mathematical learning, that relates to navigation, 'or any mechanical art only.' Then was examined that part of the bill, whereby the conviction of offenders againſt this act was left to the juſtices of the peace; and, after a warm debate, it was carried by a majority of fifty-nine votes againſt fifty-four, that the conviction ſhould be in the ordinary courſe of juſtice, 'upon an information, preſent-'ment, or indictment, in any of her majeſty's courts of re-'cord at Weſtminſter, or at the aſſizes, or before juſtices 'of Oyer and Terminer.' The court-party finding, by this laſt diviſion, that they loſt conſiderable ground, and fearing, other amendments would be made, which would render the bill altogether uſeleſs, moved, that the chairmen leave the chair, in order to adjourn. But though the contrary party at firſt oppoſed it, yet, after ſome debate, upon the penalties to be inflicted on the offenders, both parties being equally tired, the houſe adjourned to the next day. 1714.

Accordingly, on the 10th of June, the lords reſumed the debate about the penalties, and fixed the ſame to three months impriſonment; after which it was moved and agreed, That perſons aggrieved might 'appeal from eccleſi-'aſtical cenſures, as in caſes of ordinary juriſdiction.' A clauſe was afterwards propoſed and carried to exempt from the penalties of this act any tutor, who ſhall be employed by any nobleman or noblewoman, to teach in their families, provided ſuch tutor do, in every reſpect, qualify himſelf according to this act, except only in that of taking a licence from the biſhop. The earl of Angleſea moved, that a clauſe might be inſerted, to extend this act to Ireland: which after ſome debate, was carried in the affirmative by the majority of one voice only. When the bill with theſe amendments was reported to the houſe by the archbiſhop of York, ſeveral ſpeeches were made againſt the clauſe to extend this bill to Ireland: particularly by the duke of Shrewſbury, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, who was juſt returned from thence. But the queſtion being put, it was carried by fifty-ſeven voices againſt fifty-one, that the clauſe ſhould ſtand. The next day the bill was read the third time; and after a ſmall de-

1714. debate, it was carried by ſeventy-ſeven votes againſt ſeventy-two, that it ſhould paſs (y).

When the bill thus amended was ſent to the commons, a ſhort debate aroſe. Mr. Lechmere and Mr. Walpole repre-

(y) The following peers entered a proteſt againſt it, the dukes of Somerſet, Bolton, Grafton, Devonſhire, Schomberg, and Argyle; the marquis of Dorcheſter; the earls of Wharton, Sunderland, Dorſet, Carliſle, Orford, Derby, Lincoln, Nottingham, Radnor, and Torrington; the lords viſcounts Townſhend and Longueville: the lords Sommers, Hallifax, Cowper, Rockingham, Haverſham, Cornwallis, and Foley; and the biſhops of Ely, Bangor, St. Aſaph, Laudoff, and Lincoln.

The Proteſt was in theſe terms:

'I. We cannot apprehend (as the bill recites) that great danger may enſue from the diſſenters to the church and ſtate:

'Becauſe, 1. By law no diſſenter is capable of any ſtation, which can be ſuppoſed to render him dangerous.

'2. And, ſince the ſeveral ſects of diſſenters differ from each other as much as they do from the eſtabliſhed church, they can never form of themſelves a national church; nor have they any temptation to ſet up any one ſect among them; for in that caſe, all that the other ſects can expect, is only a toleration, which they already enjoy by the indulgence of the ſtate; and therefore it in their intereſt to ſupport the eſtabliſhed church againſt any other ſect, that would attempt to deſtroy it.

'II. If, nevertheleſs, the diſſenters were dangerous, ſeverity is not ſo proper and effectual a method to reduce them to the church, as a charitable indulgence, as is manifeſt by experience, there having been more diſſenters reconciled to the church ſince the act of toleration, than in all the time ſince the act of uniformity, to the time of the ſaid act of toleration; and there is ſcarce one conſiderable family in England in communion with the diſſenters. Severity may make them hypocrites, but not converts.

'III. If ſeverity could be ſuppoſed ever to be of uſe, yet this is not a proper time for it, while we are threatned with much greater dangers to our church and nation, againſt which the proteſtant diſſenters have joined, and are ſtill willing to join with us in our defence; and therefore we ſhould not drive them from us, by inforcing the laws againſt them in a manner, which, of all others, muſt moſt ſenſibly grieve them, viz. the education of their children; which reduces them to a neceſſity either of breeding them in a way they do not approve, or of leaving them without inſtruction.

'IV. This muſt be the more grievous to the diſſenters, be-

'cauſe

preſented, 'That, ſince the proteſtant diſſenters of Ireland 1714.
'were made liable to the penalties of this bill, it were but
'juſt either to inſert a clauſe in it, or to bring in another
'bill, to make them enjoy the benefit of the toleration act,
'paſ-

'cauſe it was little expected 'from the members of the eſta-'bliſhed church, after ſo favour-'able an indulgence, as the act 'of toleration, and the repeat-'ed declarations and profeſſions 'from the throne and former 'parliaments, againſt all perſe-'cution, which is the peculiar 'badge of the Roman church, 'which avows and practices this 'doctrine: and yet this had not 'been retaliated even upon 'the papiſts, for all the laws 'made againſt them have been 'the effects and juſt puniſhment 'of treaſon, and from time to 'time committed againſt the 'ſtate. But it is not pretend-'ed, that this bill is deſigned as 'a puniſhment of any crime, 'which the proteſtant diſſenters 'have been guilty of againſt the 'civil government, or that they 'are diſaffected to the prote-'ſtant ſucceſſion, as by law 'eſtabliſhed; for in this their 'zeal is very conſpicuous.

'V. In all the inſtances of making laws, or of a rigid ex-ecution of the laws againſt diſſenters, it is very remark-able, that the deſign was to 'weaken the church, and to 'drive them into one common 'intereſt with the papiſts, and 'to join them in meaſures ten-'ding to the deſtruction of it. 'This was the method ſuggeſt-'ed by popiſh counſels, to pre-'pare them for the two ſucceſ-'ſive declarations in the time of 'king Charles II. and the fol-'lowing one iſſued out by king 'James II. to ruin all our ci-'vil and religious rights. And 'we cannot think, that the arts 'and contrivances of the pa-'piſts, to ſubvert our church, 'are proper means to preſerve 'it, eſpecially at a time, when 'we are in more danger of po-'pery than ever, by the de-'ſigns of the pretender, ſup-'ported by the mighty power 'of the French king, who is en-'gaged to extirpate our religi-'on, and by great numbers in 'this kingdom, who are pro-'feſſedly in his intereſts.

'VI. But if the diſſenters 'ſhould not be provoked, by 'this ſeverity, to concur in the 'deſtruction of their country 'and the proteſtant religion, 'yet we may juſtly fear they 'may be driven by this bill 'from England, to the great 'prejudice of our manufac-'tures; for, as we gained them 'by the perſecution abroad, ſo 'we may loſe them by the 'like proceedings at home.

'Laſtly, The miſeries, we 'apprehend here, are greatly 'inhanced by extending the 'bill to Ireland, where the 'conſequences of it may be fa-'tal; for ſince the number of 'papiſts in that kingdom far 'exceeds the proteſtants of all 'dominions together; and 'that the diſſenters are to be 'treated as enemies, or, at leaſt 'as perſons dangerous to the 'church and ſtate, who have 'al-

1714. 'passed in England in the last reign.' But Sir William Wyndham and Mr. Campion said, 'If leave were given to 'bring in such a bill, they hoped they should have leave al- 'so to bring in another to incapacitate dissenters from vot- 'ing in elections for parliament-men:' Upon which that matter dropped. On the other hand, general Stanhope proposed, 'That the tutors in the families of members of 'the house of commons might be put on the same foot 'with those, who taught in the families of a nobleman or 'noblewoman; it being reasonable to suppose, that the 'members of that house, many of whom were of noble ex- 'traction, had as great a concern as the lords for the edu- 'cation of their children, and an equal right to take care of 'their instruction.' Several members of both parties were of Mr. Stanhope's opinion. But Mr. Hungerford repre- senting, 'That the least amendment now made in the 'house might occasion the loss of the bill;' the promoters of it caused the question to be put, and it was carried by a majority of one hundred and sixty-eight votes against ninety- eight, that the commons agreed to the lords amendments. On the 25th of June, the schism-bill, with several others, received the royal assent by commission. But it is obser- vable, the very day it was to take place*, the queen de- parted this life; which accident broke all the measures of those, who had promoted that law, and rendered it in a manner ineffectual (z).

* Aug. 1.

On

'always, at all times, joined, 'and will would join, with the 'members of that church, 'against the common enemy of 'their religion, and since the 'army there is very much re- 'duced, the protestants, thus 'unnecessarily divided, seems to 'us to be exposed to the dan- 'ger of another massacre, and 'the protestant religion in 'danger of being extirpated.

'And we may further fear, 'that the Scots in Britain, 'whose national church is 'presbyterian, will not so 'heartily and zealously join 'with us in our defence, when 'they see those of the same 'nation, same blood, and same 'religion, so hardly treated by 'us.

'And this will be still more 'grievous to the protestant dis- 'senters in Ireland, because 'whilst the popish priests are 'registered, and so indulged by 'law, as that they exercise 'their religion without molest- 'tation, the dissenters are so 'far from enjoying the like to- 'leration, that the laws by this 'bill are inforced against 'them.'

(z) This act enjoins, That no person in Great-Britain, or Wales, shall keep any public or private school, or seminary, or teach

On the 5th of May the queen removed from St James's to her palace at Kenſington, in appearance pretty well in health; but, having the next day in the evening felt a ſhivering, her phyſicians thought fit, that ſhe ſhould immediately come back to St James's, where ſhe was, for ſome time, detained in her chamber by an impoſthumation in one of her legs. The duke of Shrewſbury, having (as has been ſaid) early notice of the dangerous condition the queen was in, was very deſirous to be in England; though, on the other hand, he was unwilling to leave the government of Ireland in their hands, whom he knew inclined to favour the pretender's agents; who ſtill continued inliſting men for his ſervice (a). But, all things conſidered, he judged 1714. The queen again indiſpoſed.

teach or inſtruct youth, as tutor or ſchoolmaſter, that has not firſt ſuperſcribed the declaration to conform to the church of England, and has obtained licence from the reſpective diocеſan, or ordinary of the place, or upon failure of ſo doing, may be committed to priſon, without bail or mainprize. And that no ſuch licence ſhall be granted, before the party produces a certificate, of his having received the ſacrament, according to the communion of the church of England, in ſome pariſh church, within a year before obtaining ſuch licence, and hath ſuperſcribed the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy.

That if any perſon, having complied with theſe points, ſhall wilfully or willingly reſort to any conventicle, or be preſent in any aſſembly, where the queen is not prayed for, ſhould be liable to the penalty of this act, and from thenceforth be incapable to keep any ſchool, or ſeminary, or inſtruct any youth, as tutor or ſchoolmaſter. And if any perſon teaches any other catechiſm, than what is ſet forth in the common-prayer, his licence ſhall be thenceforth void, and he be liable to the penalties of the act; but no perſon to be puniſhed twice for the ſame fact. Any perſon convicted by this act, conforming to the church for one year, without having been preſent at any conventicle, ſhall be again capacitated. This act to be conſtrued to extend to Ireland.

(a) On the 14th of May, information being brought to the duke of Shrewſbury, that about one hundred and fifty men, liſted for the pretender's ſervice, were at the hill of Howth, near Dublin, waiting to go on ſhipboard for France, ſome conſtables, with a file of muſqueteers, were ſent thither, who took twenty four of them, and brought them to Dublin, where they were committed to priſon, in order to be tried for high-treaſon. On the 26th of June, John Reily, Alexander Bourk, and Martin Carrol, were executed for it at Stephen's-green: and, about the beginning of July, twenty-one perſons more were tried and condemned for the ſame crime.

1714. his preſence more neceſſary at London than in Dublin, and came over about the beginning of June. Finding thoſe about the queen jarring and disjointed, he reſolved to act a cautious part, and not ſide with either of the contending parties; but, as ſoon as a proper occaſion (which he judged could not be far off) offered itſelf, to put himſelf at the head of the well-affected to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, who indeed were no leſs ſtrengthened by his arrival at this critical juncture, than the lord Bolingbroke's intereſt was weakened by the death of the duke of Beaufort, which happened ſome days before.

May 24. Towards the end of May, the marquis de Trivié, ambaſſador from the new king of Sicily, made his public entry; but it was the 8th of June, before the queen was in a condition to admit him to a public audience. Two days after the queen, finding herſelf ſomething better, removed from St. James's to Kenſington.

Proclamation for apprehending the pretender. June 23. About this time, upon information given to the earl of Wharton, that two Iriſh Officers, Hugh and William Kelly, were liſting men for the pretender in London and Weſtminſter, he carried his evidence to chief-juſtice Parker, upon whoſe warrant William Kelly was ſeized at Graveſend, with five men inliſted, as Hugh Kelly was a few days after at Deal, with a paſs from the earl of Middleton, ſecretary of ſtate to the pretender. This affair having made a great noiſe, the miniſters could not avoid taking notice of thoſe treaſonable practices; and a proclamation was publiſhed 'for apprehending the pretender, 'whenever he ſhould land, or attempt to land in Great-'Britain,' and promiſing a reward of five thouſand pounds for that ſervice. The next day Mr. Freeman having moved in the houſe of commons for an addreſs of thanks for the proclamation, he was ſeconded by Mr. Auditor Harley, and ſupported by the earl of Hertford, who [illegible] ded, 'That the five thouſand pounds mentioned in [illegible] 'queen's proclamation was too ſmall a recompence [illegible] 'important a ſervice;' and therefore moved for an addition to the addreſs, 'That this houſe would chearfully 'aid and aſſiſt her majeſty, by granting the ſum of a hundred thouſand pounds, as a further reward to any, who 'ſhould perform ſo great a ſervice to her majeſty and her 'kingdoms.' This was oppoſed by Mr. Bromley, Sir William Windham, and Mr. Campion, who ſuggeſted, 'That the promiſing of a reward ſo far beyond what was 'mentioned in the queen's proclamation, would be a ſort 'of

The commons vote an addreſs of thanks. Pl. H. C.

'of reflection on her majesty.' But, this objection being exploded, the address was unanimously carried, and, four days after, presented by the whole house to the queen, who told them, 'That the hearty concern they shewed in 'it for the protestant succession, was very agreeable to her: 'and that she hoped, their concurrence would have the de- 'sired effect in removing jealousies, and quieting the minds 'of her good subjects.' 1714. June 24. The queen's answer.

The same day, the earl of Nottingham moved in the house of lords for an address of thanks for the proclamation against the pretender, and was seconded by the lord Hallifax. The earl of Wharton, who likewise supported the motion, holding the queen's proclamation in his hand, most pathetically lamented her majesty's owning, that her endeavours to remove the pretender from Lorrain had been ineffectual. 'Unhappy princess, (said he) how much is 'her condition altered! Will posterity believe, that so 'great a queen, who had reduced the exorbitant power 'of France, given a king to Spain, and whose very mi- 'nisters have made the emperor and the States-general to 'tremble, should yet want power to make so petty, so 'inconsiderable a prince as the duke of Lorrain, comply 'with her just request, of removing out of his dominions 'the pretender to her crown?' None of the peers speaking against the earl of Nottingham's motion, it was unanimously carried, and the address was, the next day, presented to the queen, who told them, 'They might be as- 'sured, she should continue to do whatever she judged ne- 'cessary for the securing our religion, the liberty of her 'people, and for putting an end to the vain hopes of the 'pretender.' Proceedings of the lords against the pretender. Pr. H. L.

The lord Bolingbroke, being come into the house of peers, just after the address was voted, appeared a little surprized at that resolution, and said, 'There was a more ef- 'fectual way to secure the succession in the house of Ha- 'nover.' Some members expressing their desire, that he would offer it to the house, he proposed a bill, to make it high-treason to list or to be inlisted into the preten- der's service. The lord Hallifax represented, 'That such 'a bill was altogether needless, both the pretender, and 'all his adherents, being already attainted of high-treason. 'However, he should be glad such a bill were brought in, 'because, with some alterations, it might be made a very 'good one.' The bill was accordingly brought in, and, in a committee of the whole house, of which the lord Debates about a bill to prevent listing soldiers for the pretender.

1714. Bolingbroke was chairman, the lords Hallifax, Townſhend, Cowper, Sommers, and Wharton, made it their buſineſs to ſhew, 'That the pretender was inconſiderable 'of himſelf, and not to be feared, but ſo far forth, as 'he was countenanced and protected by the French king, 'whoſe intereſt and conſtant deſign was to impoſe him 'upon theſe realms.' And therefore they moved, and it was agreed, That the title of the bill ſhould be, 'To pre-'vent the liſting her majeſty's ſubjects to ſerve as ſol-'diers, without her majeſty's licenſe;' and that it ſhould be 'high-treaſon to liſt, or be liſted, to ſerve any foreign 'prince, ſtate, or potentate, without a licenſe under the 'ſign manual of her majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors.' The following proviſo was likewiſe agreed to, 'That no 'licenſe ſhould be effectual to exempt any perſon from the 'penalties of this act, who ſhould liſt, or cauſe to be liſt-'ed into the ſervice of the French king, until after the 'French king ſhould have diſbanded and diſmiſſed all the 'regiments, troops, or companies of ſoldiers, which he 'had in his ſervice, conſiſting of the natural-born ſubjects 'of Great-Britain: this act to continue in force for three years. With theſe amendments, the bill was ſent to the commons, who gave it their concurrence.

Meeting of the pretender's friends. June 24.

This, and other proviſions againſt the pretender, ſeemed the more neceſſary, becauſe his friends were by this time grown to that height of aſſurance, as publickly to aſſert his right, and drink his health. To this purpoſe, above an hundred Iriſh papiſts had a feaſt at the Sun-tavern in the Strand, where the lord Fingal was choſen Steward, and all that came were admitted by a printed ticket, in which was the image of a pope, or popiſh ſaint, treading heretics under-foot.

Debate about the Spaniſh trade. Pr. H. L.

On the ſecond of July the lords took into conſideration the trade to Spain and the Weſt-Indies; and the earl of Nottingham made it plainly appear, that by reaſon of the diſcouragements, to which that trade was ſubjected by the explanations of the third, fifth, and eighth articles of the treaty of commerce between Great-Britain and Spain (which explanations were made at Madrid, after ſigning the treaty at Utrecht) it was impoſſible for our merchants to carry on that trade without certain loſs. This was confirmed by the teſtimony of Sir William Hodges, and about thirty more eminent merchants, who, being called into the houſe, unanimouſly averred, that, unleſs the explanations of theſe three articles were reſcinded, they could not carry on their

their commerce without losing twenty or twenty-five per cent. It was observed, the treasurer joined with the lords, who insisted on the hearing of the Spanish merchants; which was strenuously opposed by the lord Bolingbroke But, after a long debate, it was resolved to address the queen, for 'all the papers relating to the negotiation of the 'treaty of commerce with Spain; with the names of the 'persons, who advised her majesty to that treaty.' The queen sent an answer, 'That, being given to understand, 'that the three explanatory articles of the treaty of com-'merce with Spain were not detrimental to the trade of her 'subjects, she had consented to their being ratified with the 'treaty.' The queen making no mention of the persons, who had advised her to ratify those explanatory articles (which was the chief design of the address) several members excepted against the answer as unsatisfactory. And, among the rest, the earl of Wharton and the lord Hallifax represented, 'That, if so little regard was shewn to the ad-'dresses and applications of that august assembly to the 'sovereign, they had no business in that house;' and moved, that a representation be made to her majesty, to lay before her the insuperable difficulties, that attended the Spanish trade on the foot of the late treaty: which was agreed to: It was also moved, that the house should insist on her majesty's naming the persons, who advised her to ratify the three explanatory articles. But the courtiers warded off that blow, which was chiefly levelled at the lord Bolingbroke, and his agent Arthur Moore. The next day the lords proceeded to the consideration of the Spanish trade, and to the examination of the commissioners of trade and [redacted]ns. The earl of Wharton said ironically, 'He [redacted]oubt but one of those gentlemen could make it [redacted]ear that the treaty of commerce with Spain was very [redacted]ntageous:' which was meant of Arthur Moore, who [redacted]he chief management of that affair, and who contra-[redacted]icted himself in his answers to several questions, asked him [redacted]e lord Cowper about the three explanatory articles. This was aggravated by the confession of the other commissioners, particularly of Mr. Robert Monkton, who declared, Mr. Moore only read cursorily to them the articles, without giving them time to examine the same. Besides which Mr. Popple, their secretary, deposed, that Mr. Moore had shewn him a letter in French from monsieur Orry, directed to don Arturio Moro, importing in substance, 'That he must not expect the two thousand louis d'ors

1714.

1714. ‘ d’ ors per annum, that had been promiſed him unleſs he ‘ got the three explanatory articles ratified.’ Though the lords came to no reſolution about that affair, at a general court of the ſouth-ſea company, upon a full hearing of a complaint of captain Johnſon, it was reſolved, ‘ that Ar- ‘ thur Moore, while a director of this company, was pri- ‘ vy to, and encouraged a deſign of carrying on a clandeſ- ‘ tine trade, to the prejudice of this corporation, contrary ‘ to his oath, and in breach of the truſt repoſed in him; ‘ and that, for ſuch his breach of truſt, he be declared in- ‘ capable of being a director of, or having any other em- ‘ ployment in this company.’ This cenſure made a great noiſe, and was highly reſented by the lord Bolingbroke.

On the 8th of July the lords examined Mr. Lowndes, ſecretary to the treaſury, and Mr. Taylor, firſt clerk, concerning the Aſſiento contract. They confeſſed, that they were only nominal aſſignees for the quarter part of the Aſſiento contract reſerved for the queen, and that ſome perſons, to them unknown (but who were ſtrongly ſuſpected to be the lord Bolingbroke, the lady Maſham, and Mr. Arthur Moore) were to have the benefit of it. The lord Cowper having repreſented, ‘ That the uncertainty and ‘ ſuſpence, in which the ſouth-ſea company had a long time ‘ been kept, whether her majeſty would retain to herſelf, ‘ or give to the company, the quarter part of the Aſſiento ‘ contract reſerved to her, had been the principal obſtruc- ‘ tion to the company’s carrying on that trade:’ the earl of Wharton moved, for an addreſs to the queen, ‘ To give to ‘ the ſouth-ſea company, not only that quarter part of the ‘ Aſſiento contract, but alſo the ſeven and a half per cent ‘ granted to Manaſſes Gilligan, and any other pr ‘ ing from that contract.’ But, the queſtion h was carried in the negative by fifty voices a three. After this, on the earl of Angleſea’s motio was reſolved by fifty-ſix votes againſt forty, to prefe addreſs, to return thanks for her majeſty’s having ſo gen rouſly given, not only licenſes for two ſhips of five hundred tuns each, and the Aſſiento contract; but alſo the quarter part, which ſhe was pleaſed at firſt to reſerve to herſelf; and that ſhe would be pleaſed, that ſuch other advantages, which were, or might be, veſted in her, might be diſpoſed of for the uſe of the public. This day’s debate took up the lords till nine o’clock in the evening; ſo they had no time, as ſome whig lords deſigned it, to proceed to the cenſure of Mr. Moore.

The

1714.

The next day, the queen's answer to their address was reported: 'That she always had a great consideration for 'the advice of the house: and, as to the particulars de-'sired, she would dispose of them, as she should judge best 'for the service.' The latter part of this answer was very ill relished by the whig lords; and some members took occasion to complain of the queen's silence in relation to the persons, who advised her to ratify the three explanatory articles. But, the lottery-bill being ready for the royal assent, the queen came that very day to the house of peers, and put an end to the session with the following speech to both houses:

The parliament is prorogued. July 9.

My lords and gentlemen,

"THE progress, which has been made in public busi-"ness, and the season of the year, render it both "convenient and necessary, that I should put an end to this "session.

The queen's speech.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I return you my hearty thanks for all your good ser-"vices to me and to your country, and particularly for "the supplies you have given me, as well to defray the "expences of the current year, as towards the discharge "of the national debts. In our present circumstances, it "could not be expected, that a full provision should be "made on both these heads. What you have granted shall "be laid out with the best husbandry, and to the greatest [illegible]ntage.

[illegible] and gentlemen,

"I hope early in the winter to meet you again, and to "find you in such a temper, as is necessary for the real "improvement of our commerce, and of all the other "advantages of peace. My chief concern is to pre-"serve to you, and to your posterity, our holy religion, "and the liberty of my subjects, and to secure the pre-"sent and future tranquillity of my kingdoms. But I "must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends can never "be attained, unless you bring the same dispositions on "your parts; unless all groundless jealousies, which cre-"ate and foment divisions amongst you, be laid aside; and

"unless

1714. "unless you shew the same regard for my just prerogative, "and for the honour of my government, as I have always "expressed for the rights of my people."

When the queen had ended her speech, the parliament was prorogued to the 10th of August, but she died before that day came.

Open rupture among the ministers.

Presently after the rising of the parliament, the discord among the ministers came to an open rupture. The treasurer, ever since he had received the staff, had kept to himself the principal direction of domestic affairs, and the disposal of most places of profit; and, by the credit and interest of his post, and favour with the queen, had procured advantageous alliances for his children, brought great riches into his family, and advanced all his relations (b), whilst the conduct of foreign affairs lay on the lord Bolingbroke, who, as he was less circumspect in the prosecution of bold measures than the treasurer, had therefore the largest share of the public odium, without any other advantage than the profits of his office, most of which he lavished away in riotous pleasures. Being a man impatient of dependance, he had frequent warm expostulations with the treasurer, who, thinking himself secure in the queen's favour, and in his interest with the parliament, disregarded his complaints, by which the secretary was still more enraged. Their private disputes would often have ended in an open quarrel, had not the queen, assisted by the chancellor and lady Masham, as often reconciled them, or rather, had not their confederacy in the late measures, made them suspend their mutual hatred to consult their common safety. But, as soon as the danger was [illegible] the parliament's solemn approbation of the [illegible] peared, there was an irreconcileable rivalship [illegible] between them. Before this last struggle, the treasurer, either finding his interest declining at court, or despairing of the queen's life, and apprehending the consequences of the late steps, bethought himself of a timely retreat,

(b) His son, Edward lord Harley, married the only daughter of the late duke of Newcastle; who brought him a fortune of above 15000 l. per ann. Elizabeth, his first daughter, was married to Peregrine Hyde Osborne, marquis of Carmarthen, son and heir to the duke of Leeds: and Abigail, his second daughter, was married to George Baron Hay, viscount Duplin, son and heir to Thomas [illegible], a Scotch peer.

and,

and, to that end, endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to the whigs. He tried to gain the friendſhip of the lord Cowper, who had the greateſt weight amongſt them; and, with that view, procured him to be choſen umpire between his ſon, the lord Harley, and the lord Pelham, in a controverſy about the inheritance of the late duke of Newcaſtle. But the lord Cowper contented himſelf with arbitrating the matter according to the ſtricteſt rules of equity, and with doing juſtice to the ſon, without eſpouſing the intereſt of the father. On the other hand, the treaſurer expected to be ſtrongly ſupported by the duke of Shrewſbury, who had maintained himſelf in the eſteem both of the ſovereign and of the public, and whoſe late behaviour in Ireland had endeared him to the well-affected to the Hanover ſucceſſion. But the duke, juſtly reſenting the neglect of the miniſters, while he was at Dublin, was very much unconcerned about them, when he came to London, and rather inflamed than moderated their diſſerences, by complaining to the queen of ſome orders, that had been ſent him, which he thought inconſiſtent with her majeſty's and the nation's ſervice. Notwithſtanding theſe diſappointments, the treaſurer formed a deſign of removing his competitor, as the beſt means to approve his affection to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and therefore ſet Mr. Robert Monkton against Mr. Arthur Moore (the lord Bolingbroke's creature) who narrowly eſcaped a cenſure in the houſe of peers, in which the treaſurer hoped the ſecretary might have been involved. But, in this very inſtance, the treaſurer found he had loſt conſiderable ground [illegible] the queen having thought fit, at the lord Bolingbroke's [illegible] to put a ſudden ſtop to that inquiry. And [illegible] ſoon after, that, by his ſuperior intereſt with [illegible] by the aſſiſtance of the lord chancellor, by [illegible] the queen's natural inclination, and boldly [illegible] the meaſures he had entered upon, the ſecretary [illegible] his credit in her favour and confidence.

The treaſurer, in this ſituation of his affairs, wrote a letter to the queen, and with it ſent her an account of public affairs from Auguſt the 8th, 1710, to June the 8th, 1714; in which he endeavours to juſtify his own conduct, and expoſe the uneaſy, turbulent, and ambitious ſpirit of lord Bolingbroke. But this had not the intended effect upon the queen. June 9.

While the court was in this ferment, ſomething happened, which haſtened the treaſurer's diſgrace. Some pre-

tend,

1714. tend, the lord Bolingbroke had intelligence, and informed the queen of the treaſurer's inviting the duke of Marlborough to come over (for which purpoſe the duke was indeed arrived at Oſtend *) and of his private conferences with ſeveral whig lords: others, that he was ſuſpected of diſcovering the queen's counſels to the court of Hanover, and even of putting them upon demanding a writ for the duke of Cambridge: others again, that he was both againſt the ſcheme of new-modelling the army, and the project of a new offenſive and defenſive league between Great-Britain, France, Spain, Sweden, and Sicily: and others, ſtill, that the queen was extremely angry at his preſuming to ſend orders to Ireland without conſulting with her or the council; and that the duke of Shrewſbury inſiſted on his removal, which the duke of Marlborough had made a previous condition of his return to England. But a certain author * (who writ in his vindication) plainly aſſerts, that his diſgrace was intirely owing to his attachment to the houſe of Hanover, whoſe ſucceſſion his enemies were reſolved to prevent (c). However this be, on the 20th of July the chancellor (who had retired into the country for a few days) was ſent for in haſte; and the next day was in cloſe conference with the queen and the lord Bolingbroke; after which it was generally reported, the treaſurer would be ſpeedily removed. It was ſaid at the ſame time, that, to ſoften his fall, the queen deſigned to beſtow on him an annual penſion of five thouſand pounds for life, with the title of duke of Newcaſtle; and, upon his recommendation, to give the title of earl of Clare to the lord Pelham. But, contrary to his own, and indeed the general expectation, when he came to court on the 27th of July, the ſtaff was taken from him, rather with mortifying than diſagreeable circumſtances. It is certain, that ſevere reproaches paſſed, in the queen's hearing, between the falling miniſter, and the lord chancellor, and the lady Maſham, whom the treaſurer

* July 18.

* Hiſt. of the White-ſtaff.

The lord-treaſurer Harley removed.

(c) The treaſurer's enemies (ſays that author) thought they could not hurt him any way more with the queen, than by repreſenting him as inviolably attached to the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The party (ſays he) 'took hold of this article, as 'if they had a great [illegible] 'given them againſt the White-'ſtaff, intimating, that it was a 'great affront to her, and an 'apparent carrying on his own 'game at the court of Hano-'ver; accordingly, her ma-'jeſty was prejudiced by it, as 'if it had been a diſhonour to [illegible] Whites Hiſt. p. 34.

had

had diſobliged ſome days before, by making a demur to a grant ſhe had obtained of fifteen hundred pounds a year, and whom he looked upon as acceſſary to his diſgrace. He told them, 'He had been wronged and abuſed by lyes and 'miſrepreſentations; but he ſhould be revenged, and leave 'ſome people as low as he found them (d).' Theſe expoſtulations could not but ſhock the ſick queen, and give her uneaſy ſuſpicions of her being abuſed and deluded by one or two, if not by all three, of her principal miniſters. It is pretended, that in this agitation of thought, which opened her eyes, ſhe reſolved to reſign herſelf wholly to the conduct of the duke of Shrewſbury. But it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that, in her condition, ſhe was capable of forming a reſolution ſo inconſiſtent with her late meaſures. It is far more reaſonable to imagine that the lord Bolingbroke, having gained ſo great an aſcendant over her, was moſt likely to ſucceed the earl of Oxford in the management of affairs. This is certain, the very day, the treaſurer was removed, the lord Bolingbroke entertained at dinner the generals Stanhope, Cadogan, and Palmes, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Craggs, and ſome other gentlemen; which meeting of men of ſuch oppoſite principals occaſioned various ſpeculations. The moſt probable conjecture was, that the lord Bolingbroke, conſidering he could not depend on the queen's precarious life to accompliſh his deſigns, and forſeeing a ſtorm, he could not be able to weather, reſolved to ſtrike in with the whigs, and to invite over the duke of Marlborough; in which he had reaſon to expect better ſucceſs than his late rival, with whom the duke had vowed never to be reconciled. Some other particulars were at that time mentioned to corroborate theſe ſuggeſtions. But though the duke of Marlborough, after having been detained about a fortnight by contrary winds, did, at

1714.

(d) 'He expoſed (ſays the 'author of the White-ſtaff) their 'new ſchemes, ridiculed their 'unpolitic meaſures, and fore-'told them to what diſtreſſes 'they would reduce themſelves 'in a little time, putting them 'in mind of a debt they would 'owe to the national juſtice at 'laſt, and how unwilling they 'would be to pay it. He pro-'phetically told them, they 'would be in a little while re-'duced to the primitive mean-'neſs and contempt in which 'he found them! That he had 'too long borne the reproaches 'which was due to their mea-'ſures, which he had in vain 'perſuaded them againſt, and 'that it was time now that the 'world ſhould ſee, who were 'the enemies to the Britiſh 'eſtablishment.'

this

1714. this very time, imbark at Oſtend for England; yet the true motive of his coming at this critical juncture is not certainly known. It appeared plainly, however, ſoon after, that, whatever were the lord Bolingbroke's thoughts and views at this time, the main deſign of the whigs was to inflame the animoſity between him and the earl of Oxford as the readieſt way to ruin them both.

Great confuſion at court. The treaſurer's removal was ſo ſudden, and occaſioned ſuch confuſion, that no ſcheme was either formed or agreed on, to ſupply his place, and to fill up ſuch other vacancies, as muſt naturally attend his diſgrace. A cabinet-council, or rather chamber-conſultation, was indeed held in a hurry, the very night the earl of Oxford was removed, and ſeveral perſons were propoſed to manage the treaſury, which was deſigned to be put in commiſſion. Their number was to be five, of which Sir William Wyndham, as chancellor of the Exchequer, was to be one; but the choice of the other four perplexed both the queen and her counſellors. It is ſaid, the perſons named were the lords Bolingbroke, Paget, Lexington, Bathurſt, and Maſham; the biſhop of London, Mr. Henry Boyle, and Mr. Bridges; Sir John Packington, Mr. Campion, Mr. Hill, and ſome others. But, whether there were fewer or more in nomination, it is certain, no reſolution was taken as to the choice of any four, either in that firſt conſultation, or in the council held the next morning; ſeveral perſons who had been propoſed, and ſpoken to, having declined to accept a preferment or employment in ſuch a juncture. On the [illegible] of July, the cabinet-council was to have ſat on the ſame affair; but their meeting was deferred to the next day, by reaſon of the queen's indiſpoſition, which, ſhe was ſenſible, was occaſioned by the late quarrelling among her ſervants, having intimated to one of her phyſicians, "That ſhe ſhould not "outlive it."

Account of the queen's ſickneſs. It is certain, both the diſpute, to which ſhe was an unwitneſs, and the conſultation upon it, which laſted till near two o'clock in the morning, occaſioned ſuch a violent agitation of the queen's ſpirits, as could not but hinder, according to Dr. Shadwell's opinion, the uſual diſcharge of the impoſthumation in her leg, ſo that the gouty humour, tranſlating itſelf upon the brain, was the immediate occaſion of her death. On Thurſday morning *, the queen finding herſelf indiſpoſed with a dozing heavineſs, and a ſhooting pain in her head, the phyſicians judged proper ſhe ſhould be cupped, which ſhe liked better than bleeding,

* July 29.

bleeding, and which, in the ſame ſymptoms, had often given her eaſe. The queen was now ſomething relieved by it; went to bed at the uſual hour; reſted pretty well till three o'clock on Friday morning, when ſhe waked; and finding ſomething heavy on her ſtomach, and reaching to vomit, ſhe brought up ſome matter, and then compoſed herſelf to ſleep. Towards ſeven o'clock ſhe waked again; and, finding herſelf pretty well, roſe from bed, and got her head combed. This done, towards eight, ſhe went to look on the clock; and Mrs. Danvers, one of her bed-chamber women, taking notice, that ſhe fixed her eyes a long time upon it, aſked her, 'What ſhe ſaw in the clock 'more than ordinary?' The queen anſwered her only with turning her head, and a dying look; at which Mrs. Danvers being frighted, ſhe called for help. The phyſicians judging ſhe was ſeized with a fit of an apoplexy, cauſed her to be let blood; upon which ſhe came to herſelf again, and was pretty quiet till a little after nine, when ſhe was ſeized with a ſecond fit of heavineſs and dozing, which increaſed ſo much upon her, that for above an hour ſhe was ſpeechleſs and motionleſs. Thoſe about her judging, ſhe was either dead, or near expiring, the dutcheſs of Ormond, one of the ladies of the bed-chamber, then in waiting, ſent, with all ſpeed, a meſſenger to the duke her huſband, with this melancholy news, which being brought to the committee of council, then aſſembled at the cockpit, they immediately went to Kenſington. In the mean time the phyſicians thought fit to give the queen a vomit, which not having all the deſired effect, they adminiſtred another medicine, propoſed by Dr. Mead; upon which ſhe recovered her ſpeech and ſenſes.

The dukes of Somerſet and Argyle, being informed of the queen's deſperate condition, inſtantly repaired to Kenſington, and, without being ſummoned, went into the council-chamber, where the lord-chancellor, the dukes of Shrewſbury and Ormond, the three ſecretaries of ſtate, the biſhop of London, and ſome others, were in a committee. It is eaſy to imagine, that ſome of them were ſurpriſed at their coming in; but, after they had acquainted the board with the reaſons which brought them thither, the duke of Shrewſbury returned them thanks for their readineſs to give the council their aſſiſtance in that critical juncture. Then they took their places, and moved, that the phyſicians might be examined, and order

1714. this, one of the council repreſented, how neceſſary it was, in caſe the queen died, that the place of lord-treaſurer ſhould be filled; to which the whole board aſſenting, the duke of Shrewſbury was propoſed, and unanimouſly approved, as the fitteſt perſon for that high truſt. Sir Richard Blackmore, Dr. Shadwell, Dr. Mead, and the other phyſicians, who were examined, having aſſured the council, that the queen was ſenſible, the chancellor, with the duke of Shrewſbury, and ſome other lords, were ordered to attend her, and lay before her the unanimous opinion of the council; upon which ſhe ſaid, 'They could not re-'commend a perſon ſhe liked better than the duke of 'Shrewſbury;' and, giving him the treaſurer's ſtaff, bid him 'uſe it for the good of her people.' The duke would have returned the lord-chamberlain's ſtaff, but ſhe deſired he would keep them both; ſo the ſame perſon was at once poſſeſſed of three of the higheſt places of truſt, honour, and profit, under the crown of Great-Britain, being lord-treaſurer, lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke's advancement to the poſt of lord-treaſurer immediately changed the face of affairs; baffled the lord Bolingbroke's ſchemes; alarmed the friends of the pretender; and revived the ſpirits of the well-affected to the Hanover-ſucceſſion (e). Upon the motion of the dukes of Somerſet and Argyle, it was agreed, that all privy-counſellors, in or about London, without diſtinction,

(e) It would take up another volume (ſays the author of the Hiſtory of the White ſtaff) to give an account how ſtruck they appeared at this ſurprizing blow. What, give away the ſtaff? ſaid they, after they had ſtood looking upon one another ſpeechleſs and confounded for ſome time, at a private aſſembly of all their confederates, which was held on this occaſion, where they gave vent to their paſſions, and broke out into all the extravagancies of rage and deſpair. 'The blaſt of 'hell, and the rage of a million of devils, be on this cur-'ſed ſtaff (ſaid the ſecretary, 'flinging the purſe to the 'ground) it is he that has ru-'ined us.' 'Give away the 'ſtaff, ſaid the biſhop, by G— 'I could not have believed ſhe 'durſt have done it? What 'can we do without it? We 'have but one way left, 'France, and the lawful heir; 'it muſt and ſhall be done, by 'G—' Whither do I launch (ſays the author) this is a ſcene of ſuch conſequence, filled with ſuch a diſcovery of black deſigns, that it cannot be entered upon here, but muſt be referred to another occaſion. See Hiſt. of the White-ſtaff.

ſhould

ſhould attend; which the lord Sommers, and ſome other friends to the houſe of Hanover, did that very day.

About three o'clock in the afternoon the queen relapſed into a lethargy or apoplectic fit, out of which ſhe hardly recovered by the application of the ſpirit of ſal ammoniac to her noſtrils. The phyſicians thought fit to apply bliſters; but, at the ſame time, acquainted the council, that the queen's life was in the utmoſt danger, and intirely depended on the effect of this laſt remedy.

In the mean time, the privy-council took into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom; and very ſevere reflections were made on the late adminiſtration, for leaving the maritime places, particularly the important town of Portſmouth, unprovided with men and warlike ſtores, and conſequently incapable of defence, in caſe of a ſudden invaſion, which might be reaſonably apprehended, in caſe of the queen's death (f). But, the preſent buſineſs not being to inquire into, but to mend faults, the council, with great prudence and diſpatch, provided for the ſecurity of the cities of London and Weſtminſter, of the maritime towns, and of Scotland and Ireland. Orders were immediately diſpatched to four regiments of horſe and dragoons quartered in remote counties, to march up to the village near London, to keep the jacobites and diſaffected in awe: and to leven of the two battalions of Britiſh forces, to imbark at Oſtend, and ſail for England with all poſſible ſpeed. An embargo was ordered on all ſhipping, and directions were given for fitting out as many men of war, as could poſſibly be got ready. By theſe orders the public tranquillity remained undiſturbed, and no conſternation appeared, but in the faces of the avowed partiſans of the pretender.

The queen continued all night in a lethargic fit, which increaſed to ſuch a degree about ten o'clock on Saturday morning, that all the phyſicians deſpaired of her life. Upon this the privy-council ſent orders to the heralds at arms, and to a troop of life-guards, to be in a readineſs to mount,

(f) Sir John Gibſon, deputy-governor of Portſmouth, had, a little before, ſent up to the ſecretary of ſtate, an information he had received, of great preparations then making at Havre de Grace, for an imbarkation of troops, which he apprehen-

kingdom, and bring in the pretender: and, at the ſame time, he repreſented how unprovided he was, both with men and warlike ſtores, to defend that important place, in caſe of a ſudden attack: but no notice was taken either of his infor-

1714. in order to proclaim the elector of Brunſwick king of Great-Britain. At the ſame time, they cauſed a letter to be written to his electoral highneſs, to acquaint him 'with the 'extreme danger the queen's life was in; with the meaſures 'they had taken to ſecure the crown to him; and to deſire 'him to repair, with all convenient ſpeed, to Holland, 'where a Britiſh ſquadron, that was fitting out with all 'poſſible expedition, would attend him, and bring him 'over, in caſe of the queen's death.' This letter was that very morning ſent expreſs by Mr. James Craggs, and with him orders were diſpatched to the earl of Stratford, to deſire the States-general to get ready to perform the guarantee of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, if need ſhould require.

This done, the privy-council reſumed the conſideration of the ſtate of the ſea-port towns, and ordered a ſtrong reinforcement to be ſent down to Portſmouth; and rightly judging, that, if the pretender's friends ſtirred any where in Great-Britain, it would be, moſt probably, in Scotland, they ordered major-general Whetham to repair thither, and aſſiſt major-general Wightman; and appointed the earl of Berkley to command the fleet. The queen gave ſome ſigns of life between twelve and one o'clock, and took ſome ſpoonfuls of broth. She continued in a lethargic condition till about ſix in the afternoon, when, her pulſe beating a little faſter and higher, thoſe about her began to entertain ſome hopes. But the bliſters not having had the deſired effect, ſhe expired on Sunday the 1ſt of Auguſt, a little after ſeven o'clock in the morning, having lived forty-nine years, five months, and ſix days, and reigned twelve years and five months, wanting ſeven days. She was not able, either to receive the ſacrament, which the biſhop of London was ready to adminiſter, or to ſign the draught of a will, whereby ſhe directed her burial to be in the ſame manner and place with her late royal conſort; and in which ſhe left legacies to ſome of her ſervants.

Thus died queen Anne, whoſe character has already, in great meaſure, been deſcribed, but will more fully appear in the following remarks on the circumſtances and affairs of her reign.

Remarks on the reign and character of Q. Anne

No reign was ever more memorable than this for important events. Different accounts and numerous comments have diſguiſed and confounded many material particulars. But, notwithſtanding this, the true ſtate of affairs, and the

the real character of this princeſs, may, without much difficulty, be explained. No period of time afforded men more eminent for wiſdom and abilities, and more diſtinguiſhed by ſucceſſes equal to their merit. Had not ſuch circumſtances happened, Europe muſt have ſubmitted to an univerſal monarchy, which would not have endured any remains of civil or religious liberty. 1711.

When the war was begun, nothing could be more menacing than our proſpects. The houſe of Bourbon deſpiſing all treaties, and moſt ſolemn engagements, without any difficulty or oppoſition ſeized territories more extenſive and conſiderable, than were ever gained by the moſt rapid conqueror, by the toils of a long life. All the powers of Europe were obliged, by the laws of prudence and ſelf-defence, to oppoſe a monarch thus prepared for their deſtruction. Thoſe, at remoter diſtances, were eaſy and inſenſible; and ſome, who were nearly concerned, entered into the pernicious meaſures of France. The pride and oppreſſion of the court of Vienna aggravated the evil, by giving occaſion to the inſurrection of thoſe ſubjects *, of whoſe uſefulneſs and importance the preſent times have afforded full evidence.

* The Hungarians.

The Turks remaining quiet during the whole war; the inſurrection in the Cevennes; and the victory at Hockſtedt, are inſtances of the moſt favourable incidents. When we review the caſe of thoſe brave and oppreſſed proteſtants, how can we forbear inquiring, Why was not a deep and incurable wound then given to France in her vitals? Muſt we aſcribe our fatal neglect to bigotry, perfidy, to an averſion to all foreign churches, and to the natural operation of tory principles? It is affirmed, it was only carried by one vote at the council-board, not to call them rebels in our gazette: 'and will your majeſty aſſiſt rebels?' Is ſaid to have been the expoſtulation of a very grave nobleman with the queen's conſcience. While too many were averſe, others ſeem to have had no true ſenſe of the importance of this incident. Complaints have been likewiſe made of our being betrayed by our agents.

The wonderful and very ſeaſonable ſucceſs at Hockſtedt was properly purſued by our great general. But, how faulty was the houſe of Auſtria on their part? How much valuable time was waſted; and how feebly did they come prepared to the ſiege of Landau? Military preparations were neglected, and the vain pomp and ſhew of a king of the Romans chiefly regarded. Thus the troops were obliged

1714. ed to continue in the field till the beginning of winter, to their great detriment. The feebleneſs or ſlowneſs of the Germans, or the envy of their general, defeated the deſigns which were excellently formed, of penetrating into France on its weakeſt ſide. A year's reſpite thus gained, enabled the enemy to offer us battle. A compleat and cheap victory was gained and followed with all deſirable conſequences. Time ſpent in the ſieges of this and the following years has been repreſented as the want of conduct, or ſomething worſe. But the importance of a barrier is evident to every honeſt and thinking man. When this ſecurity is neglected, the awe and terror it muſt produce will convince by facts far more effectual than the cleareſt reaſoning. The entering France, and leaving behind the numerous fortified towns of the new conqueſts, had any miſchance happened, would have been deemed an unpardonable want of precaution. To a ſecond attempt, by the way of Lorrain, there was nothing to give encouragement.

Our advantages in other parts were very conſiderable; particularly by diſappointments of the enemy in the ſieges of Gibraltar and Barcelona. But what account can be given of our misfortune and miſconduct, when a ſure, near, and eaſy method of poſſeſſing Spain was offered? What hindered lord Galway's marching with proper expedition to Madrid? Had this been executed, all the courts and tribunals of the kingdom would have been ſecured. By diſpatches from thence the governments of America might have been gained. But in what terms ſhall we mention the delays of king Charles and the earl of Peterborough, after the flying retreat of king Philip and his army? Their behaviour, in all its parts, was a direct contradiction to all the dictates of prudence, intereſt, and glory. Had they immediately aſſembled the troops in Valencia and Catalonia, joined lord Galway, and marched directly to the Pyrenees, Philip muſt have been for ever excluded; and the great and good ends of the war would have been happily and ſpeedily accompliſhed. What a reverſe happened, has been related in its proper place.

The diſappointment before Toulon was almoſt equally affecting. Such a conqueſt would have been a moſt ſenſible wound to France. Had not the army been weakened by the great body of troops ſent to the conqueſt of Naples, the affair muſt have ſucceeded. Jeſuitical counſels and French money are ſuppoſed to have influenced the court of Vienna. The reaſoning fatally urged was to this purpoſe:

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if the naval power of France is deſtroyed in the Mediterranean by taking Marſeilles and Toulon, the uncontroulable dominion of two maritime powers, which are proteſtants, will be intolerable. The prieſts of Italy and Spain trembled for Rome and the holy houſe. They had lively forebodings of ſomething worſe than the return of the days of Cromwell. As they had an aſſured proſpect of Spain, the perfect awe and ſubjection of the maritime part of that catholic kingdom to heretics came into conſideration: this, though known to Dr. Hare, was not inſerted in his excellent political tracts publiſhed in 1711 and 1712, for a very obvious reaſon; ſince it would have given aſſiſtance to the miniſters in their evil deſigns of infuſing into the nation ill-will and averſion to the houſe of Auſtria, and kind inclinations to that of Bourbon.

Not improving advantages and opportunities is matter of eaſy obſervation to all, who reflect on the ſeveral wars, of which we have accounts. In confederacies, wherein there are a variety of humours and oppoſite intereſts, ſuch misfortunes are in a great meaſure unavoidable. But, notwithſtanding the ſeveral eſcapes of the enemy, the duke of Marlborough's ſure and ſteady progreſs, and the damages the French ſuſtained in other places, reduced them to a ſtate of the utmoſt diſtreſs and terror. Their frontiers were impaired to ſuch a degree, that we had gained an eaſy and ſecure admiſſion into the open and defenceleſs parts of France, had his queen and country duly ſupported this great captain. The grand monarch would have been driven from his capital; his glory had received an indelible ſtain; and his vain and inſolent ſubjects a juſt mortification. Such advantages would have repaid all our toils and expences. He muſt have gladly compounded by recalling his grand-ſon from Spain. His forcible and fraudulent acquiſitions muſt have been ſurrendered; and ſure foundations laid for the laſting peace and ſafety of this part of the world. Clearer and more obvious truths appear no where in the hiſtories of any age or people; yet ſuch hath been the deluſion of party, that contrary repreſentations have gained an intire credit. The ſpeculative and practical propagators of them have been conſidered by a numerous party, as the beſt writers, and the wiſeſt and moſt worthy miniſters.

The temper, behaviour, and management of the queen on whom ſo much depended, deſerve a particular and impartial conſideration. As both parties in their turns were greatly diſobliged and offended, no praiſes have been give[illegible]

1714. her for perſonal ſteadineſs and wiſdom. In ſome ſermons indeed, parts and abilities have been aſcribed to her; but, were ſuch paſſages duly explained, the abilities would be found to belong only to her miniſters.

'Great are the diſhonours, which have redounded to the ſacred order by the behaviour of thoſe princes, who have been moſt favoured with their eſteem. The effects of their zeal have not appeared in a warm and equal concern for the welfare of ſociety; but in aiding one party to oppoſe and ruin the other. Benevolence and compaſſion have been diſregarded; and wrath, clamour, and brutal qualities have been encouraged; and thoſe of the divine and humane kind been greatly neglected.

There were two things, to which the inglorious part of this reign may be chiefly imputed; the queen's paſſion for favourites, and the prejudices of her education. To the ſecret influence of favourites was owing the diſgrace of her general, who, while he was ſteadily purſuing the intereſt of the public, was not only diſmiſſed and loaded with the heavieſt reproaches, but even proſecuted for what had been granted him by the queen's warrant under her own hand, and what was afterwards given to the duke of Ormond. By the ſame ſecret influence, the exchanging the able, honeſt, and ſucceſsful, for thoſe whoſe management proved them in all reſpects the reverſe, was eſteemed an important deliverance. Hence alſo it was, that the miniſters had often ſuch put upon them as were their enemies, and the juſt averſion of thoſe on whoſe aſſiſtance they depended. This incommoded every miniſtry, and was the cauſe of the queen's conſtant complaints of her being only a royal ſlave. In a word, paſſion for favourites ſeemed to have a greater effect upon her, than the impreſſions of ambition and glory: for otherwiſe the moſt worthy deſigns had not been abandoned, when there was ſo near a proſpect of their accompliſhment.

The prejudices of the queen's education had alſo a great ſhare in ſullying the glory of her reign. It was her misfortune to be educated in ſuch times, and under ſuch perſons, as had given her wrong ideas of religion and the church, and infuſed into her, from her very infancy, ſtrong prejudices againſt the whigs, who were repreſented to her as enemies to the conſtitution in church and ſtate. Deliberate reviews are very uncommon, and eſpecially in thoſe who are at the height of power. This evil was therefore incurable, and had very ill conſequences. Hence, though

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the queen has been juſtly commended for her devout and regular attendance on the offices of the church (g), and for ardent wiſhes for its proſperity, yet for want of true notions of religious liberty (which ſhe had never been taught) attempts were repeatedly made in the beginning of her reign, with her approbation, to diſcourage and diſtreſs the diſſenters. But theſe attempts were diſappointed by the moderation and juſtice, which then ſubſiſted in the houſe of lords. The concurrence of the treaſurer * and general † in thoſe meaſures hath been repreſented as an inſtance and moſt unſeaſonable expreſſion of their enmity to the true principles of liberty. But the immediate and preſſing motive of their behaviour was a neceſſity of complying with the inclinations of their royal miſtreſs. Had they refuſed, they would have given their rivals a very dangerous advantage. And, though we ſhould allow the fulleſt ſtrength to their old leven, yet it muſt be ſuppoſed, if they had been at perfect liberty, their known prudence and policy would have reſtrained ſuch appearances of it at this time. For nothing could be more mortifying and offenſive to the Dutch, and all the reformed churches. Beſides, to begin ſuch a war with diſuniting meaſures at home would have been to the laſt degree abſurd.

Diſtreſſing and incapacitating were conſiſtent with the deſigns, the views, and meaſures of the four laſt years of the queen's reign. All proteſtants abroad, as well as thoſe at home, who differed from the eſtabliſhment, were marked with infamy. A loud noiſe for the church filled all places, and prevented all attention to the calamity and deſtruction preparing for the ſtate. Depriving the diſſenters of the natural right of educating their children was the prelude to the diveſting of them of their moſt important privileges in ſociety. For their power of voting for members of parliament would have been taken away; and they would have been rendered equally incapable of being concerned in the choice of members of corporations.

How ſoon hath the ſenſe of ſuch a deliverance been loſt! Becauſe impracticable favours have not been granted, many of them, who dignify themſelves with the name of conſiſtent proteſtants, and the true aſſerters of liberty in its full

(g) She was ſo ſtrict an obſerver of forms, that once at Windſor ſhe reproved the miniſter for giving her the ſacrament before the other clergy then preſent had firſt received it. Coke, Vol. III. 481.

* Earl Godolphin.
† The duke of Marlborough.

1714. extent, have shewn themselves extremely perverse both in their words and actions; and in some places applied their wonderfully-preserved privileges and capacities for the service of an interest, which had doomed them to destruction; in others, they have been indolent and unconcerned.

How the queen's zeal for the church operated in the affair of Dr. Sacheverel, is but too well known. This zeal gave the enemies of the ministry advantages at court and in the country, beyond their most sanguine expectations. To the mad ferment which was diffused through the kingdom, and which influenced the future elections, the easy success of the new ministry may be justly ascribed. For though they had been possessed of power; and though the nation was tired out with taxes; yet nothing but the operation of the noise and name of the church could have given them so secure a majority. This alone, after such affecting successes, was capable of producing an insensibility of the advantages given the enemy, and of the distress, to which we most faithlessly and insolently reduced our allies. Our liberties, trade, and commerce could only by this means have been placed in so bad a situation.

An explanation of the real secret of the management of the new ministry, and of the impeaching parliament, hath not been attempted. Perhaps of this, as well as of some other particulars both at home and abroad, no full and exact account will ever be given. It hath been said, that the treasurer and his friends foresaw and intended some of the consequences. The junto and their friends, the zealous promoters of it, were to have been given up. That the junto had often made remonstrances and demands, both with regard to persons and things, in a manner disagreeable to the prime minister, may be allowed, without supposing a wise man capable of so absurd a scheme for his deliverance. Besides, the combination between the then patriots and the tories was known to be so firm, as not to suffer him to entertain the least hopes of making any impression. From all appearances, we may conclude it to have been the effect of hasty unthinking zeal. Express and parliamentary approbation was intended for the principles, on which the revolution is founded. Something of this kind seemed necessary, because, throughout this reign, revolution principles had been perpetually disgraced and opposed from the press and the pulpit.

The

The heart of the queen was well known, and her ſecret affections and diſſatisfactions well underſtood. Therefore, during the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, and immediately after, the principles of the revolution were viliſied beyond meaſure; and the doctrines of ſlavery became matter of glory, as the peculiars of chriſtianity and the church. Addreſſes were graciouſly received, wherein, with the omiſſion only of his name, the pretender's title was expreſsly aſſerted; and, by evident implication, this was calling the poſſeſſor of the throne an uſurper; language, which hath ever been unpardonable with every other prince. However this be, moſt certain it is, that thoſe who had expreſſed their readineſs to concur in the meaſures of the court, were regarded as well affected, and declarations and aſſurances in favour of the houſe of Hanover were conſidered only as a matter of neceſſity and form.

No one of our monarchs ever had greater advantages of doing good both at home and abroad, nor had any reign been diſtinguiſhed with ſuch glorious and important events. Germany ſaved from deſtruction; the imperial crown preſerved and fixed on the head of our ally; Flanders ſubdued; the exorbitant power of France reduced; the union of England and Scotland, are events for which the reign of queen Anne will be had in everlaſting remembrance. But by a diſhonourable peace, how fruitleſs were theſe important events rendered? How ſoon was the power of France reſtored to a condition of injuring, oppreſſing and terrifying the world? And very probably, nothing but the queen's ſudden removal prevented the execution of thoſe ſchemes in favour of the pretender, which the peace-makers had laid, and for which due preparation had been made (h).

Had

(h) It is made a queſtion by ſome, whether the queen knew any thing of the deſign of bringing in the pretender, notwithſtanding the ſtrong appearances of it. In 1708, when the attempt was made on Scotland, Sir George Bing had no inſtructions as to the perſon of the pretender. When this particular was taken into conſideration, the council broke up in confuſion.* For when ſome mentioned methods of diſpatch, the moving appearance of the queen's flowing tears prevented all farther deliberation, Lamberti ſays (Vol. VIII. p. 657.) that it was very evident the queen of Great-Britain was extremely inclined to ſet the pretender on her throne. This inclination firſt appeared on the death of her ſon the duke of Glo-

1714. Had not the emperor and Catalans prolonged the war, Lewis XIV. ſome months before the queen's death would have ſent us his laſt legacy; for he would have been at perfect liberty to have aided thoſe here, who had prepared every thing for a ſecond reſtoration. Who can mention the Catalans, and forbear lamenting their ſevere and horrible uſage? We not only neglected their ſecurities and privileges, though they had been true to all their engagements, but aſſiſted in compleating their ruin (i). The caſe of the Catalans ſeems to afford full proof, that the queen was deceived by her miniſtry, and kept in total ignorance of affairs; for if that had not been the caſe, ſhe muſt have had no inclination to truth and probity, and have been incapable to diſtinguiſh between right and wrong, in the ſtrongeſt inſtances, which cannot well be ſuppoſed (k).

The

Gloceſter. For an expreſs being ſent by the queen (then princeſs of Denmark) to the court of St. Germain's, to notify the duke's death, the earl of Mancheſter, ambaſſador from king William to the court of France, ſent his ſecretary Mr. Chetwin to Loo, to inform the king of this proceeding. The reader may alſo ſee the extract numb. I. annexed to the end of this reign, concerning the pretender's affair.

(i) See the caſe of the Catalans, numb. II. at the end of this reign.

(k) How groſsly the miniſtry impoſed on the queen, appears from ſeveral tranſactions, orders and directions given by the miniſters in the queen's name, directly contrary to her ſentiments as expreſſed in her meſſages and ſpeeches to the parliament, concerning the terms of peace, which ſhe communicated to both houſes. The committee of ſecrecy examined this matter, and compared the queen's declarations with the meaſures her miniſters preſumed to take in carrying on the negotiations. This they did in the following manner, in their report to the houſe of commons.

The firſt time that the queen made any mention of the peace to the parliament, was on December 11, 1711, at which time nothing had been concluded between England and France, but the ſpecial preliminaries that were ſigned by the earl of Dartmouth and Mr. St. John on the part of England, and monſieur Meſnager on the part of France, September 27, 1711, and the general preliminaries ſigned by monſieur Meſnager only, which were ſent over by the earl of Straſford as the foundation of a general peace. After theſe preliminaries were ſigned, Mr. St. John had preſſed monſieur de Torcy, that the king of France would explain himſelf with regard to the allies; begs that the queen may have ſome explication of his intentions in reſpect to the particular intereſt of the allies, and concludes with ſaying,

if

The domineering manner, in which we joined with France, in dictating terms to our allies; the faithless and insolent manner of abandoning them; the injurious usage of them in debates and resolutions of parliament, and by ministe-

if the Sieur Gaultier returns with these marks of confidence, you will see our parliament as much inclined to peace as ever it was to war.

Such explications as the king of France thought fit to make, are contained in the answer to the memorial brought by monsieur Gaultier, Nov. 18, 1711 *. Upon which her majesty at the opening of that session, in laying before the parliament the state of the treaty then on foot, according to the advice and representation made to her by her ministers, said, 'That notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war, both place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace. Our allies, especially the States-general, whose interest I look upon as inseparable from my own, have, by their ready concurrence, expressed their confidence in me.' The queen thought the States had readily concurred with her; but it must be remembred, that the States had in the strongest manner represented against the propositions signed by Mr. Mesnager, as too general and uncertain, not being a sufficient foundation upon which a negotiation might be hazarded; they dreaded the fatal consequences of opening the general conferences, before the articles offered by France were made specifick, and before they knew what they were to trust to for their own barrier and their commerce. These representations were made in Holland to the earl of Strafford; and Mr. Buys was sent over into England to enforce them here.

But, instead of acquainting the queen with these representations, or acting according to her majesty's sentiments, Mr. St. John, October 9, declares, 'Certain it is, that her majesty is so far determined in her measures, that those will deceive themselves who may imagine by delay to break them.' And October 29, 'The queen remains firm in her resolution, of causing the conferences to be opened upon the articles signed by monsieur Mesnager.' And November the 2d, 'The queen will not finally concert a plan for the prosecution of a war with the States, untill they join with her in agreeing to open the conferences of peace.' And November 15, lord Strafford says, 'He had now told them her majesty's order to him was to declare, that she should look upon any delay as a refusal to comply with her propositions.' By these threats and extraordinary measures, the States are compelled by the queen's ministers, to consent to open the conferences; when at the same time her majesty was persuaded, that they readily concurred in what had been proposed to them. Her majesty de-

* See appendix to the report.

1714. niſterial writers, have given impreſſions greatly detrimental to all future negotiations, and fixed indelible infamy upon our nation.

Queen Anne, as to her perſon, was middle ſized, and well

declares, 'She looks upon the 'intereſt of the States-general 'to be inſeparable from her 'own.' Mr. St. John declares, 'That Britain had gone ſo 'much too far in weaving her 'intereſt into that of the conti- 'nent, that it would prove no 'eaſy taſk to diſentangle them 'without tearing and rending.'

The queen ſays further, 'The 'princes and States which have 'been engaged with us in this 'war, being by treaties entit- 'led to have their ſeveral inter- 'eſts ſecured at a peace, I will 'not only do my utmoſt to pro- 'cure every one of them all 'reaſonable ſatisfaction, but I 'ſhall alſo unite with them the 'ſtricteſt engagements for con- 'tinuing the alliance, in order 'to render the general peace 'ſecure and laſting.' And in her meſſage of the 17th of January following, her majeſty again expreſſes 'The care ſhe 'intended to take of all her al- 'lies, and the ſtrict union in 'which ſhe propoſed to join 'with them.'

By theſe declarations it appears, her majeſty's own reſolution was to unite with the allies in the ſtricteſt engagements. But her miniſters had taken upon them, in the private propoſitions ſent over by Mr. Prior, to inſert an article, 'That the ſe- 'cret ſhould be inviolably kept 'between England and France, 'till allowed to be divulged by 'the conſent of both parties.' And although France, in the firſt propoſitions ſent over by monſieur de Torcy, had offered to treat with England and Holland, either ſeparately or jointly, with the reſt of the allies, at the choice of England, the queen's miniſters excluded the allies; and in the conference held with monſieur Meſnager, 'They are much ſurprized to find 'that he had orders to inſiſt, 'that the queen ſhould enter in- 'to particular engagements, 'upon divers articles, which 'depend not upon her, and 'which regard the intereſt of 'the allies; and they inſiſted 'that it was abſolutely neceſſa- 'ry to remit the diſcuſſion of 'the particular intereſt of the 'allies to general conferences.' And when Mr. St. John was preſſing monſieur de Torcy to give them ſome explications of what was deſigned for the allies, he aſſures him, 'If the king 'would offer a plan of ſpecificle 'preliminaries, the queen will 'never communicate it to her 'allies.' And upon another occaſion he declares, 'This ne- 'gotiation was begun and car- 'ried on upon a ſuppoſition, 'that the queen muſt deſiſt from 'many conditions which in ri- 'gour ſhe was obliged to pro- 'cure for her allies.'

In the meſſage of the 17th of January the queen declares, 'Her plenipotentiaries had be- 'gun, in purſuance of their in- 'ſtructions, to concert the moſt 'pro-

well made, but not ſo majeſtick as her ſiſter queen mary. 1714.
Her hair dark brown; her complexion ſanguine and ruddy; her face round, rather comely than handſome; her features ſtrong and regular; and the only blemiſh in her face was owing

'proper ways of procuring a 'juſt ſatisfaction to all in alli-'ance with her, according to 'their treaties, and particu-'larly with relation to Spain 'and the Indies.' And her majeſty had ſaid before, in anſwer to an addreſs from the houſe of lords, preſented the 11th of December 1711. 'I ſhould be 'ſorry any one could think I 'would not do my utmoſt to re-'cover Spain and the Indies 'from the houſe of Bourbon.'

The committee did not doubt but her majeſty was determined to recover Spain from the houſe of Bourbon: but, that her miniſters had no ſuch thoughts, and did not in the leaſt endeavour it, appears in every part of the negotiation. In the firſt propoſitions ſent over by Mr. Prior, demands are made of the king of France, to be performed by the king of Spain, which the king of France was to engage for. And as appears by an entry in lord Strafford's book, Mr. Prior had orders to ſee if they had full powers from Spain. In the ſpecial preliminaries, an acceptation whereof was ſigned by the earl of Dartmouth and Mr. St. John, September the 17th, 1711, it is ſaid expreſly, The king promiſes in the name of the king of Spain his grandſon, and according to the powers which his majeſty has received from that prince, that Port Mahon and Gibraltar ſhall remain to the Engliſh. Theſe ſteps had been taken by the queen's miniſters, even before her majeſty had made declarations; which the committee cannot therefore but conclude her majeſty was not informed of. And although the queen's plenipotentiaries were obliged by their inſtructions to inſiſt, That Spain and the Weſt indies ſhould not be allotted to any branch of the houſe of Bourbon; when the plenipotentiaries of France, on the 9th of February, 1711-12, gave their ſpecific explanation of the general preliminaries, ſigned by Mr. Meſnager; the king of France made his firſt offer in the name, and by virtue of powers from his grandſon king Philip, as king of Spain. On the 4th of March, 1711-12, a meeting of the miniſters of the allies at Utrecht, where they were to communicate to each other their reſpective demands, count Sinzendorff inſiſted, That the reſtitution of the whole Spaniſh monarchy ſhould be expreſly mentioned; upon which occaſion it appears, by a letter from the Engliſh miniſters of the 6th of March, That they were the only miniſters that did not make any mention at all of Spain, and that they were ſenſible of the diſadvantageous conſequences of being ſo; but being deſirous to take off this odium, they make a general declaration concerning the juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction for the queen's

1714. owing to the defluxion ſhe had, when young, in her eyes, which left a contraction in the upper lids, and gave a cloudineſs to her countenance. Her bones were ſmall, and hands beautiful. She had a very good ear for muſic, and per-

queen's allies, in conformity to their alliances; and humbly hope what was ſaid will not be found contrary to what has been hitherto declared.

All the attempt that the queen's miniſters ever made towards obtaining this great point, which her majeſty declares, ſhe ſhould be ſorry any one could think ſhe did not do her utmoſt to procure, was to demand aſſurances that the crowns of France and Spain ſhould never be united. The method of preventing this union was never mentioned by the queen's miniſters in order to be treated of, nor the ſenſe of France and Spain ever aſked upon it till the latter end of March, 1712.

In the ſame meſſage her majeſty further adds, 'The world 'will now ſee how groundleſs 'thoſe reports are which have 'been ſpread by men of evil 'intentions, to ſerve the worſt 'deſigns, as if a ſeparate peace 'had been treated, for which 'there has not been the leaſt 'colour given.'

In this declaration, her majeſty is adviſed by her miniſters, in order to clear them from the juſt ſuſpicions which all the world had conceived of the ſeparate meaſures they were engaged in, not only to declare there had not been the leaſt colour given for ſuch jealouſies, but to brand all that entertain ſuch apprehenſions, with the character of men of evil intentions, that had the worſt deſigns to ſerve. But that moſt juſt cauſe had been given for theſe reports, is ſufficiently evident from what was juſt now obſerved. The miniſtry had inſiſted that the ſecret ſhould be inviolably kept between England and France, exclusive of all the allies. A ſeparate negotiation between England and France had been carried on by papers ſent backward and forward, and much time ſpent therein, as is ſaid in lord Strafford's inſtructions. Mr. Prior had been ſent into France, and Mr. Meſnager had been in England, and not the leaſt communication was given for five months together to any of the allies of theſe tranſactions, which were depending from April 1711, to September following, from the time that the firſt propoſals ſigned by monſieur de Torcy were ſent to the States, till the ſeven general preliminaries ſigned by Mr. Meſnager, were communicated to them. When theſe general preliminaries were ſigned, which were ſent over as a foundation to open the general conferences, a ſet of ſpecial preliminaries between England and France was ſigned on both parts, which were concealed, publickly diſowned, and never appeared till this enquiry; and all theſe tranſactions had paſſed, however diſguiſed to her majeſty, before the time that her miniſters adviſed the queen

to

performed on the guitar, an inſtrument formerly much in vogue. Her voice was remarkably clear and harmonious, which particularly appeared, in the graceful delivery of her ſpeeches to the parliament. She was reckoned a pattern of 1714.

to impoſe ſo groſly upon the nation, as to declare in parliament, there had not been the leaſt colour given for theſe ſurmiſes.

Her majeſty is adviſed here to declare, That to report that a ſeparate peace had been treated, proceeds from evil intentions, and to ſerve the worſt deſigns. But the committee obſerves, That after this declaration of the queen, her miniſters propoſe to France, agreed with France, and ſent poſitive and repeated orders to the queen's plenipotentiaries, not only to treat, but to conclude a ſeparate peace with France. On the 20th of June, 1712, Mr. St. John acquaints Monſieur de Torcy, the queen will make no difficulty to conclude immediately a ſeparate peace with France, leaving the allies a time wherein they may have liberty to ſubmit to ſuch conditions, as ſhall be agreed upon between the queen and the moſt chriſtian king. In anſwer to this, monſieur de Torcy tells Mr. St. John, upon condition the queen does immediately make a ſeparate peace, and keep no meaſures with her allies, the king has determined to ſend his orders to permit the Engliſh troops to enter into Dunkirk. On the 12th of July, 1712. Mr. St. John thinks the queen in a condition not to loſe a moment's time in concluding with the miniſters of France the convention for a general ſuſpenſion of arms both by ſea and land, and even the treaty of peace between Britain and France. And on the 4th of Auguſt, 1712. Monſieur de Torcy acquaints Mr. St. John, That the king conſented to the duke of Savoy's having Sicily upon certain conditions; wherein one expreſs condition is, That a peace be concluded between England and France, Spain, and Savoy. And at laſt, when the treaty drew near to a concluſion, and almoſt all the allies were ready to ſign, on the 20th of February, 1712-13, poſitive orders are ſent to the Britiſh plenipotentiaries to conclude and ſign with France; and on the 28th, lord Bolingbroke repeats his orders to the Britiſh plenipotentiaries to conclude and ſign with France: and acquaints them, 'The duke of Shrewſbury had 'declared, that their lordſhips 'had orders, in caſe the French 'complied, as they now have 'actually done, to ſign her ma'jeſty's peace with France with'out further delay; and that 'his grace had alſo declared, 'That in this caſe her majeſty 'would open the parliament by 'telling them ſhe had made a 'peace with France: theſe two 'conſiderations, his lordſhip 'ſays, were perhaps the moſt 'prevalent inducements to the 'French court, to come round'ly into her majeſty's propoſi'tions.'

1714. of conjugal affection, and a prudent indulgent mother. She was liberal, though an enemy to luxury and profuſeneſs. She was very reſerved; and, in all conditions of life, ſhe required a ſtrict attendance from all perſons in their reſpective

The committee cloſe this head with repeating a paſſage from one of lord Bolingbroke's letters to Mr. Prior, wherein he ſays, 'If ſuch overtures as 'theſe were not inſtantly ac-'cepted, our ſeparate peace 'would, ſitting this parliament, 'be addreſſed for, made, ap-'proved, and the cauſe of France 'for once become popular in 'Great-Britain.'

On the 6th of June 1712, the queen ſays, 'I am now 'come to let you know upon 'what terms a general peace 'may be made.'

On the ſame day, lord Bolingbroke acquaints monſieur de Torcy, 'That though the king 'of France had not anſwered 'the queen's demands, accord-'ing to expectation, the queen 'would not defer going that 'day to parliament, and mak-'ing all the declarations that 'were neceſſary to render the 'nation unanimouſly inclined to 'the peace.'

The queen ſays, 'The dif-'ficulties had been increaſed by 'other obſtructions, artfully 'contrived to hinder this great 'and good work.' Whereas it is notorious, that the miniſters had received but the day before, the account that king Philip had conſented to make the renunciation, upon which account only the queen's ſpeaking to the parliament had been deferred.

The queen ſays, 'I have not 'omitted any thing which might 'procure to all our allies what 'is due to them by treaties, and 'what is neceſſary for their ſe-'curity.'

Lord Bolingbroke, on the very ſame day, in his letter to monſieur de Torcy, ſays, 'lord 'Strafford is going back to 'Utrecht, and the inſtruc-'tions he is to carry will put 'the queen's plenipotentiaries 'in a condition to keep no 'longer thoſe meaſures to 'which they have hitherto been 'obliged to ſubmit; but from 'henceforth they may openly 'join with thoſe of France, and 'give law to them, who will not 'ſubmit to juſt and reaſonable 'conditions.'

The queen ſays, 'Nothing 'has moved me from ſteddily 'purſuing, in the firſt place, 'the true intereſt of my own 'kingdoms.'

Lord Bolingbroke juſt before, on the 24th of May, had propoſed to monſieur de Torcy, 'That the queen being much 'more intent upon the general 'peace, than any particular ad-'vantages, commiſſaries ſhould 'be appointed to ſettle, after 'the peace, ſuch points relat-'ing to trade, as required a 'longer diſcuſſion than the pre-'ſent criſis would admit.

The queen ſays, 'That to 'prevent the union of the 'two crowns, ſhe would not be 'content with what was ſpecu-'lative, but inſiſted upon ſome-'thing

respective stations, she herself being nicely observant of all the decorums of a court. 1714.

The exercise she principally loved was hunting, which she practised in her chaise; but the gout increasing upon her,

'thing solid:' Although monsieur de Torcy had before declared to the queen's ministers, 'That to accept of this expedient which they proposed, 'would be to build upon a 'sandy foundation.'

The queen says, 'The nature of the proposal for a renunciation is such, that it executes itself; and that France 'and Spain are thereby more 'effectually divided than ever.' But monsieur de Torcy had before assured the queen's ministers, 'That this renunciation 'would be null and void, by 'the fundamental laws of 'France; and they would deceive themselves, who accepted of it as an expedient 'to prevent the union of the 'two crowns.

The queen says, 'Provision 'is made, that the same privileges and advantages as shall 'be granted to any other nation by France, shall be 'granted in like manner to us. 'But it appears, by a letter of 'lord Bolingbroke's in January following, to the duke of 'Shrewsbury, That France refused to let our trade stand 'upon the foot of gens amicissima; declared the tariff of '1664, which was granted to 'the Dutch, except the four 'species, was too beneficial for 'us; and refused to grant it, 'until another tariff should be 'made in Great Britain exactly 'conformable to that of 1664, 'whereby our duties would be 'reduced as theirs are in France 'by that Tariff.'

As to our commerce with France, the queen says here, June 6, 1712, 'It was in a me'thod of being settled.' And Mr. Prior says of it in May following, near a twelvemonth after, 'We had like to have 'made an Athanasian business 'of it at Utrecht, by that explanation of our own way of 'understanding our own commerce. Their letters to you, 'full of surmises and doubts 'that all was unhinged; and 'their letters to us again, that 'explanations, however made, 'were only to save appearances, and signified nothing: this 'Melange, I say, and my endeavouring to understand it, 'had like to make me run mad, 'if the duke of Shrewsbury's 'extreme good sense, and monsieur de Torcy's not only honest, but right understanding, 'had not redressed us.'

The queen says, 'The 'French consented to deliver 'up Newfoundland and Placentia.' But it must be remembered that in the preliminaries signed in September preceding, the French had 'reserved to themselves a liberty of taking and drying fish 'in Newfoundland.

The queen says, 'An absolute cession was to be made 'of Nova Scotia, or Acadia.' But Cape Breton, which was al-

1714. her, and growing extremely unwieldy, ſhe diſuſed that and other diverſions, conducive to her health, which perhaps might have been longer preſerved, had ſhe not eat ſo much, an unhappineſs derived to her not from her father, who was abſtemious enough, but from her mother (l).

It was her unhappineſs not to be much acquainted with our Engliſh hiſtory, and the actions of her predeceſſors; whereas, queen Mary was extremely well verſed, not only in our own, but the hiſtories of other countries.

Her reign may be called bloodleſs, not one perſon having been executed, at leaſt beheaded, for treaſon, during the whole courſe of it; which cannot be ſaid of any reign ſince the time of Edward I, who died in 1307.

Semper eadem was the motto of queen Elizabeth, which queen Anne aſſumed upon her acceſſion to the throne; and which, had ſhe purſued with the ſame reſolution and ſteadineſs, ſhe might have exceeded her in glory and fame. But

ways underſtood to be, and is ſo declared by the queen's inſtructions to the duke of Shrewsbury, to be part of Nova Scotia, is expreſsly given up to France.'

The queen ſays, 'The trade 'to Spain and the Weſt Indies 'may in general be ſettled, as 'it was in the time of the late 'king of Spain, Charles the 'ſecond.' But when the project of the treaty of commerce came from Madrid, lord Bolingbroke ſays of it, 'They had ſent 'a blind, lame, miſhapen, indi-'geſted monſter, inſtead of that 'fair offspring, which we had 'reaſon to expect from our 'candor.'

* Coke.

If all the other parts of this ſtory be ſtrictly examined, it will be found that the miniſtry did ſo groſly deceive the queen, in order to impoſe upon the parliament by her authority, that there is ſcarce a paragraph that does not contain ſome unfair, or at leaſt equivocal repreſentation of the ſtate of the negotiations. And when the queen was adviſed by her miniſters to make this communication to parliament, as the terms upon which a general peace might be made, it is very evident, that they had no aſſurances that France would make good what they prevailed upon the queen to declare in ſo ſolemn and public a manner.

(l) This ſeems to confute the ſcandalous report of the queen's drinking ſpirituous liquors, which was told with ſo much aſſurance, that many who loved and eſteemed her gave into it, whereas one of her * hiſtorians affirms it for a truth, that ſhe abhorred all ſtrong waters. The French continuator of Rapin gives credit to the common report, and ſays, ſhe accuſtomed herſelf to it out of complaiſance to the prince her huſband.

In

in one thing ſhe was very unlike queen Elizabeth, whom ſhe propoſed for her pattern. Queen Elizabeth was very ſparing of her honours, and a man muſt have deſerved it, before he could obtain ſo much as a knighthood at her hands (m): whereas queen Anne made more peers of the realm at once, than the other did in a reign of forty-four years. Indeed, her great-grandfather king James, was the firſt that was laviſh in conferring honour, whoſe example was but too much followed by his deſcendants; ſo that queen Anne was not ſingular in that reſpect, except in creating ſo many together, for an end that will remain a blemiſh upon her adminiſtration, as long as hiſtory endures. 1714.

In queen Anne ended the line of the Stuarts, their merit and demerit may be rightly ſtated, by conſidering what their regards or diſregards were to the welfare of Europe; to the union and ſtrengthening of the proteſtant intereſt; and to the quiet and proſperity of their ſubjects. In order to make up ſuch an account duly and accurately, many important materials are ſtill wanting.

There had been a new vault made on the ſouth-ſide, and towards the eaſt-end of Henry VII's chapel, to depoſit the body of king Charles II, in which that prince, queen Mary, king William III, and prince George of Denmark, were laid. Here the remains of queen Anne were likewiſe depoſited, and there being no more room left, the vault is cloſed up with brickwork.

(m) It is well known how angry queen Elizabeth was with the earl of Eſſex for making ſo many knights at the taking of Cadiz.

The end of the reign of Queen ANNE.

EXTRACTS and PAPERS relating to the Hiſtory of Queen ANNE.

I. The proceedings about the pretender, as reported by the Committee of Secrecy, June 1715.

Secret tranſactions about the pretender. Rep. of the Com. of Secr. * See p. 219, 252.

THE Committee begin with obſerving, that abbot Gaultier *, though he did not appear to have any public character, reſided in England during the greateſt part of the negotiation for peace; and, upon extraordinary occaſions, was, often ſent backward and forward. But the ſhare he had in the more public tranſactions, was not his only buſineſs. It was evident, ſome negotiations, which required more than ordinary privacy, were verbally tranſacted; and, upon all ſuch occaſions, abbot Gualtier was the perſon, to whom the French and Engliſh miniſters mutually referred each other. And as of neceſſity nothing could be a greater ſecret, than all matters relating to the pretender, this province was particularly allotted to abbot Gaultier, that through his hands, and under his conveyance, by French couriers, going continually betwixt France and England, ſuch practices might be carried on with great ſafety, which, in any other manner, had been too dangerous an undertaking.

The firſt time, that any ſecret negotiation is expreſsly referred to abbot Gaultier, is found in a letter of Mr. ſecretary St. John, of March 4, 1711-12, wherein he tells monſieur de Torcy, 'He had deferred writing to him of 'late, till he might write with certainty, till the neceſſary 'depoſitions were made among our people at home, and till 'the queen had taken the only reſolution, which could 'bring us, in a ſhort time, to a good and ſolid peace. I 'have now the ſatisfaction to tell you, that this reſolution 'is taken; and that Mr. Harley will carry with him this 'night, or to-morrow morning, the final inſtructions of 'the queen to her plenipotentiaries. I refer myſelf to Mr. 'Gaultier, to explain to you more at large the ſubject of 'this gentleman's commiſſion, and what the queen hopes 'his moſt chriſtian majeſty will do to co-operate with her.'

The committee of Secrecy obſerved, that ſeveral letters and papers were wanting, which, by the circumſtances of time and matters then depending, appeared of moment and conſequence; it was not to be expected, that thoſe, who had

had been ſo careful to ſuppreſs matters of leſs importance, would leave behind them any tranſactions, that might tend openly and directly to favour and ſupport the cauſe of the pretender. But there were ſtill left ſeveral paſſages, which are a plain indication of the tenderneſs and regard, with which the cauſe and perſon of the pretender were treated, as often as mentioned, and which the committee thought fit to bring together in one view, as follows:

There is a paper, that was left in lord Bolingbroke's cloſet, dated at Verſailles the 24th of September 1711, indorſed, as other office-papers uſually are. It gives an account, that the pope's nuncio had, in his laſt audience of the king of France, made the following declaration:

'That the court of Rome being fully informed, that 'France was endeavouring to procure a peace upon the moſt 'advantageous terms, that was poſſible; and being perſua-'ded, that, if the peace ſhould be made, England would 'not ſuffer, that the king of France ſhould permit the 'prince of Wales to continue in his realms; the court 'of Rome offers to the king of France, to give this prince 'an aſylum at Rome, or in any other part of the eccle-'ſiaſtic dominions.' To which the king of France returned in anſwer, 'That an aſylum for the prince of Wales 'would be no obſtacle to the peace: that if, the allies did 'truly deſire to make a peace, he would accept of any rea-'ſonable propoſitions they ſhould make; and in this caſe 'an article for the prince of Wales would be inſerted in 'the treaty.'

June 7, 1712, the biſhop of Briſtol, giving an account to lord Bolingbroke of ſome diſcourſe he had with ſome of the miniſters of the allies, ſays, 'monſieur Conſbruck, one 'of the emperor's plenipotentiaries, kept alſo within the 'terms of decency, ſave only, that he took it for granted, 'that one great end of all this management on our part 'was to bring in the pretender;' which apprehenſion one 'of the miniſters of the States lately owned in private diſ-'courſe, to have been the fundamental reaſon of all their 'conduct of late.'

It is well known, what great ſtreſs and weight was laid upon the removal of the pretender out of the dominions of France. This was what all the nation, with great juſtice, expected, and what the queen declared was taken care of, as an additional ſecurity to the proteſtant ſucceſſion. But his removing out of France, and being permitted to reſide in Lorrain, was not only a great ſurprize to all the nation, but

was received with ſuch juſt indignation, that the parliament addreſſed the queen upon this occaſion, 'That ſhe would 'inſiſt upon his removal from Lorrain; that reſidence being 'equally or more dangerous to Great-Britain, than his 'abode in France.' Her majeſty's anſwer, that ſhe would repeat her inſtances, occaſioned in the houſe of lords a becoming reſentment, that the duke of Lorrain ſhould preſume to receive and entertain the pretender to her majeſty's crown, in defiance to her majeſty's application to the contrary. But it now appears in what manner the removal of the pretender out of France was tranſacted and ſettled; and that his reſiding in Lorrain was not only with the approbation, but even by the direction and appointment of the Engliſh miniſtry. Mr. St. John, in his letter to monſieur de Torcy, of the 24th of May 1712, O. S. when he ſent him over the conditions, upon which her majeſty would make thoſe important and deciſive declarations to parliament, concludes that letter with ſaying, 'He hopes, that, 'with the general repoſe, we ſhall ſee revived, in a few 'weeks, a good underſtanding between two nations, 'which may become, to each other, the moſt uſeful 'friends, for the ſame reaſons they have been the moſt 'formidable enemies. The queen commands me to tell 'you, that ſhe hopes, when you ſend an anſwer to this 'letter, we ſhall have an account, that the chevalier had 'begun his journey.' In anſwer to this, monſieur de Torcy ſays to my lord Bolingbroke, on the 10th of June, 'You may aſſure the queen, that the chevalier is ready to 'depart at a moment's warning, if he did but know where 'he was to go, and in what place he might be in ſafety. 'I own to you, that I know no prince, who is willing to 'receive him, for fear of diſpleaſing the queen, or other 'powers. It will be abſolutely neceſſary, that there 'ſhould be ſome explanation upon this ſubject, which I 'deſire you to make to me by the abbot Gaultier, if you 'do not judge it proper to do it yourſelf.'

Mr. ſecretary St. John, on the 6th of June, 1712, O. S. writes a public letter, in anſwer to the ſeveral points contained in monſieur de Torcy's laſt letter; but, in that letter, takes no notice at all of the chevalier. But the day after, June the 7th, 1712, he writes a private letter, as he calls it himſelf, to monſieur de Torcy, and concludes it with ſaying, 'The abbot Gaultier will write to 'you upon the ſubject of the chevalier.' There were two copies of this private letter, one delivered by lord Bolingbroke,

broke, the other entered in lord Strafford's book: and, in the copy of this letter given by lord Bolingbroke, this paſſage, 'That abbot Gaultier ſhall write about the chevalier,' is omitted by his lordſhip.

On the 22d of June, 1712, N. S. Monſieur de Torcy writes two letters to lord Bolingbroke. In the public letter nothing is ſaid of the pretender: the private letter concludes with ſaying, 'I have the honour to ſend you a 'letter under the king's hand for her Britannic majeſty; 'and I refer you to what the abbot Gaultier ſhall ſay to you 'about the departure of the chevalier.'

On the 21ſt of Auguſt, 1712, lord Bolingbroke being then in France, to give the finiſhing ſtroke to all matters of conſequence, that were undetermined, in his diſpatch to the earl of Dartmouth, giving an account of his proceedings at the court of France, ſays, 'The chevalier has 'fixed his departure for the firſt of next month, N. S. 'they propoſe, that he ſhall retire to Bar, and they intend to write to the duke of Lorrain, to aſk of the emperor, and other princes, a ſecurity for his perſon during 'his reſidence in that place.'

But on the 28th of December, 1712, N. S. it appears, that the chevalier was ſtill in France; upon which account Mr. Prior writes thus to my lord Bolingbroke: 'Another point, upon which this court is very ſollicitous, 'is, that the chevalier remaining in any town of France 'obſtructs the ſigning the peace; yet he cannot go to 'Lorrain, till the emperor's paſſports will ſecure him 'there. Your lordſhip, by the peruſal of the papers, will 'ſee the ſtate of that caſe, and I have only to add upon 'this ſubject, that the court of France expreſſes an impoſſibility on their ſide to do more than they have done; 'and hopes we ſhould have intereſt enough with the emperor, to obtain ſuch paſſports from him, as may ſecure, 'as well the perſon, who is to go into Lorrain, as the duke 'of Lorrain who is to receive him.'

Mr. Prior, on the 29th, writes to the ſame effect to the lord-treaſurer, and ſays, 'The monarch is a good deal 'troubled upon this head, leſt the young man ſhould fall 'into the hands of the huſſars or barbarians. And monſieur d'Aumont has, I preſume, orders to ſpeak to our 'miniſtry upon it. As to the dowry, I ſhall not only be 'dunned to death, but hanged; for the dowager ſends 'meſſages to me, which you in England do not think it 'extremely lawful to receive. But, if it is to be paid,

'pray

'pray let it be done in an handſome manner, that may 'ſhew the charity of the queen, and the generoſity of her 'lord-treaſurer.'

The papers, referred to in Mr. Prior's letter, contain an account of what the duke of Lorrain had done at the deſire of the king of France, to obtain from the allies the neceſſary ſafeguard for the chevalier. He ſays, that underſtanding, that the queen of Great-Britain had already granted her ſafeguard or protection to the chevalier de St. George, he believed they had no more to do, but to apply to the emperor, and to the States-general.

By this account it is evident, that abbot Gaultier was the perſon intruſted to manage the affairs of the pretender, with whom ſuch practices were verbally to be tranſacted, as the Britiſh miniſters did not think proper to commit to writing. It appears, that the place, to which he was to go, becauſe nobody would receive him at the hazard of the queen's diſpleaſure, and where he might remain in ſafety, was to be preſcribed from England: that this was not fixed and determined till lord Bolingbroke went into France: and, if his lordſhip's inſtructions are conſidered, it will be hard to find in them any thing of that importance and ſecrecy, as to require his going in perſon to ſettle it. His lordſhip gives an account from thence, that the pretender was to go to Bar; and this is acquieſced in here, without the leaſt objection made. The miniſtry are told by Mr. Prior, that the court of France hopes, by our intereſt, ſuch paſſports would be procured, as might ſecure his perſon. And, in the paper ſent to France from the duke of Lorrain, it is aſſerted, that the queen of Great-Britain had already granted her protection to the pretender.

But, November 6, 1713, lord Bolingbroke writes to Mr. Prior, and ſays, 'Her majeſty having repeated to the 'duke of Lorrain the inſtances, which, you know, have 'been ſo often made to the moſt chriſtian king, for re'moving of the pretender to her crown out of his domi'nions, I am directed to acquaint you therewith, that you 'may ſpeak to the miniſter of Lorrain, and to any other 'miniſter, whom you ſhall think proper; and let them 'know it is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the amity and good 'correſpondence, that is between the queen and their 'maſters, to receive into their dominions, or to protect a 'perſon, who diſputes her majeſty's moſt undoubted title, 'and thereby endeavours to diſturb the peace and quiet of

'her

'her kingdoms. That you may be able to ſhew them, 'that this is the collective ſenſe of the whole nation, as 'well as the queen's command to you, I herewith ſend 'you the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament.' This can be underſtood as no more than a bare compliance with the addreſſes of parliament. And how little reſentment and indignation was conceived againſt the duke of Lorrain, for this indignity offered to her majeſty, appears from a letter written by lord Bolingbroke to Mr. Prior, November 10, within four days after his laſt-mentioned letter upon the ſubject of the pretender.* 'This letter, ſays he, 'will be delivered to you by baron de Forſtner, who has 'been twice at our court, with the character of envoy 'from the duke of Lorrain, and who is extremely well with 'your friends on this ſide of the water, that I make no 'doubt, but that he will be a welcome acquaintance to 'you. I muſt, at the ſame time, recommend the intereſt 'of the duke of Lorrain his maſter to your care. You 'know, Sir, how little that prince has yet felt the good ef-'fects of what was ſtipulated for him at Ryſwick. You 'know, Sir, how juſtly he pretends to an equivalent from 'this emperor for the Montſerrat. In a word, you are 'enough apprized of his wants, of his expectations, and 'of her majeſty's earneſt deſire, if by any means ſhe can, 'to contribute to the eaſe and to the advantage of a prince, 'who deſerves much better uſage than he has on many oc-'caſions met with.'

There were ſeveral other letters, that were wrote after the addreſs of parliament, to preſs the removal of the pretender from Lorrain: But, after what has been ſaid, it is needleſs to obſerve, what little effect was to be expected from ſuch repreſentations made in the ſeveral courts of Europe, which were known to be contrary to the ſenſe and intention of the court of Great-Britain. And, if any further demonſtration was wanting to ſhew their true ſpirit and inclination, it may be obſerved, that the addreſſes in parliament were made in July 1713, and the firſt letter, that lord Bolingbroke wrote in purſuance of thoſe addreſſes, was the 6th of November, which was four months after the addreſſes were preſented to the queen.

It will not be improper to inſert here an extract of a memorial, touching the demolition of the ſluices of Dunkirk, delivered by monſieur de Torcy, to lord Bolingbroke, at Paris, in Auguſt, 1712. 'It is not our buſineſs now to 'examine, whether the queen of England, and the Eng-

liſh

'liſh nation, were in the right to demand the demolition 'of the fortifications, and the filling up the harbour of 'Dunkirk. That is a thing reſolved and agreed upon. It 'may perhaps come to paſs, in the courſe of this affair, 'for reaſons eaſily to be foreſeen, that England ſhall re-'pent having demanded the demolition of a place, and 'the deſtruction of an harbour, which might be of great 'uſe in conjunctures, which perhaps are not very remote.' The committee of ſecrecy did not take upon them to explain, what conjunctures France had in view, and which they thought not very remote, when Dunkirk might be of particular ſervice; but they thought proper to conclude that part of their report with obſerving, 'That the pretender did, immediately upon the demiſe of queen Anne, publiſh a declaration, which the duke of Lorrain acknowledged in his letter of the 6th of December, 1714, that he received from the pretender himſelf, wherein is this remarkable paſſage: 'Yet contrary to our expectations, 'upon the death of the princeſs our ſiſter (of whoſe good 'intentions towards us we could not for ſome time paſt well 'doubt; and this was the reaſon we then ſat ſtill, expect-'ing the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately 'prevented by her deplorable death) we found that our 'people, inſtead of taking this opportunity of retrieving 'the honour and true intereſt of their country, by doing 'us and themſelves juſtice, had immediately proclaimed 'for their king a foreign prince, to our prejudice, con-'trary to the fundamental and inconteſtable laws of here-'ditary right, which their pretended acts of Settlement can 'never abrogate.' Thus ſtood the pretenders affairs at the death of queen Anne.

II. The caſe of the Catalans, as repreſented in the report of the Committee of Secrecy, June 1715.

AFTER ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts by way of Portugal, and the deſign upon Cadiz, to ſettle king Charles on the throne of Spain; and that the confederate fleet had appeared before Barcelona in 1704, without the deſired ſucceſs; her majeſty, in the beginning of the year 1705, ſent Mr. Crowe as her miniſter to Genoa, with private inſtructions, to the following effect: 'That her ma-'jeſty being informed, that the people of Catalonia were 'inclined to caſt off the yoke impoſed upon them by the 'French;

'French; and by withdrawing themſelves from the power 'of the duke of Anjou, to return to the obedience of the 'houſe of Auſtria, was deſirous to maintain and improve 'that good diſpoſition in them; and, to induce them to 'put the ſame ſpeedily in execution, had made choice of 'him to carry on ſo great a work, for the advantage of 'her ſervice, and the good of the common cauſe. He is 'therefore ordered to repair to Genoa, Leghorn, or other 'ſuch neutral country or place, as he ſhould judge moſt 'proper for carrying on her majeſty's ſervice in this parti-'cular; and to treat with the Catalans, or any other peo-'ple of Spain, about their coming into the intereſt of 'Charles the third of Spain, and joining with her ma-'jeſty and her allies. For that purpoſe he is to inform 'himſelf, what number of forces they will raiſe, and 'what they expect ſhall be ſent to aſſiſt them. If any 'of the nobility inſiſt upon a ſum of money to be ad-'vanced to them, he muſt aſſure them, he does not doubt 'but he ſhall be impowered to remit to them whatſo-'ever is neceſſary and reaſonable for their ſupport, as ſoon 'as they are actually in the field. That he ſhall give 'the Catalans, or other Spaniards, aſſurances of her ma-'jeſty's utmoſt endeavours to procure the eſtabliſhment 'of all ſuch rights and immunities, as they have formerly 'enjoyed under the houſe of Auſtria. That ſhe has, for 'their further ſatisfaction, ſent to king Charles the third, 'for powers for confirming the ſame to them; and that 'ſhe is willing, if they inſiſt on it, to give her guaranty, 'that it ſhall be done.'

Mr. Crowe had alſo a commiſſion of the ſame date with his inſtructions, to treat with the Catalans upon the terms before-mentioned, upon this expreſs condition on their ſide, that they ſhould acknowledge and receive king Charles as lawful king of Spain, and utterly renounce the houſe of Bourbon.

He had, with this, credential letters ſigned by the queen, directed to the nobility, magiſtrates, and all officers, civil and military, of Catalonia, deſiring them to depend upon the promiſes he ſhould make them in her name.

The earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, by their inſtructions, dated May 1, 1705, are likewiſe ordered to uſe their endeavours to induce the Catalans to join with them in their undertakings; and, to animate that people to proſecute their liberty with more vigour, they are impowered to aſſure them of the queen's ſupport, and

to

to promiſe them, in the queen's name, that ſhe will ſecure them a confirmation of their rights and privileges from the king of Spain, that they may be ſettled on a laſting foundation to them and their poſterities. But, leſt perſuaſions alone ſhould not prevail, they are ordered, in caſe the Catalans make no ſuitable return to theſe kind offers, to annoy the towns on the coaſt of Spain, and to reduce them by force.

In conformity to theſe inſtructions, a declaration was drawn here, and delivered by Mr. ſecretary Harley to the earl of Peterborough, for him to publiſh in Spain, full of aſſurances, in the queen's name, of ſupport, and of their liberties on the one hand, and threats on the other; which declaration he, on his arrival in Spain, did accordingly publiſh.

The ſucceſs of that expedition is well known. King Charles, in his letter to the queen, of October 22, 1705, gives an account of it, and what it was owing to, namely, 'The aſſurances of your majeſty's generous protection, 'upon which my ſubjects of Catalonia expoſe their lives 'and fortunes.'

No want of fidelity or zeal for the common cauſe during a long war, which abounded with extraordinary turns of fortune, was ever objected to theſe people. On the contrary, they received to the laſt the applauſes of the allies, and aſſurances repeated to them by every general and miniſter, who was ſent from Great-Britain to that country, that they ſhould never be abandoned.

When the queen entered into ſeparate meaſures of peace, lord Lexington was ſent ambaſſador to Spain; at which time, conſidering the circumſtances of king Philip's affairs, and the obligations he had then received from the queen, the Catalan privileges, if plainly demanded and inſiſted upon, could not have been refuſed; and, without it, could never be expected to be granted to a people ſo remarkably zealous for the common cauſe.

But his inſtructions, inſtead of directing him to inſiſt upon this, as a condition of the queen's coming into the peace, ordered him only to repreſent to the court of Spain, that it is no leſs for the king's intereſt, than for the queen's honour, that a general amneſty, without exception, be granted to all Spaniards, who have adhered to the houſe of Auſtria, and, in a particular manner, to the Catalans, with regard to their perſons, eſtates, dignities, and privileges.

Theſe

Theſe inſtructions, though very defective, were not complied with: for lord Lexington, in the 11th article of his paper, which is called Demands, delivered to the court of Spain, upon his arrival there expreſſes himſelf thus: 'That the queen prays his catholic majeſty, that a general amneſty, without exception, be granted;' but leaves out the words in his inſtructions, with regard to their perſons, eſtates, dignities, and privileges.

The king's anſwer was, 'That the general amneſty, relating intirely to the general peace, was not proper for the preſent treaty; and therefore he leaves it to be then treated of: that his majeſty will make uſe of his great clemency, provided the queen will contribute to the ſafety, to the repoſe, and to the intereſts of ſo many faithful ſubjects, who, according to their duty, had followed his righteous cauſe in Flanders, and in all the parts of Italy; and that an expreſs article be inſerted in the peace, wherein it ſhall be declared, That all ſubjects, who have done their duty, by adhering to his catholic majeſty, ſhall be eſtabliſhed in their eſtates and honours, of what nature ſoever they be, which they enjoyed, when they were under his obedience; and that they may mortgage, exchange, or ſell, at their pleaſure;' and that they ſhall have full liberty to continue in the ſervice of their king; and that neither, upon this pretext, or any other whatſoever, they ſhall receive the leaſt prejudice, or the leaſt harm in their eſtates and honours, or any moleſtation whatever; and that any municipal law to the contrary (if there be any ſuch) ſhall be made void by the treaty of peace.'

Lord Lexington tranſmits this anſwer to England, which, though containing a direct refuſal at preſent of what was deſired, and only general aſſurances of clemency from the king, on conditions, that could not poſſibly be expected to be complied with; yet his lordſhip, in his letter to lord Dartmouth, writes word, That the 11th article (which is this about the Catalans) was agreed to; and thinks, what they deſire is but juſtice; and then goes on, 'Thus, my lord, I have finiſhed my negotiation in the beſt manner I could, and hope it will be to her majeſty's ſatisfaction.'

No diſſatisfaction was ſhewn by the miniſtry in England, either with this manner of negotiating, or the fruitleſsneſs of it; but the lord Lexington is ordered to proceed in the buſineſs, both as it was an act of humanity, which every

one,

one, to the utmoſt of their power, ought to promote; and that the intereſt of the king of Spain was moſt nearly concerned by that means, to get the Germans out of the country.

Hereupon another memorial for an amneſty is preſented: the motive uſed to induce the king to grant it, is his own intereſt, and to remove the Germans, without any notice taken of the queen's honour being concerned in the affair.

The king anſwered, 'That the Catalans had deſerved 'little from him: that they were now reduced to a ſmall 'extent of ground, by the withdrawing of the troops of 'Britain and Portugal: that his troops, and thoſe of the 'king, his grandfather, were entering into their country 'by three ſeveral ways: therefore, more in complaiſance 'to the queen, than for the arguments, that had been 'offered, he was willing to grant his pardon to thoſe Cata-'lans, who acknowledged his clemency, and repenting 'them of their error, ſhould ſubmit to his dominion and 'vaſſalage within a time to be prefixed.'

Count Zinzendorf, in the project for evacuating Catalonia, inſiſted upon the preſerving the people their privileges. But the king of Spain refuſed it, and would only grant them an amneſty and pardon.

Lord Dartmouth, in his letters both to the marquis de Monteleone and lord Lexington, ſays, 'He cannot expreſs 'the queen's ſurprize to hear, that the privileges of the 'Catalans were not intended to be preſerved to them by the 'court of Spain: that theſe privileges were neceſſarily in-'cluded in the meaning of a general amneſty already 'granted. And this was an affair, wherein the queen's 'honour was extremely concerned, and that ſhe was 'obliged by motives of conſcience not to depart from it.' Lord Lexington is hereupon ordered to inſiſt again upon it in the ſtrongeſt manner imaginable; that when the king of Spain is convinced of her majeſty's ſteadineſs, and the firmneſs of her reſolution to adhere to this demand, no doubt he will yield to what has been ſo ſolemnly promiſed, and is in itſelf ſo reaſonable. That the marquis de Monteleone, being reſtrained by his inſtructions from treating upon this point, the negotiating of it muſt intirely lie upon lord Lexington.

Accordingly, his lordſhip preſents another memorial for a general amneſty, with the confirmation of all their privileges. The amneſty he ſays was granted; but the privileges intirely refuſed, and in ſuch a poſitive ſtile, as he never

never met with, but in demanding a tract of ground about Gibraltar.

In another letter to lord Dartmouth, ſpeaking of the many denials he met with in Spain, he ſays, 'Things are not 'here upon the ſame foot, as they were before the ſuſpen-'ſion; for the king told me theſe words, We know, that 'the peace is as neceſſary for you as for us, and that you 'will not break it off for a trifle.'

It may ſeem, at firſt ſight, unaccountable how the queen's endeavours could fail of ſucceſs, when ſhe declared her conſcience was concerned in this matter; and that though ſhe deſired a peace, ſhe would not act inconſiſtently with honour and juſtice to obtain it.

The firſt fatal ſtep to the ruin of the Catalans was the order ſent lord Lexington (contrary to his firſt inſtructions) upon his arrival at Madrid, to acknowledge Philip as king of Spain in a private audience, before any one article of peace or commerce was ſettled, which put him in a condition of refuſing this, and whatever elſe he ſhould think fit.

The manner how Spain gained this important point, appears to be as follows: lord Dartmouth had acquainted Mr. Prior, that lord Lexington was not to acknowledge Philip king of Spain, till he had agreed to the demands his lordſhip was to make in the queen's name. However, lord Dartmouth thinks it convenient, that the ſentiments of the French court ſhould be known upon this matter as ſoon as poſſible.

This method of proceeding with Spain was very much diſliked in France; and Mr. Prior writes lord Dartmouth a very elaborate letter, full of Mr. de Torcy's reaſons, to induce the Engliſh miniſtry to recede from that point, and concludes with this remarkable one, 'That the whole 'treaty being eventual, this acknowledgment of Philip as 'king of Spain, would fall, as the other points, unleſs 'the conditions were made good, and the peace agreed and 'ratified.'

Hereupon the lord Bolingbroke determines this matter in favour of Spain, by imputing the former directions to lord Dartmouth's miſtaking the queen's meaning, and writes Mr. Prior word, that he was equally ſurprized and vexed to find, by the uncouth way of explaining the queen's ſenſe, that Mr. Prior had been led to imagine, it was intended lord Lexington ſhould make any difficulty of acknowledging the king of Spain as ſuch. 'The proceeding this 'way, by acknowledging the king in the firſt place (ſays

'his lordſhip) ſeems natural, civil, and unexceptionable; 'but any other ſcheme is abſurd and inconſiſtent with all 'the reſt of our proceedings:' and he then concludes, 'For God's ſake, dear Matt, hide the nakedneſs of thy 'country, and give the beſt turn thy fertile brain will furniſh thee with, to the blunders of thy countrymen, who 'are not much better politicians, than the French are 'poets.'

Lord Dartmouth, it ſeems, thought fit to acquieſce, and, the ſame day that this letter was writ, diſpatched orders to lord Lexington, to acknowledge king Philip in the firſt place, notwithſtanding his former inſtructions to the contrary.

But to return to the Catalans: the miniſters did not ſhew that zeal for the queen's honour, as might be expected, but plainly gave up this matter. Lord Boſingbroke, in his letter to the queen's plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, tells them, 'It is not for the intereſt of England to preſerve the 'Catalan liberties; and likewiſe begs leave to make an obſervation to them, that the Catalan privileges are the 'power of the purſe and ſword; but that the Caſtilian privileges, which the king of Spain will give them (in exchange for the Catalan) are the liberty of trading and reſorting to the Weſt-Indies, and a capacity of holding 'thoſe beneficial employments the king has to beſtow in 'America, which (ſays his lordſhip) are of infinitely greater 'value to thoſe, who intend to live in a due ſubjection to 'authority.'

Lord Lexington alſo, inſtead of ſupporting the Catalan privileges, treated the people as rebels; and to induce Spain to make peace with Portugal, puts monſieur Orry in mind of the neceſſity Spain is in of withdrawing their troops from Andaluſia, in order to end the rebellion of the Catalans.

When the convention was forced upon the emperor for evacuating Catalonia, the imperial miniſters at Utrecht inſiſted upon the preſerving, by that treaty, the privileges of Catalonia, Majorca, and Yvica. But France and her confederates inſiſting, that this matter ſhould be referred to the peace, the imperial miniſters at laſt acquieſced, upon the queen of Great-Britain's declaring again, 'That ſhe would 'interpoſe her good offices in the moſt effectual manner, to 'obtain the privileges of Catalonia, Majorca, and Yvica:' and the French king engaged, at the ſame time, to join his endeavours for that purpoſe. Hereupon, the negotiation

ation in Spain was kept up, till our treaty of peace with that crown was ripe, by which the Catalan liberties were to be abandoned. This lord Lexington ſigned, contenting himſelf with proteſting againſt that article at the ſame time he ſigned it, as he had writ word before he intended to do; and that therefore the queen was intirely at liberty to reject it. Notwithſtanding the king of Spain's former refuſal, lord Lexington is again directed to inſiſt upon the Catalan privileges, and is again told, that the queen thought herſelf obliged by the ſtrongeſt ties, thoſe of honour and conſcience, to inſiſt upon it, for a people, whom the neceſſity of the war had obliged her to draw into her intereſt. His lordſhip had ſigned the treaty with Spain before theſe orders to preſent another memorial arrived. He thereupon acquaints the marquis of Bedmar, that he was ſorry he was obliged to do any thing, which he knew was againſt the king's ſentiments, but having received expreſs orders, he muſt follow his duty, and preſents the following memorial:

'The under-written miniſter of the queen of Great-'Britain, in purſuance of the ſtrict orders he received the 'laſt poſt, is obliged moſt humbly to renew the inſtances 'he has ſo frequently made to your majeſty in favour of 'the Catalans. The queen orders him to repreſent, that 'ſhe has nothing more at heart, than to obtain for theſe 'people the ſame privileges they formerly enjoyed, which 'ſhe thinks herſelf obliged to do by the two ſtrongeſt mo-'tives, that are poſſible, honour and conſcience, that ſhe 'may not leave a nation, which the misfortune of war 'obliged her to draw into her intereſt, in a worſe condition 'than ſhe found them. She hopes, that after all the pains 'ſhe has taken for procuring a ſolid and laſting peace to 'Europe, your majeſty will not leave her with the grief of 'having been the occaſion of the loſs of the privileges 'of that people, but rather, that in reſpect to the ſtrict 'friendſhip, which with God's bleſſing is ſo near being 'eſtabliſhed between your majeſties, as well as the union 'ſo neceſſary to the intereſts of both nations, your majeſty 'will not make any difficulty any longer, to grant this 'favour to her majeſty, which ſhe has ſo much at heart.'

The marquis de Bedmar's anſwer to this memorial was, That this point about the Catalans having been debated in the treaty lately concluded, and ſigned in this court by his excellency and himſelf, which his excellency will own, and may be pleaſed to acknowledge, the king does not ſee, that any thing farther is to be done in the matter.

This treaty was ſent to England, and ratified by the queen. Lord Dartmouth ſays, in his letter to lord Lexington, that lord Bolingbroke had the principal ſhare in the negotiation; and that the article of the Catalans was put in as ſoft terms, as was conſiſtent with the queen's honour to allow.

The terms of the treaty are, That the Catalans ſhall have the ſame privileges as the king's beſt beloved ſubjects the Caſtilians enjoy.

When the king of Spain had received this convincing proof of our miniſtry's attachment to his intereſts, and that the ties of the queen's honour and conſcience were of no force with them, when oppoſed to his deſires, he takes a further ſtep, and directly propoſes to lord Lexington, that the queen would aſſiſt him with ſhips to block up Barcelona. His lordſhip's anſwer was, That he was afraid this propoſal would meet with this difficulty, That her majeſty would be very unwilling to lend her ſhips to exterminate a people, that had taken up arms, in a great meaſure, at the inſtigation of her miniſters: and that ſhe would think ſhe had done enough to gratify the king, in not inſiſting upon the preſerving for them their antient liberties, without helping to deſtroy them. But the regard the miniſtry had to this requeſt of the king, will afterwards appear.

The French ambaſſador and the princeſs des Urſins, propoſed to lord Lexington (and the night before he left Madrid, the king ſent for him, and engaged him) to write a letter, concerted with him, and approved by the king, to the regency of Barcelona, adviſing them to ſubmit themſelves to their king. His lordſhip aſſures them of his conſtant endeavours to do the beſt he could for them: that God had not permitted him to do more than he had done: that if they would take their reſolutions ſoon, before he was out of Spain, he would write for them in the manner they ſhould deſire: and concludes his letter with new aſſurances of his concern for their intereſt.

To make this appear the more friendly to them, he tells them, he had intruſted the conſul at Alicant to get this letter conveyed to them, upon ſome pretence or other; though a duplicate of it was alſo ſent to the count of Lecheraine, one of the king of Spain's generals, before the town, with direction to have it ſent in as by a deſerter, without his knowledge.

Mr.

Mr. Burch, his lordſhip's ſecretary, amongſt other reaſons, gives this for the writing this letter, That if the Catalans had a mind to accommodate, the queen would have the mediation, and if they had not, that then the court of Spain would ſee, that her majeſty would be always ready to ſerve them.

But this artifice to induce the Catalans to abandon their defence, in hopes of his lordſhip's good offices, had no effect upon men determined to die for the liberty of their country. Nothing but force could extort that from them; and therefore Sir Patrick Lawleſs, in September 1713, preſents a memorial to the ſame effect, with what was propoſed the month before to lord Lexington in Spain, ſetting forth, that the Catalans and Majorcans had not ſubmitted themſelves to the king's obedience, and interrupted all commerce and correſpondence in the Mediterranean; and ſubmits it to the conſideration of the queen, not only as guarantee of the treaty of evacuation, but as it concerned the intereſts of Great-Britain; and therefore his catholic majeſty hopes, the queen will order a ſquadron of her ſhips to reduce his ſubjects to their obedience; and thereby compleat the tranquillity of Spain and of the Mediterranean commerce.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, a fleet is accordingly fitted out for the Mediterranean under the command of Sir James Wiſhart, whoſe firſt inſtructions bear date the 28th of February, and the additional 18th of March 1713-14; by which he is ordered to inforce a ſtrict obedience of the treaty of evacuation in all its parts, upon any complaints of the queen's ſubjects, of interrupting of commerce or depredations by the veſſels of Catalonia, Majorca, Sardinia, Naples, and other places, to demand reſtitution; and, in caſe of a refuſal, to make repriſals: to repair with the fleet before Barcelona, then beſieged by the enemy, and demand immediate payment of the value of the queen's ſtores in the town, or a ſufficient ſecurity for payment in ſome reaſonable time: to take care to time his arrival before the town, according to the advices from lord Bingley, then deſigned to be ſent to Spain: by the ſtrongeſt repreſentations to induce the regency of Barcelona to accept of the terms, that ſhall be obtained for them: to take all the neceſſary meaſures, purſuant to the queen's intentions, to put an end to the confuſions, that now reign in thoſe parts: and all proper methods of perſuaſion to induce the inhabitants of Majorca to ſubmit to the terms that

ſhall be offered them; and, in caſe of refuſal, to employ his ſquadron in countenancing and aſſiſting all attempts, which may be made for reducing them to a due obedience.

It may be obſerved here,

1. That although the queen had engaged herſelf by the treaty of evacuation, to employ her good offices in the moſt effectual manner, to obtain the Catalans their liberties; yet inſtead thereof, the moſt effectual methods were uſed to the contrary; and Mr. Prior acquainted monſieur de Torcy, that the queen was aſſured, the Catalans would ſubmit upon the terms before offered by the king of Spain, without ſo much as mentioning their antient privileges any more.

2. That the French king, who had put himſelf under the ſame obligations as the queen by that treaty, after this account from Mr. Prior of the queen's ſentiments, thought fit alſo not to aſk for their privileges; Mr. de Torcy alſo alledging, that the king had little intereſt with the court of Spain.

3. That Britain was under the ſame engagements by that treaty, to ſupport the privileges of Majorca, as thoſe of Catalonia, at the time Sir James Wiſhart had direct orders to attack them.

4. That when thoſe rigorous meaſures were forming againſt the Catalans, lord Bolingbroke writes word to Mr. Prior, 'That by what we obſerve in the Catalan agent 'here, of whom we have never taken the leaſt notice as a 'public man, it is pretty plain, that a reaſonable accommo-'dation might be made, as he expreſſes it, with that tur-'bulent people.' What was called turbulency in the Catalans, may appear by their anſwer to the duke of Popoli, the king of Spain's general, who ſummoned them to ſurrender. They told him, they would die rather than be ſlaves; but if their antient liberties were confirmed to them, they would open their gates, and receive him with all gladneſs.

The houſe of lords expreſſed their concern in a public manner for the miſeries of the Catalans; and by their addreſs to the queen, April 3, 1714, made it their moſt humble and earneſt requeſt to her majeſty, 'That ſhe would 'be graciouſly pleaſed to continue her interpoſition in the 'moſt preſſing manner, that the Catalans may have the 'full enjoyment of their juſt and antient privileges conti-'nued to them.' Her majeſty's anſwer was, 'That at

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'the time she concluded her peace with Spain, she resolved to use her interposition upon every occasion, for obtaining those liberties, and to prevent, if possible, the misfortunes, to which that people are exposed by the conduct of those more nearly concerned to help them.'

Hereupon, for form's sake, and to allay the indignation conceived against the ministry by the people in general, who compassionated the calamities of those, who fought for liberty; the demand of the Catalan privileges is again put down in lord Bingley's instruction, who was before ordered to go to Spain, but was never sent. So that the only favour obtained from the ministry by this earnest address of the house of lords in behalf of the Catalans, was an intimation sent by lord Bolingbroke to the admiral, not to appear before Barcelona, nor to attack the Majorcans, till he should hear from lord Bingley, and receive directions from England: and also a letter from his lordship to Mr. Grimaldo, above two months after the address, though the town was invested at the time of making it, wherein he makes a kind and friendly complaint, as he terms it, that the Catalan privileges had not been yet granted them, nor any reasonable terms offered, which they must either have accepted, or forfeited the queen's compassion, and that of the whole world.

The admiral had also his scruples, whether his orders, couched in ambiguous terms, would justify him in attacking Barcelona. He therefore writes to lord Bolingbroke and lord Bingley upon it, and submits it to lord Bingley's consideration, whether the Catalans might not refuse conditions, that may be most advantageous, if they find he is not to act by force; and desires, that his orders to act before Barcelona, either by force or otherwise, may be very plain and clear; assuring him, that he will most punctually obey those already given him, and such as he shall hereafter receive.

When Sir James Wishart arrived at Cadiz, he gave the governor a list of the ships under his command for the Mediterranean service, who sent it immediately to Madrid: but though several messages came from court to the governor during the admiral's stay there, no one compliment was made him, to signify his arrival was welcome, or any question asked about what services he was to perform; which a little surprized him: that as soon as they had an account at Madrid of his arrival at Cadiz, Mr. Ory was dispatched to Catalonia with full power to treat

with the Catalans: 'So that, says he, it would appear, 'that though the king of Spain has all the advantages of 'the queen's ships, as much as if they were actually before 'Barcelona, by representing to those people, which they 'very well knew, our arrival in those parts, and how far 'we are on our way to the Mediterranean; yet the king 'would not seem to owe the success of such agreement 'to the queen and her ships, but to France only.'

But this negotiation of Mr. Orry failing of success, by the Catalans refusing to submit, without having their liberties granted them, obliged the court of Spain to take more notice, than otherwise they were inclined to do, of the admiral, who, from Alicant, writes to lord Bingley, then expected at Madrid, That he had received a very civil letter from Mr. Grimaldo, who sent him the king's orders for exempting the provisions for the fleet from paying any duty. He tells him, That this exemption was usually granted to the admiral himself, that commanded; but being a trifle, he submits it to his lordship's better judgment, whether the granting him this might not be a means to prevent any thing, that might be intended by the court of Madrid more to his advantage; and leaves it to his lordship's consideration, what may be most for his interest at that place; and hopes, by his friendship, to find some marks of favour from thence, in regard to his expence in this expedition, so much intended for their service, and for which he has no allowance from home but his pay, which will not defray half his charges.

In another letter of Sir James Wishart to lord Bingley, he acquaints his lordship, that though he had formerly desired him to move the king of Spain, that the grant of exemption of duties for provisions for the fleet might be made to himself; yet, upon farther consideration of the matter, which is but of small moment, and may appear greater at the court of Spain and England than really it is, he desires his excellency not to take any notice of it, but let it stand as it does; and desires his countenance and assistance upon any other occasion, that the court of Madrid might take to express their good-will to him. Nor was it long before the admiral gave the court of Spain more particular proofs, that he was not unworthy of their expected favours.

After Barcelona had been invested a considerable time by the Spaniards, and reduced to great difficulties for want of provisions, the French king, though engaged with the queen

queen by the treaty of evacuation, to employ his good offices in the moſt effectual manner, in favour of the Catalan liberties, thought fit to ſend his troops againſt them, commanded by marſhal Berwick, who opened the trenches before Barcelona the 1ſt of July O. S. 1714. And, on the 8th of the ſame month, Sir James Withart, in the queen's name, writ them a threatening letter, directed to the deputies, and others, who poſſeſſed the government there, telling them, that complaints had been made of their diſturbing the commerce of the queen's ſubjects; and that they had inſolently preſumed to take, carry up, and plunder their ſhips, and uſed the men in a barbarous manner: He had therefore thought fit to ſend captain Gordon with two men of war, to repreſent to them theſe unwarrantable and preſumptuous proceedings; and by the queen's command demands immediate ſatisfaction for the ſame, and the puniſhment of the officers of the ſhips with the utmoſt ſeverity. If this be not punctually complied with, he leaves it to themſelves to judge what the conſequences may be.

The deputies returned anſwer, 'That only one of thoſe 'veſſels mentioned in captain Gordon's memorial, was ta-'ken by them into Barcelona, being laden with ſalt, for 'which they paid the price immediately to the captain of 'it: that being beſieged, they thought they might do ſo 'with juſtice, and by the law of nations: that they were 'ſo far from living like pirates, as their enemies ſuggeſt-'ed, in order to diſtreſs them, by preventing any one's 'coming with proviſions for their relief: that what En-'gliſh veſſels had entered their ports with proviſions had 'been well treated, and had freely ſold their merchandize, 'and at a higher price, than they could have got any 'where elſe: that they had paid them with their beſt ſort 'of money, and to all their ſatisfactions: that they had 'that day publiſhed an order, forbidding, upon pain of 'death, any of their ſhips to moleſt any Engliſh, even 'though they were going with proviſions to the enemy. 'They hoped his excellency will be ſatisfied with their con-'duct, which is conformable to the rights of people, that 'are beſieged; aſſuring him, that when they know any of 'their ſhips, either with commiſſion, or without, that ſhall 'have cauſed the leaſt damage to any Engliſh, they will not 'only immediately inflict a rigorous puniſhment, but repair 'all the damage, deſiring to live in the good correſpondence 'they have had with his noble and generous nation, with the

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'utmoſt deference for the queen, and ready to obey his 'excellency's orders with all affection and reſpect.'

The government of Barcelona, in their extremity, writ another letter to the admiral, dated July 23, ſetting forth, 'That his excellency very well knew, that the engage-'ment Catalonia entered into to receive Charles the Third 'for their king, was founded on the protection of the high 'allies, but moſt particularly of England, without which 'they were not capable of undertaking ſo great an enter-'prize. That they had, for ſeven years together, endea-'voured to ſerve the Engliſh nation in every thing it was 'poſſible for them to do, by contributing troops and con-'ſiderable ſums of money without intereſt. And though 'they had pleaſed themſelves with the thoughts of the hap-'pineſs to be always ſubjects of Charles III. yet by the 'ordinary change, to which human affairs are liable, they 'now ſee the troops of the duke of Anjou, aided by the 'French, maſters of all the principality, except Barcelona 'and Cardona, committing through the whole the moſt 'execrable hoſtilities, burnings, and plunderings, without 'ſparing the effuſion of innocent blood, and without diſ-'tinction of age or ſex. That for a year together the ene-'my's army had oppreſſed Barcelona by ſea and land, 'making them continually ſuffer the calamity of ſo long a 'blockade, during which time the enemies have thrown 'fourteen thouſand bombs into the town; which have 'ruined the greateſt part of the houſes: that now they 'expect to be attacked in form, and that in twenty-four 'hours the town will be battered in breach. They can-'not expreſs their affliction, to ſee the danger of the in-'habitants expoſed to be victims of that cruelty, with 'which the enemy threatens to treat them. Having no 'comfort left, they fly to the queen of Great-Britain, be-'ſeeching her protection by the incloſed letter to Don 'Dalmaſes, their envoy at London; and, in the mean 'time, till an anſwer can come, they beſeech his excel-'lency from their ſouls, to mediate with the French troops, 'who oppreſſed them, for a ſuſpenſion of arms, ſince the 'congreſs at Baden, now ſitting, to conclude of a general 'peace, may ſtill determine this affair: they doubt not, 'that his mediation will be able to procure them this re-'lief, ſince his ſquadron is ſuperior to that of the enemy. 'They ſee no other remedy in nature for their misfor-'tunes; and therefore hope his excellency will not refuſe 'them;

'them: that if Catalonia has merited any thing by its ser-
'vices, and by its conjunction with the Engliſh nation,
'this is the time to receive the fruits of it: that it is wor-
'thy of his excellency to comfort the afflicted, and not to
'deny them this favour in their great neceſſity.'

How the admiral was affected with this letter, appears by one of his to lord Bingley, dated Aug. 7, 1714, where in he acquaints him, 'That Mr. Grimaldo had ſignified 'to him from the king of Spain, that all the king's ſhips 'of war being employed before Barcelona, his majeſty 'could not ſend any of them to meet his flota then com-'ing home; and therefore deſired the admiral to ſend 'three of his upon that ſervice;' which was accordingly complied with. Of this he had acquainted lord Bolingbroke, and hoped to meet with her majeſty's approbation.

The Catalans thus abandoned and given up to their enemies, contrary to faith and honour, were not however, wanting to their own defence; but appealing to heaven, and hanging up at the high altar the queen's ſolemn declaration to protect them, underwent the utmoſt miſeries of a ſiege; during which multitudes periſhed by famine and the ſword, many were afterwards executed, and many perſons of figure were diſperſed about the Spaniſh dominions in dungeons.

III. The lord Oxford's letter to the queen, June 9, 1714.

May it pleaſe your majeſty,

I Preſume, in obedience to your royal command, to lay before your majeſty a ſtate of your affairs. Though I have very much contracted it from the draught I made, and the vouchers from whence it is taken, yet I find it ſwell under my pen in tranſcribing, being willing to put every thing before your majeſty in the cleareſt light my poor underſtanding can attain to. It was neceſſary to lay it before your majeſty in the ſeries of time, from the beginning to this preſent time; and when that is compleatly laid before you, it remains only for me to beg God to direct your majeſty.

And as to myſelf, do with me what you pleaſe; place me either as a figure, or a cypher; diſplace me, or replace me,

me, as that beſt ſerves your majeſty's occaſions, you ſhall ever find me, with the utmoſt devotion, and without any reſerve,

MADAM,

Your moſt dutiful, moſt faithful,
moſt humble, moſt obedient ſubject,
and unworthy ſervant,
OXFORD.

A brief account of public affairs, ſince Aug. 8, 1710, to this preſent 8th of June, 1714. To which is added, the ſtate of affairs abroad, as they relate to this kingdom; with ſome humble propoſals for ſecuring the future tranquillity of her majeſty's reign, and the ſafety of her kingdoms.

Her majeſty, on the 8th of Auguſt 1710, was pleaſed to alter her treaſury, and two days after in a new commiſſion, Robert Harley, by her majeſty's great favour, was made chancellor of the exchequer.

The ſtate of affairs at home and abroad are freſh in every one's memory.

The condition of the treaſury at that time was laid before her majeſty in a large repreſentation.

I beg leave to touch ſome few heads: the army was in the field, no money in the treaſury; none of the remitters would contract again; the bank had refuſed to lend a hundred thouſand pounds to lord Godolphin, on very good ſecurity: the navy and other branches of ſervice, eleven millions in debt, which enhanced the price of every thing proportionably; the civil liſt in debt about ſix hundred thouſand pounds; and the yearly income too little for the current certain expence, by the loweſt computation, one hundred twenty-four thouſand, four hundred ninety-five pounds, two ſhillings and four-pence.

In a few days this new commiſſion made proviſion for paying the army, by the greateſt remittance that had ever been known: though the oppoſition from every office, which was full of perſons who were enemies to the change made by the queen, was very ſtrong, and very troubleſome and vexatious: and ſuch was the ſituation of affairs, that nothing but great patience could ever have overcome theſe dif-

difficulties; it being impoſſible, as well as unavoidable; to make removes, but by degrees.

As ſoon as it was poſſible (and notwithſtanding the clamours then raiſed, it was the only proper time) a new parliament is called.

Its firſt meeting was November 27, 1710. Robert Harley had prepared the funds ready (before the parliament met, as he had done every ſeſſion to this day) not only for the current ſervice of the year, both by ſea and land, but alſo for eaſing the nation of above nine millions of debt. This was thought ſo chimerical, when Robert Harley did begin to open it, that it was treated with ridicule, until he ſhewed how practicable it was. It is true, this gave great reputation abroad, and enabled to treat advantageoully of a peace. It raiſed ſinking credit at home; but, at the ſame time, as it drew envy upon Harley from ſome, and the rage of others, ſo it gave offence to ſome of his fellow ſervants, who told him plainly, that he ought to have told his ſecret, and if he would not get money himſelf, he ought to have let his friends ſhare a hundred thouſand pounds, which would not have been felt, or found out, in ſo vaſt a ſum as nine or ten millions.

To this principle was owing the ſetting on foot at this time the unhappy voyage to Canada; to all which meetings Harley avoided coming, and gave lord Rocheſter his reaſons; and after he deſired his lordſhip to be a means to the queen, to hinder that expedition, but it happened to be too late. But lady Maſham knows how much Harley was concerned at it, though he did not know the true ſpring of that voyage, which will appear after in this paper.

The beginning of February, 1710-11, there began to be a diviſion among thoſe called Tories in the Houſe, and Mr. ſecretary St. John thought it convenient to be liſting a ſeparate party for himſelf.

To prevent this, lord Rocheſter and Harley deſired to have a meeting, and to cool ſuch raſh attempts; and it was contrived Mr. ſecretary St. John ſhould invite us to dinner (which was the laſt time he ever invited Robert Harley, being now above three years) where was the duke of Shrewſbury, earl Poulet, lord Rocheſter, and others; and lord Rocheſter took the pains to calm the ſpirit of diviſion and ambition.

Harley was at this time ſeized by a violent fever; and on his firſt coming abroad, March 8, met with a misfortune which confined him many weeks. The tranſactions

during

during that time, are too public, as well as too black for Harley to remember or to mention.

In the end of May, 1711, the queen, out of her abounded goodneſs, was pleaſed to confer undeſerved honours on Robert Harley; and, on the 29th of the ſame month, was pleaſed to put the treaſurer's ſtaff into his hands: a poſt ſo much above Harley's abilities to ſtruggle with, that he had nothing but integrity and duty to recommend him to her majeſty's choice; ſo he muſt have recourſe to her majeſty's tranſcendent goodneſs and mercy to pardon all his faults and failings, both of omiſſion and commiſſion, during the whole courſe of his ſervice.

But to return and reſume the thread of this diſcourſe. The 4th of June 1711, three days after the treaſurer was ſworn, he was ſurprized with a demand of twenty-eight thouſand thirty-ſix pounds and five ſhillings, for arms and merchandize, ſaid to be ſent to Canada. When the treaſurer ſcrupled this, Mr. ſecretary St. John and Mr. Moore came to him with much paſſion upon this affair; and, about a fortnight after, the ſecretary of State ſignified the queen's poſitive pleaſure to have that money paid: and accordingly her majeſty ſigned a warrant, June 21, and the treaſurer not being able then, with all his precaution, to diſcover further light, the money was paid, July 4th, 1711.

Since the return from that expedition, the ſecret is diſcovered, and the treaſurer's ſuſpicion juſtified: for the public was cheated of above twenty thouſand pounds.

There is reaſon to be more particular upon this head, becauſe it is one of the things never to be forgiven the treaſurer; and lord-chancellor told him more to that purpoſe, that they told him no government was worth ſerving, that would not let them make thoſe advantages, and get ſuch jobs.

One thing more is craved leave to be added, that the treaſurer was forced to uſe all his ſkill and credit to keep the houſe of commons from examining this affair laſt parliament.

June the 12th, 1712, the firſt ſeſſion of laſt parliament ended.

From this time, to the beginning of the next ſeſſion, 'The treaſurer's hands were full of negotiating the peace 'in all courts abroad;' and beſides the ordinary and neceſſary duty of his office at home, he had frequent occaſions of calming the quarrels and grudges Mr. ſecretary had ſometimes

times againſt lord Dartmouth, ſometimes againſt lady Maſham, and ſometimes againſt the treaſurer himſelf.

The ſecond ſeſſion of the laſt parliament began December the 7th, 1711.

This was attended with great difficulties and dangers, as well from the practices of the diſcontented here, as the deſigns carried on by Mr. Buys, prince Eugene, and Bothmer; in which deſigns concurred the emperor and other ſtates and princes who gained by the war.

This put her majeſty under a ſort of neceſſity to preſerve the whole, and to take a method which had been uſed, to create ſome new peers.

So many having been brought formerly out of the houſe of commons, of thoſe who uſed to manage public affairs, it was propoſed to Mr. ſecretary, that if he would be contented to ſtay in the houſe of commons that ſeſſions, her majeſty would have the goodneſs to create him a peer, and that he ſhould not loſe his rank.

The ſecond ſeſſion ended the 21ſt of June, 1712, and notwithſtanding Bothmer's memorial, and all other attacks both from abroad and at home, ſupplies were provided, and every thing relating to the public put upon a good foot, and the malecontents began to deſpair, as appeared by the duke of Marlborough's retiring abroad, and other particulars.

After the ſeſſion was ended, the queen, as ſhe had promiſed, ordered a warrant for Mr. ſecretary St. John, to be a viſcount: this happened to put him in the utmoſt rage againſt the treaſurer, lady Maſham, and without ſparing the greateſt.

It did avail very little to tell him how much he had got in place; for had he been created with the other lords, it would have fallen to his ſhare to have come next after lord Trevor: but the treaſurer, with great patience, bore all the ſtorm, of which lord Maſham was often a witneſs of the outrageous ſpeeches; and Mr. Moore very lately told the treaſurer, that lord Bolingbroke ſaid very lately to him, that he owed him a revenge upon that head.

This diſcontent continued, until there happened an opportunity of ſending him to France; of which there was not much occaſion: but it was hoped, that this would have put him in good humour; which it did, until in October 1712, there were knights of the garter made. This created a new diſturbance, which is too well remembered, and breaks out now very often in outrageous expreſſions publickly againſt all then made.

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In November, on the death of duke Hamilton, he was much againſt duke Shrewſbury's going, for reaſons very plain, which then were in negotiation: for before the laſt ſeſſion of that parliament began, a new model was framed, or a ſcheme of miniſtry; which how they afterwards came to fall out, will appear in its due place.

The third and laſt ſeſſion began April the 9th, 1713; which was as ſoon as the peace was concluded, and could be proclaimed.

It is not decent to take notice, 'That during this whole 'negotiation, the treaſurer was obliged, by his own hand, 'and his own charge, to correſpond in all the courts con-'cerned in the negotiation; and very often he had the 'good luck to ſet right ſeveral miſtakes, and to obtain 'ſome things very little expected: but the only merit of 'this belongs to her majeſty, the credit of whoſe favour 'brought it about, and gave power to the treaſurer to act 'with ſucceſs.'

During this ſeſſion, the lords of the cabinet, and others, met every Saturday at the treaſurer's, in order to carry on the queen's buſineſs, as they had done the year before on Thurſday's. Many offers were made, and repeated by the treaſurer, in order to attack former offenders, and quiet the minds of the gentlemen, and of the church-party; and the only reaſon for this failing, was, becauſe of the project laid for their new ſcheme, and putting themſelves at the head, as they called it, of the church-party.

This being the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and ſome gentlemen fearing their elections, and ſome for other reaſons, dropt the bill of commerce.

The treaſurer ſaw this opportunity, and immediately took it, and prevailed with Sir Thomas Hanmer, and others, to come into the payment of the civil liſt debts, incurred before the change of the treaſury, though the preſent treaſurer was railed at, and maligned; which he choſe to bear patiently, rather than own the true reaſon, that there was no money to do it with, which would have ruined all at once.

This ſtep of paying the debts, put the malecontented into the utmoſt rage, which they did very publickly expreſs in both houſes.

This laſt ſeſſion of that parliament, and the third ſince the change of the miniſtry, ended July the 16th, 1713.

The peace with France being over, and it growing neceſſary to put her majeſty's affairs into a further and more

ſettled

ſettled regulation, and to eaſe the treaſurer of the burthen, as well as envy, of ſuch a bulk of buſineſs: her majeſty was pleaſed to approve of the ſcheme of the duke of Ormond's ſtaying here to attend the army-affairs, which was neceſſary at the time of diſbanding; duke Shrewſbury to go to Ireland, upon his return from France; lord Findlater to be chancellor of Scotland; lord Mar third ſecretary; lord Dartmouth privy-ſeal, and Mr. Bromley ſecretary of ſtate, and Sir William Wyndham chancellor of the Exchequer. I am ſure the queen very well remembers the rage this cauſed, as perfectly defeating their ſcheme, and ſhewing that her majeſty would put her affairs upon a ſolid foot: the lord-chancellor ſaid it was againſt law, and to this day will not treat lord Findlater with decency; and lord Mar has met with many ill treatments, as well as Mr. ſecretary Bromley.

But that the treaſurer might leave them without excuſe, and make her majeſty's affairs, if poſſible, eaſy with and to thoſe in her ſervice; as ſoon as he was recovered enough to write, he wrote a large letter to lord Bolingbroke, containing his ſcheme of the queen's affairs, and what was neceſſary for lord Bolingbroke to do, as belonging only to his province. This letter was dated July the 25th, 1713, and was anſwered July the 27th, by lord Bolingbroke; the copy was ſhown to lady Maſham, who came to viſit the treaſurer then confined to his chamber; and ſhe then thought it a very good one, and what was proper for the occaſion. I believe the whole would be of uſe to give light to her majeſty into the ground and foundation of the follies and madneſs which have ſince appeared; the whole is ready for her majeſty's peruſal when ſhe pleaſes.

In this letter the treaſurer gives an account to lord Bolingbroke of the occaſions, or rather the pretences for giving diſturbance to the queen's ſervants. He propoſes the remedy, and what was requiſite to be done by him as ſecretary in his own province, and alſo aſſurance of the treaſurer's aſſiſtance to the utmoſt, and of his deſire to conſult with him (lord Bolingbroke) how to unite the reſt of our friends.

Being then ſick, the treaſurer took the liberty to put lord Bolingbroke in mind of the ſeveral particulars which then required diſpatch, and were ſolely belonging to his province, without any other interpoſition than that of taking your majeſty's direction.

Amongſt others, that of a circular letter upon the addreſſes of both houſes, relating to the pretender.

This was not done in three months. His lordſhip wrote word it was done July the 27th.

In the ſame letter the treaſurer propoſed, that (according to the treaty of peace) care ſhould be taken of the following particulars, viz. Newfoundland, Hudſon's-Bay, Acadia, St. Chriſtopher's, Aſſiento, and other things contained in the treaties of commerce.

Theſe particulars the treaſurer thought to have been executed, until within a few weeks he heard the contrary by accident, and that the time in the ſeveral treaties was elapſed. Upon this, the treaſurer on Wedneſday, June the 2d, told Mr. Moor of this, and that every body would be liable to blame who are in the queen's ſervice. Thurſday, June the 3d, 1714, lord Bolingbroke writes to the treaſurer a letter, which begins thus:

" Mr. Moor has been this morning with me, and has " put into my hands a paper, which he calls, I think not " improperly, a charge upon me."

This paper contains the neglect above-mentioned in the treaſurer's letter of July the 25th, 1713, and yet thoſe faults are now charged upon the treaſurer.

From this account it is obſervable, that the earl of Oxford took to himſelf the credit of correſponding with his own hand, and at his own charge, in all the courts concerned in the negotiations of peace, and that very often he had the good luck to ſet right ſeveral miſtakes, and obtain ſome things little expected: that he boaſted of his laying hold of a ſeaſonable opportunity in parliament, upon rejecting the bill of commerce, to prevail with members of the houſe of commons to come into the payment of the civil liſt debts; and alſo charged ſeveral perſons, then in high ſtations, with corruption, and imbezzlement of the public money; and recommended himſelf to the queen, by having uſed all his ſkill and credit to keep the houſe of commons from examining into the ſame. The committee of ſecrecy having received information, that large ſums of money had been directed ' for ſpecial ſer-' vices relating to the war,' by ſigns manual, and warrants upon the ſame, counterſigned by the earl, which were afterwards paid to his order, the committee thought it incumbent upon them to lay before the houſe copies of theſe ſigns manual and warrants, and orders thereupon, together

gether with extracts from the regiſter of the Exchequer, by which it appeared, that theſe large ſums iſſued for the ſervice of the war, were received and applied 'to the earl's 'private uſe.'

IV. A letter from the States-general to the queen of Great-Britain, &c. dated Hague, June 5, 1712, N. S.

MADAM,

AFTER all the proofs which your majeſty has given during the courſe of your glorious reign, of your great zeal for the public good, and of your adherence to the common cauſe of the high allies; after ſo many marks you have had the goodneſs to give us, of your tender affection, and of your friendſhip to our republic; and after the repeated aſſurances you have given us, and that very lately too, of your intentions, that your troops ſhould act againſt the common enemy, until the war was concluded by a general peace: it is impoſſible we ſhould not be ſurprized and afflicted by two declarations we have lately received, one after another, in the name of your majeſty; the firſt by the duke of Ormond your general, that 'he 'could undertake nothing without new orders from you;' the other by the biſhop of Briſtol, your plenipotentiary to the congreſs at Utrecht, 'That your majeſty perceiving 'that we did not anſwer as we ought, the propoſals which 'you had made us, and that we would not act in con-'cert with your miniſters on the ſubject of peace, you 'would take your meaſures apart: and that you did not 'look upon yourſelf to be now under any obligation what-'ever, with reſpect to us.'

As ſoon as we had notice of thoſe declarations, we ſent orders to our miniſter, who has the honour to reſide at your majeſty's court, to repreſent to you the reaſons of our ſurprize, and the conſequences of thoſe declarations; and to requeſt you with that reſpect which we always had, and which we ſhall for ever entertain for your royal perſon, that you would give other orders to the duke of Ormond, that he may act with all poſſible vigour, according to the exigency of the war; and that your majeſty would have the goodneſs to entertain other ſentiments of us, than thoſe which the biſhop of Briſtol had declared to our plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.

But the more we conſider thoſe declarations, the more important we find them, and the more we apprehend their conſequences: therefore we could not forbear applying ourſelves by this letter directly to your majeſty, hoping that you will conſider it, as we promiſe ourſelves you will, both from your great prudence and wiſdom, and from your ſo much famed zeal for the public welfare; particularly from your uſual friendſhip and affection for us and our republic.

We proteſt before all things, that as we ever had a true friendſhip, as well as the higheſt reſpect for your majeſty, and a ſincere affection to all your intereſts, with an earneſt deſire to live in a perfect good underſtanding and union with you; we have ſtill the ſame ſentiments, and ſhall always preſerve them, wiſhing for nothing more, than to be able to give your majeſty the moſt convincing proofs of it.

After this, we pray your majeſty to conſider, according to your great penetration, whether we have not juſt ground to be ſurprized, when we ſee a ſtop put, by an order in your majeſty's name, without our knowledge, to the operations of the confederate army, the fineſt and ſtrongeſt which perhaps has been in the field during the whole courſe of the war, and provided with all neceſſaries to act with vigour; and this, after they had marched, according to the reſolution taken in concert with your majeſty's general, almoſt up to the enemy, with a great ſuperiority, both as to the number and goodneſs of troops, and animated with a noble courage and zeal to acquit themſelves bravely; ſo that, in all human appearance, and with the divine aſſiſtance, which we have experienced ſo viſibly on ſo many other occaſions, we ſhould have been able, either by battle or ſieges, to gain great advantages over the enemy, to have bettered the affairs of the allies, and to facilitate the negotiations of peace.

We flatter ourſelves indeed with the hopes, which the duke of Ormond has given us, That in a few days he expects other orders; but in the mean time, we are ſorry to ſee one of the fineſt opportunities loſt, being uncertain whether we ſhall have another ſo favourable, ſince the enemy have time given them to fortify themſelves, and take their precautions, while the army of the allies lies ſtill without action; and, conſuming the forage all round, deprive themſelves of the means of ſubſiſting for time to come, in thoſe places where, by concert, the operations of the campaign

paign were deſigned; which may make ſuch enterprizes impoſſible hereafter, as were practicable now, and conſequently render the whole campaign unſucceſsful, to the ineſtimable prejudice of the common cauſe of the high allies.

Certainly when we conſider the army as it really is, compoſed of the troops of your majeſty and the other allies, joined together by common concert, to act for the greateſt advantage and furtherance of the common cauſe, and the aſſurances which your majeſty had given us by your letters, by your miniſters, and laſt of all by your general the duke of Ormond, of 'your intentions that 'your troops ſhould be ordered to act with their uſual 'vigour,' as well as the engagements into which your majeſty is entered, not only with reſpect to us, but alſo ſeparately and jointly with us, in reſpect to the other allies; it is very difficult for us to conjecture and conceive, how an order ſo prejudicial to the common cauſe, given ſo ſuddenly, without our knowledge, and undoubtedly too without the knowledge of the other allies, can agree and conſiſt with the nature of an alliance, and with thoſe aſſurances and engagements juſt now mentioned. For though, according to the declaration of the biſhop of Briſtol, your majeſty holds yourſelf to be diſengaged from every obligation with regard to us, it is plain, that the matter now in queſtion is not our particular intereſt or advantage, but that of all the allies, who will ſuffer by the prejudice, which an order ſo little expected muſt needs bring to the common cauſe.

But, Madam, we cannot forbear telling your majeſty, that the declaration made by the biſhop of Briſtol, at Utrecht, has no leſs ſurprized us, than that of the duke of Ormond in the army. It appears to us ſo extraordinary, that we know not how to reconcile it with the great goodneſs and kindneſs which your majeſty has always honoured us with; and not being able to conceive how ſuch a ſudden change could happen, with reſpect to us, we are not only ſurprized, but afflicted at it. We have carefully examined our conduct, and find nothing in it, that can have given ground to that diſſatisfaction which your majeſty expreſſes with us, by this declaration.

From the very firſt day that your majeſty aſcended the throne, we teſtified all the deference that you could deſire from a ſtate in friendſhip and alliance with you. We carefully ſought after your amity and affection, and conſidering

ſidering the happy effects which a good intelligence, harmony, and union between your majeſty and us, and the two nations, might produce, and have really produced, and the advantage which reſulted from thence to both, as well as to the common cauſe of all the allies, we made it our buſineſs heartily to cultivate them, and more and more to gain your majeſty's confidence, and to conform ourſelves to your ſentiments as much as poſſibly we could.

We think that we gave a ſignal proof of this, particularly with regard to the negotiations of peace; ſince not only after we were informed of the conferences formerly held in England upon this ſubject, we did expect that your majeſty would give us an account of them; having this firm confidence in your friendſhip for our republic, and in your zeal for the good of the common cauſe, that nothing would be done to prejudice us, nor the other allies: but alſo when your majeſty communicated to us the preliminary articles ſigned by M. Meſnager in England, and when you propoſed to us the calling and holding a congreſs for a general peace, and required of us to grant for this end neceſſary paſſports for the enemies miniſters, we conſented to it, though we had many reaſons, which to us ſeemed very well grounded, not to enter into ſuch a treaty without a better foundation, or at leaſt without the concurrence of the other allies; but we preferred your majeſty's ſentiments to our own, in order to give you a new proof of our deference.

We did no leſs, with reſpect to the difficulties which were ſtarted on the ſubject of the treaty of mutual guaranty for the ſucceſſion of the proteſtant line to your majeſty's kingdoms, and for our barrier; a treaty of ſuch importance to the two nations, that we look upon it as the ſtrongeſt tie that could be thought on to unite for ever the hearts and intereſts of both, concluded after the matureſt deliberation, and ratified on both ſides in the moſt authentic form: for though we might have ſtood to the treaty as it was, yet we entered into a negotiation upon thoſe difficulties, and particularly on the point of the Aſſiento, concerning which, we gave our plenipotentiaries ſuch inſtructions, that we no longer doubted but all the difficulties would have been adjuſted to mutual content, and that we ſhould thereby have intirely regained your majeſty's confidence; and the rather, becauſe, in the firſt place, when the meeting of a congreſs for a general peace was in hand, your majeſty declared to us by your ambaſſador, 'That you deſired no more than our 'concurrence in that ſingle point, and this only mark of

'our

'our confidence, and that then you would give us ſtrong 'and real proofs of your affection towards us, and of your 'upright intentions, with reſpect to the common cauſe of 'all the allies;' and that afterwards, when the difficulties about the ſucceſſion and the barrier were raiſed, your majeſty did likewiſe aſſure us, that if we would remit ſomething upon the moſt eſſential points, and particularly about the affair of the Aſſiento, it would be the true way to reeſtabliſh a mutual confidence; which being once reſtored, your majeſty would take particularly to heart the intereſts of this ſtate, and act in conjunction with us in the whole negotiation, to obtain an honourable, good, and ſure peace.

But we find ourſelves very much out in our expectation, ſince, at the very ſame time, when we made the greateſt advances towards your majeſty, and that we did verily believe we ſhould come to an agreement about the points in difference, we ſee the earl of Strafford gone, without finiſhing that affair; we ſee the army ſtopped in the beginning of its career; and we hear a declaration, by which your majeſty looks upon yourſelf to be diſengaged from all obligations with us; for which the reaſons alledged are, 'That we 'have not anſwered as we ought, the advances which your 'majeſty made towards us, and that we would not act in 'concert with your miniſters about the peace.'

If your majeſty will be pleaſed to look with a favourable and equitable eye upon our conduct, we flatter ourſelves, and have a firm confidence, that you will find nothing in it which can give you ſuch diſadvantageous ideas and thoughts of us; but that you will rather find, that we have performed and do ſtill perform all that we are bound to, as good and faithful allies; and particularly to your majeſty.

What we have ſaid already, might perhaps be ſufficient to perſuade you of it; but we muſt add, that having always eſteemed your majeſty's affection, and a good harmony betwixt the two nations, as one of the ſtrongeſt ſupports of our ſtate, and of the proteſtant religion, and as one of the moſt effectual methods to maintain and advance our common intereſts, and thoſe of the whole confederacy; and this ſincere opinion being firmly imprinted on our hearts, we were never backward to communicate and conſult in all confidence with your majeſty and your miniſters, upon the affairs of peace, according to the foundations laid down in the grand alliance and other treaties. We declare, that we have always been inclinable and ready to do it; and are ſo ſtill, as far as we can, without prejudice to the other

allies, and without departing from, or acting againſt the engagements, treaties, and alliances which we have entered into.

But, madam, all the propoſals hitherto made to us upon that ſubject, were couched in very general terms, without communicating to us the reſult of the negotiations betwixt your majeſty's miniſters and thoſe of France, nor even your majeſty's thoughts about the ſubject, which we ought to have concerted together. It is true, that in ſome of the laſt conferences, your majeſty's miniſters demanded to know whether ours were furniſhed with a full power, and authoriſed to draw up a plan for the peace; but it had been juſt, before ſuch a thing was demanded of us, That they ſhould have communicated the reſult of the negotiations, ſo long treated of betwixt your majeſty's miniſters and thoſe of the enemy; or, at leaſt they ſhould have told us your majeſty's thoughts.

Had that plan related only to your majeſty's intereſt and ours, we ſhould perhaps have been in the wrong not to have forthwith come into it, though even in that caſe the affair would not have been without its difficulties, ſince the leaſt notice of it which ſhould have come to the enemy, muſt have been very prejudicial: but as the plan in queſtion concerned the intereſt of all the allies, and almoſt all Europe, we had very ſtrong apprehenſions, That as the particular negotiations betwixt your majeſty's miniſters and thoſe of France, and the readineſs with which we conſented to the congreſs at Utrecht, and to the giving of paſſports to the enemy's miniſters, had already occaſioned abundance of ſuſpicions, and much uneaſineſs to his imperial majeſty, and the other allies: we ſay, we apprehended, that his imperial majeſty, and the other allies coming to know (which would have been very difficult to conceal from them) the concert betwixt your majeſty's miniſters and ours, for a plan of peace, and that before the miniſters of France had given a ſpecific anſwer to the demands of the allies, their ſuſpicions and uneaſineſs would have increaſed, and that way of proceeding might have given them ground to entertain prejudicial thoughts, as if it had been the intention of your majeſty and us, to abandon the grand alliance and the common cauſe, or at leaſt that we alone took upon us to determine the fate of all the other allies; by which his imperial majeſty and the other confederates might have been puſhed on to ſeparate meaſures, and to take ſuch ſteps as would be no ways agreeable to your majeſty's intereſt.

We

We thought theſe reaſons ſtrong enough to juſtify our conduct to your majeſty on this head; and if we did not enter with all the readineſs which you might have wiſhed for, into the concert propoſed, we hope, that at moſt, your majeſty will look upon our backwardneſs, only as an exceſs of prudence, or of ſcruple, and not in the leaſt as a want of confidence in your majeſty; while the allies might have conſidered it as a departing from the treaties, and particularly from the eighth article of the grand alliance. We alſo hope that your majeſty, for the reaſons here alledged, will lay aſide thoſe hard thoughts of us, as if we had not anſwered as we ought, the advances which your majeſty made towards us, and that we would not act in concert with your miniſters upon the ſubject of the peace. But, Madam, though your majeſty ſhould not acquieſce in our reaſons (of which however we cannot doubt) we pray your majeſty to conſider, Whether that be ſufficient for your majeſty to think, that you are diſengaged from all obligations with reſpect to us?

Had we acted againſt, and contravened the engagements and treaties which we had the honour to conclude with your majeſty, we might have expected from your goodneſs and juſtice, that you would have repreſented thoſe contraventions to us, and not have looked upon yourſelf to be diſengaged, till ſuch time as we had refuſed to give all neceſſary redreſs. But, as we did no ways engage to enter with your majeſty into a concert to draw up a plan of peace, without the participation of the other members of the grand alliance, the backwardneſs we have ſhewn upon that head, cannot be looked upon as a contravention of our engagements, and therefore cannot ſerve to diſengage your majeſty from yours, with reſpect to us, ſince we are verily perſuaded, that we have fully anſwered all our treaties, and all our alliances, both with your majeſty, and with the high allies in general; and that we have done more in this preſent war, than could in juſtice and equity have been expected from us. All the difference betwixt your majeſty and us in this point, is no more, if rightly conſidered, than a diſparity of ſentiments.

In truth, madam, if for ſuch a cauſe betwixt potentates, allied and united together by the ſtrongeſt and ſtricteſt ties of alliance, intereſt, and religion, any one of thoſe potentates could quit all their engagements, and diſengage themſelves from all their obligations, there is no tie ſo ſtrong, which

which may not be broke at any time; and we know of no engagements that could be relied on, in time to come.

We aſſure ourſelves, that when your majeſty conſiders the conſequences, you will not perſiſt in the declaration which the biſhop of Briſtol has made: We beſeech you, with all the reſpect, and all the earneſtneſs of which we are capable, that you would not; and alſo that you would be pleaſed to revoke the order given to the duke of Ormond, if it be not revoked already; and that you would authorize him to act according to occurrences, and as the exigency of the war, and the advancement of the common cauſe ſhall require.

We alſo requeſt, you, madam, to communicate to us the reſult of the conferences betwixt your miniſters, and thoſe of the enemy, or at leaſt your thoughts upon the peace, and we will endeavour to give your majeſty all imaginable proofs of our deference for your ſentiments and of our ſincere deſire to preſerve your valuable friendſhip, as much as we can, without acting contrary to the faith of the engagements into which we have entered, by treaties and alliances with your majeſty, and other potentates.

We are firmly perſuaded, that it is not your majeſty's intention in any manner to break them, ſince you have always been of the ſame opinion with us and the other allies, That a good union betwixt the allies, not only during the preſent war, but alſo after the peace ſhall be concluded, is, and always will be the moſt ſolid, and even the only method to preſerve the liberty and independency of all together, and of every one in particular, againſt the great power of France.

We expect alſo, that after having given ſuch great and ſignal proofs of your wiſdom, of your firmneſs, and of your zeal for the ſupport of the common cauſe, your majeſty will not now take ſuch reſolutions as may be prejudicial to us and to the other allies; but that, in order to obtain an honourable, ſure, and general peace, you will purſue the ſame methods, and keep to the ſame maxims which you formerly held, and which Almighty God hath bleſſed in ſo remarkable a manner, by victories and great events, which will render the glory of your majeſty's reign immortal (m.)

(m) To theſe papers it may be proper to add extracts of the treaties of Utrecht.

I. Between Great-Britain and France.

I. Perpetual peace and true friendſhip.

II. Ceſſation of all hoſtilities.

III. All offences, damages, &c. ſhall be buried in oblivion.

IV. The moſt chriſtian king acknowledges the limitation of the ſucceſſion to the kingdom of Great-Britain, in the proteſtant line, and on the faith, word, and honour of a king, declares, he, and his heirs ſhall accept and approve the ſame for ever; and promiſes, that no one, beſides the queen and her ſucceſſors, according to the ſaid limitation, ſhall ever, by him and his ſucceſſors, be acknowledged king or queen of Great-Britain; and that he and his heirs will take all poſſible care, that the perſon, who, ſince the deceaſe of king James, did take upon him the title of king of Great-Britain, ſhall not, at any time hereafter, return into the kingdom of France, or any the dominions thereof.

V. The moſt chriſtian king promiſes, for himſelf, and heirs, that they will at no time diſturb the queen of Great-Britain, her heirs and ſucceſſors of the proteſtant line, nor give any aid, favour, or council, directly or indirectly, by land or ſea, in money, arms, ammunition, ſtores, ſhips, ſoldiers, or any other way, to any perſon who ſhall oppoſe the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

VI. The union of France and Spain being the chief foundation of the war, it is provided and ſettled by renunciations, that theſe kingdoms ſhall never be joined in one *. The moſt chriſtian king engages, that he will not endeavour to obtain any uſage of navigation and trade to Spain and the Spaniſh Indies, than what was practiſed in the reign of Charles II. of Spain, or than what ſhall be granted to other nations.

VII. Free navigation and commerce, as before the war, and as agreed by the treaty of commerce this day made between the two nations.

VIII. That the ordinary diſtribution of juſtice be opened, ſo that the ſubjects of both ſides may ſue for, and obtain their rights, according to the laws of each kingdom.

IX. The moſt chriſtian king ſhall take care, that the fortifications of Dunkirk, towards the ſea, be razed within two months; and thoſe towards the land within three months, and the harbour be filled up, and the ſluices or moles levelled at the king's expence; and that the fortifications, harbours and moles be

* In this article are included, I. The French king's letters patents, which admit the renunciations of the king of Spain, and thoſe of the dukes of Berry and Orleans. II. The king of Spain's renunciation. III. The duke of Berry's renunciation. IV. The duke of Orleans's renunciation. V. The French king's letters patent of December 1700.

never

never repaired again. All which, however, ſhall not begin to be ruined, till every thing is put into his hands which is to be given him inſtead thereof, or an equivalent.

X. Hudſon's Bay ſhall be reſtored to the queen of Great-Britain.

XI. All damages to the Hudſon's Bay company, by depredations of the French in time of peace, ſhall be ſatisfied, according to the eſtimates of commiſſaries to be named at the requiſition of each party. The ſame concerning the damages laſt year in the iſland of Montſerrat, and concerning the things complained of by the French, relating to Nevis, and caſtle of Gambia.

XII. The iſland of St. Chriſtopher, all Nova Scotia or Acadia, Port Royal or Annapolis, ſhall be delivered to the Engliſh, and the French excluded from all kind of fiſhing in the ſeas, bays, or other places on the coaſts of Nova Scotia; that is, on thoſe lying towards the eaſt, within thirty leagues, beginning from Sable-iſland, and thence ſtretching along towards the ſouth-weſt.

XIII. Newfoundland, and the adjacent iſlands ſhall belong wholly to Britain; and the town and fortreſs of Placentia ſhall be delivered up within ſeven months. Only it ſhall be allowed to the French to catch fiſh, and dry them on the land from cape Bonaviſta, round northward to Point Riche. But the iſland of Cape Breton, as alſo all others, both in the mouth of the river, and gulph of St. Laurence, ſhall belong to the French.

XIV. A year ſhall be allowed to the French to remove and carry off their effects, from the places to be yielded up by this treaty, and the free exerciſe of their religion, to thoſe that are willing to remain there.

XV. The French of Canada ſhall give no moleſtation to the five nations of Indians, ſubject to Britain; and the Engliſh ſhall behave peaceably to the Americans, friends of France, and on both ſides they ſhall enjoy full liberty of going and coming on account of trade.

XVI. All letters of repriſal and marque ſhall be recalled, and none granted hereafter, but upon plain proof of a denial, or wrongful delay of juſtice; and unleſs the petition of him, who deſires the letter of repriſal, be ſhown to the miniſter of that prince, againſt whoſe ſubjects the letters are demanded, that he, within four months or ſooner, may make inquiry, or procure ſatisfaction. But in caſe of no miniſter, the letters are not to be granted till after four months, from the day the petition was exhibited to the prince, againſt whoſe ſubjects the letters are deſired, or to his privy-council.

XVII. The conditions of the ſuſpenſion of arms, made the 11th day of Auguſt laſt, relating to ſhips, merchandizes, and other effects, taken on either ſide, ſhall be truly executed.

XVIII. But in caſe through inadvertency or imprudence, any thing ſhould be committed by any ſubject, whereby any article of this treaty hath not its effect, this peace ſhall not be interrupted or broken; but that ſubject

ſubject alone ſhall be anſwerable for his own fact.

XIX. In caſe of a future war, ſix months from the day of the rupture ſhall be allowed to the ſubjects of each nation, to remove all their effects, and retire themſelves where they pleaſe.

XX. Juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction ſhall be given to all the queen's allies, in thoſe matters which they have a right to demand from France.

XXI. The moſt chriſtian king will, in friendſhip to the queen, grant, in his treaty with the empire, all things concerning religion, to be ſettled according to the treaties of Weſtphalia.

XXII. Juſtice ſhall be done to the family of Hamilton, concerning the dukedom of Chatelaraut, to the duke of Richmond, concerning ſuch requeſts as he has to make in France, and to Charles Douglas, concerning certain lands, and to others.

XXIII. All priſoners taken during the war, ſhall be ſet at liberty without diſtinction or ranſom.

XXIV. All the conditions of the peace made this day, between the kings of France and Portugal, are confirmed by this treaty, and the queen of Great-Britain takes upon herſelf to be guarantee.

XXV. The peace made this day between France and Savoy, is particularly included in this treaty, her majeſty of Great-Britain expreſsly declaring, ſhe will be bound by the ſtipulations of ſecurity and guarantee promiſed therein, as well as by thoſe, ſhe has formerly taken upon herſelf.

XXVI. Sweden, Tuſcany, Genoa, and Parma, are in the beſt manner, included in this treaty.

XXVII. Their majeſties have alſo been pleaſed to comprehend in this treaty the Hanſtowns, namely Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, and the city of Dantzick, with this effect, that as ſoon as the general peace ſhall be concluded, the Hanſtowns, and the city of Dantzick, may for the future, as common friends, enjoy the antient advantages which they have heretofore had in the buſineſs of trade, either by treaties or by old cuſtom.

XXVIII. Thoſe ſhall be comprehended in this preſent treaty of peace, who ſhall be named by common conſent, on the one part, and on the other, before the exchange of the ratifications, or within ſix months after.

XXIX. Laſtly, ſolemn ratifications of this preſent treaty, and made in due form, ſhall be exhibited on both ſides at Utrecht, and mutually and duly exchanged within the ſpace of four weeks, to be computed from the day of the ſigning, or ſooner if poſſible.

XXX. In witneſs whereof, we, the underwritten ambaſſador extraordinary, and plenipotentiaries of the queen of Great-Britain, and of the moſt chriſtian king, have put our ſeals to theſe preſent inſtruments, ſubſcribed with our own hands, at Utrecht the $\frac{31}{11}$ day of $\frac{March}{April}$ in the year 1713.

(L. S.)

(L. S.) Joh. Briſtol. C. P. S.
(L. S.) Strafford.
(L. S.) Huxelles.
(L. S.) Meſnager.

II. Between Great-Britain and Spain.

I. Perpetual peace and true friendſhip.

II. Againſt the union of the kingdoms of Spain and France, as in the VIth article of the treaty with France.

III. A general amneſty on both ſides.

IV. All priſoners to be freed without ranſom.

V. and VI. Concerning the acknowledging and promiſing not to diſturb the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as in the IVth and Vth articles of the treaty with France.

VII. That the ordinary diſtribution of juſtice be reſtored.

VIII. That there be a free uſe of navigation and commerce, as it was in the reign of Charles II. of Spain, and alſo according to the treaties of commerce which are now, or will forthwith be made at Madrid. And whereas it is, by common conſent, eſtabliſhed as a fundamental rule, that the exerciſe of navigation and commerce to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indie, ſhall be as in the time of the ſaid Charles II, that therefore this rule may be obſerved *inviolably, it is eſpecially agreed*, that no *licenſe ſhall* at any time be given to the French, or any other nation, to introduce negroes, goods, merchandizes, or any things whatſoever into the Spaniſh American dominions, except what may be agreed by the treaty of commerce aforeſaid, and the privileges granted in the Aſſiento de Negroes, mentioned in the XIIth article, except alſo what the catholic king or his ſucceſſors ſhall promiſe by any contract, after the Aſſiento de Negroes is determined. It is further agreed, that none of the Spaniſh dominions in America ſhall ever be alienated from the crown of Spain, to the French or other nation. On the contrary, the queen of Great-Britain will endeavour and aſſiſt the Spaniards, that the antient limits of their American dominions be ſettled, as in the time of Charles II.

IX. The ſubjects of each kingdom ſhall, in all countries, have at leaſt the ſame privileges as to duties, or cuſtoms, and ſhall have the like favour in all things, as the ſubjects of France, or any nation they favoured, do or ſhall hereafter enjoy.

X. Gibraltar is given up to the crown of Great-Britain: but (to prevent abuſes by importing any goods) without any territorial juriſdiction, and without any open communication by land with the country round about. Proviſions, however, and other neceſſaries in times of ſcarcity, may be bought with money for the uſe of the garriſon and ſhips in the harbour. No leave ſhall be given to Jews or Moors to reſide there, nor ſhelter to any *Mooriſh ſhips of war, whereby* the *communication between* Spain and Ceuta may be obſtructed, or the coaſts of Spain infeſted. The free exerciſe of their religion ſhall be granted to the catholic inhabitants; and in caſe the town of Gibraltar ſhall hereafter be granted or

ſold,

ſold, Spain ſhall have the preference of having the ſame.

XI. The iſland of Minorca, with all its towns and caſtles, particularly Port-Mahon, is alſo yielded to the crown of Great-Britain. No refuge to be given to Mooriſh ſhips, but only on account of traffic. In caſe of alienation, the crown of Spain to have the preference. The inhabitants to enjoy their religion, eſtates, and honours; and thoſe that retire, to ſell their eſtates.

XII. The catholic king grants to the South-Sea company, with excluſion of all others, the contract for introducing Negroes into his American dominions, commonly called El Pacto del Aſſiento de Negroes, for the ſpace of thirty years, beginning from the 1ſt of May 1713, with the ſame conditions enjoyed by the French, together with tracts of land on the river of Plata, ſufficient for the ſubſiſtance of thoſe who are in the ſervice of the company, and of their Negroes. The ſhips of the company may alſo come cloſe to land; but a Spaniſh officer ſhall be appointed to take care that nothing be done, contrary to his maſter's intereſts, and all belonging to the company ſhall be ſubject to the inſpection of the officer, as to matters relating to the tracts of land, and diſputes to be referred to the governor of Buenos Ayres. The contract of the Aſſiento concluded at Madrid, the 26th of March, 1713, with all its conditions, not contrary to this article, is deemed as part of this treaty.

XIII. At the earneſt deſire of the queen of Great-Britain, that the Catalonians ſhould not only obtain a full and perpetual oblivion of all that was done in the late war, and enjoy all their eſtates and honours, the catholics hereby grants the deſired amneſty, and all the privileges which the Caſtilians enjoy, or may hereafter enjoy.

XIV. As Sicily is by treaty yielded to the duke of Savoy, the queen of Great-Britain will take care, that in default of heirs-male the poſſeſſion of Sicily ſhall revert to the crown of Spain, and not be alienated on any pretence whatſoever, unleſs to the catholic king.

XV. All treaties heretofore concluded between the two crowns are hereby confirmed, as far as they are not contrary to thoſe treaties lately made and ſigned. And as the Guipuſcoans pretend to certain rights of fiſhing at Newfoundland, it is agreed, that all ſuch privileges as they and other people of Spain are able to claim by right, ſhall be allowed them.

XVI, XVII, and XVIII. The ſame as XVIIth, XVIIIth, and XIXth of the treaty with France.

XIX. The kings, princes and ſtates, mentioned in the following articles, and all others nominated on either ſide by common conſent, before the ratifications are exchanged, or within ſix months after, ſhall be included in this treaty.

XX. Whatſoever ſhall be contained in a treaty between Spain and Portugal, with the approbation of Great-Britain, ſhall be deemed an eſſential part of this treaty.

XXI. The

XXI. The treaty of peace this day made between Spain and Savoy, is included in this treaty, the queen of Great-Britain declaring, ſhe will be obliged by the terms of promiſe and guarantee therein made.

XXII. Sweden, Tuſcany and Parma, ſhall be included in this treaty.

XXIII. And alſo the republic of Venice, for the ſake of the neutrality they have obſerved, and the many acts of humanity performed by them.

XXIV. And the republic of Genoa, on the ſame accounts.

XXV. The city of Dantzick ſhall alſo be included.

XXVI. Solemn ratifications of this treaty ſhall be exchanged on both ſides, within ſix weeks or ſooner,

In witneſs whereof the ambaſſadors and plenipotentiaries ſigned and ſealed this preſent treaty at Utrecht, the $\frac{2}{13}$ day of July, 1713.

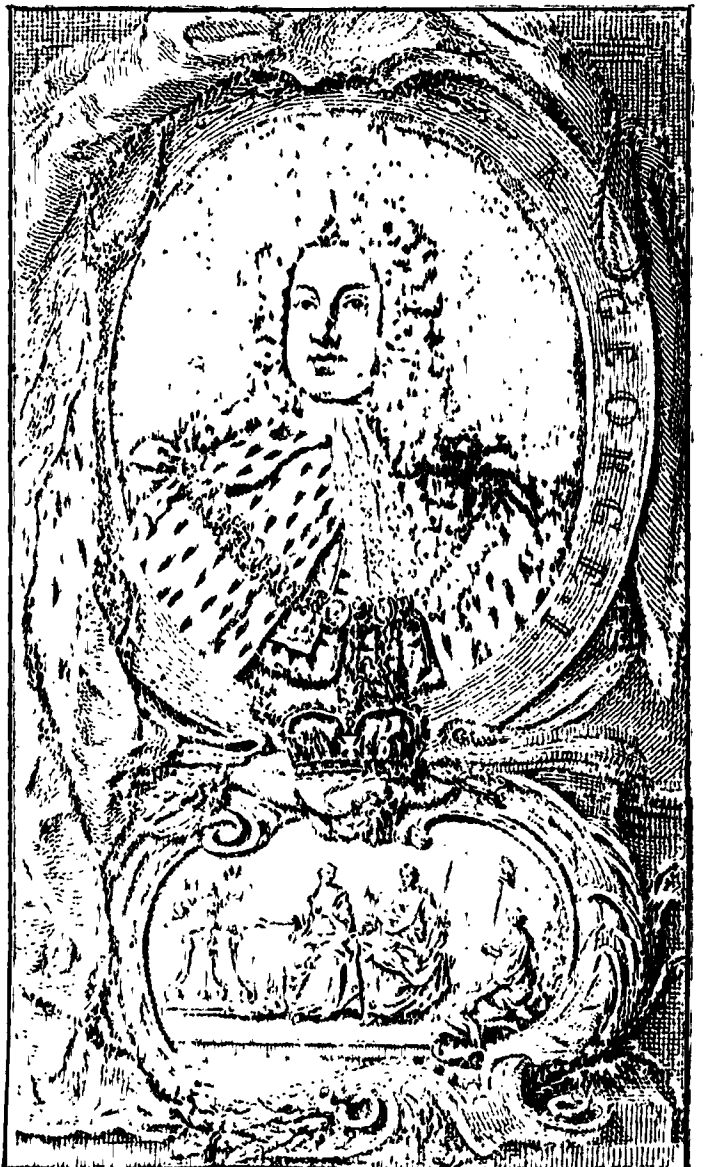
(L. S.) Joh. Briſtol. C. P. S.
(L. S.) Strafford.
(L. S.) Duc de Oſſuna.
(L. S.) El Marque de Montaleone.

Separate articles.

I. Since his catholic majeſty is ſtedfaſtly reſolved, and does ſolemnly promiſe by theſe preſents, that he will not conſent to any further alienation of countries, provinces, or lands belonging to the crown of Spain, the queen of Great-Britain does likewiſe promiſe, that ſhe will perſiſt in thoſe meaſures, by which ſhe has taken, that none of the parties in war ſhall require or obtain of his catholic majeſty, that any farther part of the Spaniſh monarchy be torn from it. And when it ſhall ſeem to the queen of Great-Britain to be for the common benefit, the king of Spain does give his conſent, that a new treaty be entered into between Great-Britain, Spain, and Portugal.

II. The queen of Great-Britain obliges herſelf to procure forthwith the lady Urſini to be put into poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Limburg, or other countries in the Netherlands, which ſhall produce an annual clear revenue of 30,000 l. Scudos, according to the diploma granted by his catholic majeſty to that princeſs, the 28th day of September, 1711. *

* This princeſs having quitted her rank and prerogatives at the court of Rome, was made firſt lady of the bed-chamber to the queen of Spain, whom ſhe met at Nice in Provence, and conducted into Spain. Afterwards, when the regency of Spain was truſted to the queen, at the king's going to command his armies in Italy, the princeſs Urſini aſſiſted her with her care and counſel. She likewiſe took upon her the care of the education of the prince of Aſturias. Theſe are the reaſons alledged by the king, for granting her the territory of Limburg, and obliging the queen of Great-Britain to procure it for her.



THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK XXX. PART II.

From the Year 1714. to the Year 1716.

CHAP. I.

Account of king George I.—*He is proclaimed.*—*The parliament meets.*—*Addreſſes, with the king's anſwers.*—*Civil liſt ſettled.*—*Public credit reſtor'd.*—*The French king owns king George.*—*Bolingbroke renov'd.*—*His acceſſion notified to the States.*—*Affairs of Hanover before the queen's death.*—*The king ſets out for England.*—*Situation of affairs at his acceſſion.*—*Commotions in Scotland.*—*The king's declaration in council.*—*His coronation.*—*Affair of Dunkirk.*—*The pretender's manifeſto.*—*Religious diſputes.*—*The parliament diſſolv'd, and another call'd.*—*Earl of Strafford's papers ſeiz'd, and Prior call'd home.*—*Elections in England and Scotland.*—*The parliament meets.*—*The king's firſt ſpeech.*—*Debates about the addreſſes.*—*Behaviour of the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke.*—*Biſhop Burnet dies.*—*King's proclamation objected to.*—*Papers of the late miniſtry laid before the houſe.*—*Death and character of the marquis of Wharton.*—*The great eclipſe.*—*Debate about the civil liſt.*—*About penſions.*—*About the land-forces.*—*Affairs at ſea.*—*Death of the earl of Halifax.*—*Several debates.*—*Report of the ſecret committee.*—*Bolingbroke, Oxford, Strafford and Ormond*

mond are impeach'd.—Oxford's defence.—Sent to the tower.—The proclamation-act againſt tumults.—Twenty-one regiments rais'd.—Debates about the impeachments.—Act to incourage loyalty in Scotland.

30. GEORGE I.

1714. Account and character of king George I.

THE illuſtrious houſe of Hanover entirely owe their advancement to the throne of Great-Britain, to the effectual meaſures taken by king William and queen Anne, for the excluſion of all catholic princes. Had not the order of the ſucceſſion been changed, and ſuppoſing the doubtfulneſs of the pretender's birth a ſufficient reaſon to ſet him aſide, the houſe of Savoy would have been in poſſeſſion of the Britiſh dominions, as they derive their right from the princeſs Henrietta, Daughter of king Charles I. whereas the houſe of Hanover are deſcended from the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of king James I. Nor was it out of any particular regard to the dukes of Hanover, that the Engliſh nation agreed to alter the ſucceſſion, but out of a belief, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of the ſtate. All catholics were therefore declared incapable of ſucceeding to the crown, and conſequently the ſucceſſion was eſtabliſhed in the proteſtant branches. Upon this foundation it was, that, the duke of Gloceſter being dead, the princeſs Sophia was acknowledged for lawful heir to the imperial crown of Great-Britain.

Though this change of the ſucceſſion has been exclaimed againſt by many, it is built on very ſtrong reaſons. In catholic countries, a proteſtant king will not be endured: why therefore ſhould a proteſtant ſtate be obliged to ſuffer a catholic king? Are there not between ſovereign and ſubjects, mutual obligations? And is not the preſervation of religion one of the greateſt? If the catholics think their religion unſafe under a proteſtant prince, has not experience taught the proteſtants, that their religion can never be ſecure under a catholic prince? What the nation had ſuffered from the zeal of king James to introduce his religion, did it not ſufficiently juſtify their fears and precautions? To maintain the proteſtant ſucceſſion againſt the pretended heir, and ſeveral others, who, after his deceaſe, might put in their claim, the beſt meaſures were taken. Of theſe, the moſt effectual was the humbling the [illegible]tant power

power of France, by which king James and his pretended son were protected. Lewis XIV. was at laſt forced to abandon their defence, and acknowledge the proteſtant ſucceſſion. All the other ſtates, enemies of France, rejoiced at the revolution, and made it their intereſt to ſupport it. The union of Scotland with England had the ſame end, and was ſo eagerly deſired by king William, only that the Scots might ceaſe to wiſh for a ſeparate king, and concur with the Engliſh in the ſucceſſion they had eſtabliſhed. 1714.

Purſuant to the act of ſucceſſion, George Lewis, ſon of Erneſt Auguſtus, firſt elector of Brunſwick, Lunenburgh, by the princeſs Sophia, grandaughter of king James I. aſcended the throne on the death of queen Anne. His mature age, being then fifty-four years old (n), his experience, his perſonal qualities, his numerous family, the general peace then in Europe, the intereſt his allies had to ſupport him, ſeemed to promiſe him a quiet and peaceable reign; but, however, he was not without his diſturbances. This prince had great talents for a crown, and had not failed to exert them on occaſion. He was concerned in all the affairs of Germany, and always came off with advantage. The great ſervices he had done for the emperor Leopold, determined the emperor Joſeph, his ſucceſſor, to uſe all his power to procure him admittance into the electoral college: and the emperor Charles, ſucceſſor of Joſeph, cauſed him to be acknowledged elector by Lewis XIV. and by the electors of Cologn and Bavaria, who, till the treaty of Raſtadt, had refuſed him that title. He had waged war in perſon and with ſucceſs. His campaign on the Rhine in 1709 was glorious, and would have been much more ſo, had not the too great bravery of count Merci diſappointed his project of ſending aid to the duke of Savoy, to enable him to penetrate into la Franche Comté. This prince had an excellent ſpirit and noble ſentiments: he was much more ſenſible of ſervices than of injuries; courageous, little capable of diſſembling or hiding his thoughts; my maxim (ſaid he, ſoon after his arrival in England) 'is never to 'abandon my friends, to do juſtice to all the world, and 'to fear no man.' To theſe valuable qualities he joined a great application to buſineſs, and a ſincere deſire to render his ſubjects happy.

All theſe virtues together had gained him the reſpect and love of his German ſubjects, who were all ſubmiſſive to his will; and their obedience had nothing of conſtraint, becauſe

(n) He was born May 28 1660.

1714. his commands were always reaſonable, and dictated both by equity and goodneſs.

As ſoon as queen Anne had reſigned her laſt breath, the privy-council met, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and reſident Kreyenberg (in whoſe hands they were lodged) procured the elector of Brunſwick's three inſtruments, nominating the perſons to be added, as lords juſtices, to the ſeven great officers of the realm (o).

After the opening of the inſtruments, a proclamation was iſſued, declaring that the high and mighty prince George, elector of Brunſwick-Lunenburg, was, by the death of queen Anne, become our lawful and rightful liege lord, king of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland. This proclamation was ſigned by above a hundred lords and gentlemen, ſeveral of whom, in leſs than a year, entered into treaſonable plots to deprive the king of his right, and broke out into open rebellion againſt him.

The king is proclaimed. Aug. 1.

King George was proclaimed at the uſual places, and with the uſual ſolemnities, in the cities of London and Weſtminſter. The ſtreets were crowded with multitudes of people, and no diſorder was committed. The ſame day the lords-juſtices appointed the earl of Dorſet to carry the king the news of his inauguration, and to attend him in his journey to England.

The king is proclaimed in Scotland, Aug. 4.

The earl of Ila, lord juſtice-general of North-Britain, having received notice of the queen's death, and orders to proclaim the king, went to the lodgings of the duke of Mon-

(o) The great officers were:
Dr. Tenniſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury,
Lord chancellor Harcourt,
John Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamſhire, lord-preſident.
Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury, lord-treaſurer.
William Legg, earl of Dartmouth, lord privy-ſeal,
Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty,
Sir Thomas Parker, lord chief-juſtice of the king's bench.

To theſe were added, by the elector of Brunſwick, in the inſtrument under his own hand, the following perſons:
Duke of Shrewſbury,
Duke of Somerſet,
Duke of Bolton,
Duke of Devonſhire,
Duke of Kent,
Duke of Argyle,
Duke of Montroſe,
Duke of Roxburgh,
Earl of Pomfret,
Earl of Angleſey,
Earl of Carliſle,
Earl of Nottingham,
Earl of Abingdon,
Earl of Scarborough,
Earl of Orford,
Lord viſcount Townſhend,
Lord Halifax,
Lord Cowper.

troſe

troſe (one of the lords of the regency) where he found the marquis of Tweedale, and ſeveral other lords and perſons of diſtinction, who, with the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, and the officers of the ſtate, cauſed the king to be proclaimed with great ceremony. 1714.

Two days after the lords-juſtices of Ireland, the archbiſhop of Armagh, and Sir Conſtantine Phipps, having received the like notice, proclaimed the king on the 6th of Auguſt at Dublin. At the ſame time, they iſſued a proclamation for diſarming papiſts, and ſeizing their horſes. and in Ireland, Aug. 6.

There was not the leaſt diſturbance or interruption given in any place to the proclaiming of the king; only at Oxford, the mayor received a letter brought by a perſon in a batchelor's gown, requiring him to proclaim the pretender (p). The mayor communicated this letter to the vice-chancellor, and both of them tranſmitted copies of it to Mr. ſecretary Bromley, repreſentative for the univerſity of Oxford, who ſent them letters of thanks. The vice-chancellor alſo offered a reward of a hundred pounds to the diſcoverer of the author.

In the mean time, the lords of the regency finding the nation much expoſed by the ill condition of the army and fleet, took all poſſible precautions to guard againſt a ſurprize. They diſpatched ſuch officers of the army, as they could truſt, to their reſpective poſts; gave orders to reinforce the garriſon of Portſmouth, and ſent veſſels out to view the harbours of France. They choſe Mr. Joſeph Addiſon to be their ſecretary, and ordered all diſpatches, directed to the ſecretary of ſtate, to be ſent to him. This was particularly mortifying to the lord Bolingbroke, who was now obliged to ſtand at the door of the council-chamber with his bag and papers, and to receive orders from thoſe, whom, a few days before, he expected to command. Precautions taken. Annals.

The parliament met at Weſtminſter, the afternoon of the very day the queen died, purſuant to the act, which regulated the ſucceſſion. The ſpeaker being in Wales, it The parliament meets. Aug. 1. Pr. H. C.

(p) In the letter were theſe expreſſions:

'This is to warn you, if you 'ſhould receive an order to pro 'claim Hanover, not to comply 'with it, for the hand of God 'is now at work to ſet things 'upon a right foot, and in a 'few days you will ſee wonderful changes; which if you 'are wiſe enough to foreſee, 'you will obtain grace and favour from the hands of his 'ſacred majeſty king James, '&c.'

1714. was moved by Mr. ſecretary Bromley, that the houſe ſhould adjourn to the Wedneſday following. But this motion, though ſeconded, was anſwered by Sir Richard Onſlow, that time was too precious for any to be loſt at ſo critical a juncture. And therefore the houſe adjourned only to the next day.

The lord chancellor's ſpeech to both houſes.

On the 5th of Auguſt, the lords-juſtices came to the houſe of peers, where the lord-chancellor, in their name, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

"IT having pleaſed almighty God to take to himſelf "our late moſt gracious queen of bleſſed memory, we "hope, that nothing has been omitted, which might con- "tribute to the ſafety of theſe realms, and the preſervation "of our religion, laws, and liberties, in this great con- "juncture. As theſe invaluable bleſſings have been ſecur- "ed to us by thoſe acts of parliament, which have ſettled "the ſucceſſion of theſe kingdoms in the moſt illuſtrious "houſe of Hanover; we have regulated our proceedings by "thoſe rules, which are therein preſcribed.

"The privy-council, ſoon after the demiſe of the late "queen, aſſembled at St. James's, where, according to the "ſaid acts, the three inſtruments were produced and open- "ed, which had been depoſited in the hands of the arch- "biſhop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, and the reſi- "dent of Brunſwick. Thoſe, who, either by their offices, "or by virtue of theſe inſtruments, had the honour of be- "ing appointed lords-juſtices, did in conjunction with the "council, immediately proceed to the proclaiming of our "lawful and rightful ſovereign king George, taking, at "the ſame time, the neceſſary care to maintain the pub- "lic peace.

"In purſuance of the acts before-mentioned, this par- "liament is now aſſembled, and we are perſuaded, you "all bring with you ſo hearty a diſpoſition for his maje- "ſty's ſervice, and the public good, that we cannot doubt "of your aſſiſtance in every thing, which may promote "thoſe great ends.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"We find it neceſſary to put you in mind, that ſeveral "branches of the public revenue are expired by the de-

miſe

" miſe of her late majeſty; and to recommend to you 1714.
" the making ſuch proviſions in that reſpect, as may be
" requiſite to ſupport the honour and dignity of the crown:
" and we aſſure ourſelves, you will not be wanting in any
" thing, that may conduce to the eſtabliſhing and ad-
" vancing of the public credit.

My lords and gentlemen,

" We forbear laying before you any thing, that does
" not require your immediate conſideration, not having
" received his majeſty's pleaſure. We ſhall only exhort
" you, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, to a perfect unani-
" mity, and a firm adherence to our ſovereign's intereſt,
" as being the only means to continue among us our pre-
" ſent happy tranquillity."

The commons being returned to their houſe, Mr. Secretary Bromley moved for an addreſs of condolance and congratulation, inſiſting much on the great loſs the nation had ſuſtained by the death of the late queen. Mr. Robert Walpole moved for ſomething more ſubſtantial, 'to give 'the king aſſurances of their making good all parliamen-'tary funds;' and Mr. Onſlow, afterwards lord Onſlow, very juſtly obſerved, 'That the ſtreſs of the addreſs ought 'not to lie upon condoling, but upon congratulating and 'giving the king aſſurances of their maintaining both 'his majeſty's undoubted title to the crown, and public 'credit.' Accordingly, inſtructions were given for drawing up the following addreſs, which was unanimouſly agreed to the next day:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

" WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, The addreſs
" the commons of Great-Britain in parliament aſ- of the com-
" ſembled, having a juſt ſenſe of the great loſs the nation mons.
" has ſuſtained by the death of our late ſovereign lady Pr. H. C.
" queen Anne, of bleſſed memory, humbly crave leave to
" condole with your majeſty on this ſad occaſion.

" It would but aggravate our ſorrow, particularly to
" enumerate the virtues of that pious and moſt excellent
" princeſs; the duty we owe to your majeſty, and to our
" country, oblige us to moderate our grief, and heartily
" to congratulate your majeſty's acceſſion to the throne;
" whoſe princely virtues give us a certain proſpect of fu-

1714. "ture happineſs in the ſecurity of our religion, laws, and "liberties, and engage us to aſſure your majeſty, that we "will, to our utmoſt, ſupport your undoubted right to "the imperial crown of this realm, againſt the pretender "and all other perſons whatſoever.

"Your faithful commons cannot but expreſs their im-"patient deſire for your majeſty's ſafe arrival and preſence "in Great-Britain.

"In the mean time, we humbly lay before your ma-"jeſty the unanimous reſolution of this houſe, to main-"tain the public credit of the nation, and effectually to "make good all funds which have been granted by par-"liament, for the ſecurity of any money which has been, "or ſhall be advanced for the public ſervice, and to en-"deavour, by every thing in our power, to make your "majeſty's reign happy and glorious."

The ſame day, the houſe of peers agreed upon the following addreſs:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

Addreſs of the lords. Pr. H. L. "WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, "the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſ-"ſembled, though deeply ſenſible of the great loſs theſe "nations have ſuſtained, by the demiſe of her late ma-"jeſty of bleſſed memory, think it our duty, at the ſame "time, with thankful hearts to almighty God, to con-"gratulate your majeſty upon your happy and peaceable "acceſſion to the throne: and we do, with the utmoſt "loyalty and duty, aſſure your majeſty of our zealous "and firm reſolutions to ſupport your undoubtedly rightful "and lawful title to the crown, againſt all enemies and "pretenders whatſoever.

"Our zeal and affection for your majeſty's ſervice "engage us to exert ourſelves with all vigour and unani-"mity for ſecuring the public ſafety; and we will always, "to the utmoſt of our power, maintain the honour and "dignity of your crown. And we do, with faithful "hearts, beſeech your majeſty, as ſoon as poſſible, to "give us your royal preſence, which we are perſuaded "will be attended with all other bleſſings to your king-"doms."

This

This addreſs having been tranſmitted by the lords-juſtices to the king, he returned this anſwer: 1714.

GEORGE R.

" I take this firſt opportunity to return you my hearty " thanks for your addreſs, and the aſſurances you have " given me therein. The king's anſwer to the lords addreſs.

" The zeal and unanimity you have ſhewn, upon my " acceſſion to the crown, are great encouragements to " me; and I ſhall always eſteem the continuance of them " as one of the greateſt bleſſings of my reign.

" No one can be more truly ſenſible than I am, of the " loſs ſuſtained by the death of the late queen, whoſe " exemplary piety and virtue ſo much endeared her to her " people, and for whoſe memory I ſhall always have a par- " ticular regard.

" My beſt endeavours ſhall never be wanting to repair " this loſs to the nation. I will make it my conſtant care " to preſerve your religion, laws, and liberties inviolable, " and to advance the honour and proſperity of my king- " doms.

" I am haſtening to you, according to your deſire, ſo " affectionately expreſſed in your addreſs."

The addreſs of the commons being alſo tranſmitted to the king, he returned the following anſwer:

GEORGE R.

" Your dutiful and loyal addreſs is very acceptable to " me. The unanimity and affection my commons have " ſhewn, upon my acceſſion to the crown, are moſt " agreeable inſtances and pledges of their fidelity to me. " I have a juſt ſenſe of your inexpreſſible loſs, by the " death of your late ſovereign. You may be aſſured of " my conſtant endeavours to ſecure to you the full enjoy- " ment of your religion, laws, and liberties; and that it " will always be my aim to make you an happy and flou- " riſhing people; to which your reſolution to maintain the " public credit of the nation will greatly contribute. I am " haſtening to you, according to your earneſt deſire, and " the juſt expectations of my people." The king's anſwer to the commons addreſs.

The

1714. The tories, on pretence of ſhewing extraordinary zeal for the new government, propoſed the giving the king a million ſterling for the civil liſt, which was 300,000 l. more than the late queen had enjoyed. But, though no direct oppoſition was then made to that motion, yet it was afterwards dropped; the wiſeſt of the king's friends knowing, that the tories would take occaſion from thence to reproach him, as oppreſſing the nation by a higher revenue than the queen, as they afterwards ſuggeſted in their libel, called, Engliſh advice. For this reaſon, the propoſal for the ſame ſum as had been granted to the queen was approved, and a bill for that purpoſe, being brought in, paſſed with great diſpatch. While the bill was depending, Mr. Horatio Walpole moved, that the committee ſhould have power to receive two clauſes; one for the payment of the arrears due to the Hanover troops in Engliſh pay, being 65,000 l. the other for 100,000 l. to be paid by the treaſury, to any perſon that ſhould apprehend the pretender, if he ſhould land, or attempt to land in any of the king's dominions. Sir William Wyndham ſeconded Mr. Walpole as to the arrears; and Mr. Shippen very frankly owned, he had oppoſed that payment in the late reign, but that he was for it now. Mr. Aldworth, member of parliament for new Windſor, ſupported likewiſe the motion; but, as if he deſigned to expoſe the members, who, at this juncture, appeared ſo forward to pay thoſe very troops, which, a few months before, they had treated as runaways, he ſaid, 'That, for his part, he had formerly been againſt 'the payment, becauſe he had been given to underſtand, 'in that very houſe, that thoſe troops were deſerters; but 'that he had ſince been informed, they were hired to fight, 'and had ſerved well as long as there was fighting: and if, 'when they came in ſight of the enemy, they, who hired 'them, would not ſuffer them to fight, he did not ſee any 'reaſon, why they ſhould be called deſerters.' As to the clauſe, for giving 100,000 l. to ſuch, as ſhould apprehend the pretender, Mr. C—n ſaid, the next day, 'That he 'was not the day before in the houſe, when that clauſe 'was moved; but, if he had been preſent, he would have 'oppoſed it, becauſe, in his opinion, the proteſtant ſucceſſion was no longer in danger, ſince his majeſty's peaceable acceſſion to the throne:' and he was ſo poſitive in this aſſertion, that he defied all the houſe to prove the contrary. He was ſeconded by Mr. Shippen; but Mr. Pulteney, and after him the lord Lumley, made it clearly appear,

The tories propoſe a million for the civil liſt.

The civil liſt ſettled. Pr. H. C.

Aug. 14.

'That

'That the proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger, as long as 1714.
'there was a popiſh pretender, who had many friends both
'at home and abroad: that the late queen was ſenſible of
'that danger, when ſhe iſſued out her proclamation againſt
'him; and that the caſe was not altered by her majeſty's
'demiſe: that the nation would be at no charge, if the
'pretender did not attempt to land; and, if he did,
'100,000l. would be well beſtowed to apprehend him.'
To this Mr. C—n made no reply.

A letter from the king.

Mr. Craggs, who, the day before the queen died, had been diſpatched to Hanover, returned, the 13th of Auguſt, with letters from the king to the lords-juſtices: upon which they went to the houſe of peers; and the chancellor, in their name, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The chancellor's ſpeech to both houſes upon it. Aug. 13.

"IT is with great ſatisfaction we can now tell you, that we have this morning received a letter from the king, wherein his majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to acquaint us, that his majeſty is haſtening hither, to employ his utmoſt care for putting theſe kingdoms into a happy and flouriſhing condition.

"He has commanded us, in the mean time, to continue our care of every thing, that may conduce to the peace and ſafety of his dominions. And we are aſſured, that, if this had required his more immediate preſence, he would, without the leaſt delay, have repaired hither, for the ſupport of ſo dutiful and faithful ſubjects. For his majeſty does very particularly expreſs his great ſatisfaction in the loyalty and affection, which his people have univerſally ſhewn upon his majeſty's acceſſion to the crown.

"At the opening this ſeſſion, we did not mention to you the apprehenſions we then had, from the ſmallneſs of the ſum at that time advanced, that the lottery would not be full, being deſirous, in the firſt place, to try to make it effectual in the manner the parliament had eſtabliſhed it. But we are obliged now to acquaint you, that all our endeavours have failed of the deſired ſucceſs, though the contributions have been thereby conſiderably increaſed.

"We muſt therefore earneſtly recommend to you, gentlemen of the houſe of commons, to take this into your conſideration, and to give ſuch further encouragement, as you ſhall think proper, for raiſing the whole ſum,

"which

1714. "which was intended, and is abſolutely neceſſary for carrying on the ſervice of the year."

The public credit reſtored. Pol. St.

The parliament had, before the queen's death, paſſed an act for a lottery for 1, 400, 000l. but public credit was then ſo low, that not above ſixty or ſeventy thouſand pounds had been ſubſcribed. This was occaſioned partly by the diffidence of the monied-men in the late adminiſtration, and partly by the low intereſt allowed for the blank tickets. The lords of the regency and privy-council, to reſtore public credit, and fill the lottery, went in a body to the bank, and ſubſcribed large ſums themſelves, which was ſuch an encouragement to others to follow their example, that above 700, 000l. was ſubſcribed in two days; and the parliament, purſuant to the king's deſire, giving further encouragement by making a ſmall addition to the intereſt for the blank tickets, one per cent. only, the remainder was ſubſcribed in a few days more.

Addreſſes of thanks for the king's letter were voted by both houſes, and ſent to Hanover by the lords-juſtices, who, about a week after, came to the houſe of peers to paſs the money-bills, that were ready for the royal aſſent. The ſpeaker, upon preſenting the civil liſt and lottery bills, made a remarkable ſpeech (q), and, the buſineſs of the ſeſſion being

(q) The ſpeech was as follows:

My Lords,

'The knights, citizens, and 'burgeſſes of Great-Britain in 'parliament aſſembled, under 'the preſent happineſs they en- 'joy by his majeſty's peaceable 'and quiet acceſſion to the 'throne, could not enter upon 'any work more ſatisfactory 'and pleaſing to themſelves, 'than the providing a ſufficient 'revenue for the occaſions of 'his majeſty's civil govern- 'ment, in order to make his 'reign as eaſy and proſperous, 'as the beginning of it hath 'been ſecure and undiſturbed.

'They are ſenſible, that the 'peace of the kingdom is not 'to be preſerved, nor the rights 'and liberties of the ſubjects to 'be protected, without ſupport- 'ing the juſt authority and dig- 'nity of the crown: and there- 'fore they have thought it their 'intereſt, as well as duty, to 'make ſuch a proviſion, as 'may not barely ſuffice to the 'neceſſity of the government, 'but may be ſuitable to the 'ſtate, the honour and luſtre 'which the crown of Great- 'Britain ought to be attended 'with.

'Whatſoever is ſuperfluous 'in that proviſion, and more 'than the ordinary ſervices of 'his majeſty ſhall require, will but

'inable

being finiſhed, the lords-juſtices prorogued the parliament to the 3d of September. 1714.

Thus ended the ſecond and laſt ſeſſion of the fourth par- The parliament is prorogued, Aug. 25.

'inable him to exert his high-
'eſt and moſt valuable preroga-
'tive of doing good: and we
'can give no greater proof of
'the truſt we repoſe in his ma-
'jeſty's gracious diſpoſition,
'than putting the ſame intire
'revenue into his hands, which
'her late majeſty died poſſeſſed
'of; whoſe virtues we all ad-
'mired, and of whoſe affection
'and concern for the religion,
'laws, and liberties of this king-
'dom, we had ſo long expe-
'rience.

'As the crown itſelf deſcends
'immediately, and knows no
'vacancy, the commons have
'taken care, that the revenue
'ſhould follow it as cloſe as
'poſſible; for they have given
'all the diſpatch to this grant,
'which the forms of their pro-
'ceedings would allow. So that
'when his majeſty ſhall pleaſe
'to anſwer the impatient de-
'ſires of his people, by coming
'to take poſſeſſion of his king-
'doms, he will find himſelf
'equally eſtabliſhed in theſe
'revenues, as if he had ſuc-
'ceeded to all by an uninter-
'rupted right of inheritance.
'The only difference is this,
'that, if he had inherited them,
'he would have wanted one
'ſingle proof of the duty, and
'affection, and unanimity of
'his ſubjects.

'Our deſire is, that this may
'be looked upon as an earneſt
'and pledge of that zeal and
'fidelity, which we ſhall always
'retain, and which, upon every
'occaſion, we ſhall be ready to
'demonſtrate to his majeſty's
'perſon and government: as
'ſuch, we hope his majeſty
'will graciouſly accept it at this
'time; and hereafter, when he
'ſhall have had experience of
'this firſt voluntary offering of
'his loyal commons, we hope
'he will find it to his ſatisfac-
'tion, as large and as ample as
'he could wiſh, might but the
'term of the grant be as long
'as we could wiſh, ſince it is to
'have equal continuance with
'his majeſty's life.

'My lords, the bill, which
'the commons have paſſed for
'the purpoſes I have mention-
'ed, is intitled, An act for the
'better ſupport of his majeſty's
'houſhold, and of the honour
'and dignity of the crown of
'Great-Britain.

'They have alſo prepared
'another bill, as well for rec-
'tifying miſtakes in the names
'of the commiſſioners for the
'land-tax, as for raiſing ſo much
'as is wanting to make up the
'ſum of fourteen hundred thou-
'ſand pounds, intended to be
'raiſed by a lottery, for the
'public ſervice, in the year
'1714. This having been re-
'commended to their care, and
'appearing to them to be ne-
'ceſſary for his majeſty's and
'the public ſervice, they have
'reaſon to think they have now
'abundantly ſupplied the de-
'fects in the former proviſion;
'and in this aſſurance they
'humbly preſent this bill alſo
'for the royal aſſent.'

liament

1714. liament of Great-Britain, and the laſt of queen Anne's reign.

The French envoy afraid of inſults. Hiſt. Reg.

The French miniſter, monſieur d'Iberville, who had behaved himſelf with great haughtineſs, was, upon the queen's death, ſeized with ſuch an apprehenſion of being inſulted by the people in his own houſe, that he ſent a letter to the duke of Ormond, to deſire his protection; and, the duke acquainting the lords-juſtices with it, ſome of the trained-bands were ordered to guard his houſe. That miniſter had, before he received any orders from his court, aſſured the regency, 'That his maſter would inviolably maintain the 'treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly with re-'lation to the ſettlement of the Britiſh crown in the houſe 'of Hanover.' And the earl of Peterborough, who arrived in London from France on the 7th of Auguſt, told ſome of the regency, that the French king had given him the like aſſurance; Mr. Prior, having likewiſe, by orders of the regency, notified the queen's death to the French king, received the ſame anſwer. Some days after, Iberville received a letter from the marquis de Torcy, approving what he had done; and another from the French king to the Britiſh regency with the ſame aſſurance, importing likewiſe,

The French king owns king George.

'That having been informed, that reports had been ſpread, 'as if he deſigned to make alterations in the late renuncia-'tions, he thought fit to declare, as he had already done to 'the earl of Peterborough, that theſe reports were altoge-'ther falſe and groundleſs: that, the king of Spain having 'ſent the cardinal del Guidice as ambaſſador to France, 'which might create ſome ſuſpicions, his moſt chriſtian 'majeſty had deſired the king, his grandſon, to recal him: 'and that the elector of Brunſwick having, ſome time be-'fore the death of the queen, ſignified to his moſt chriſtian 'majeſty, that, whenever his ſucceſſion to the crown of 'Great-Britain ſhould take place, he would cultivate a 'friendſhip with his moſt chriſtian majeſty, he (the king of 'France) on his part, aſſured the lords-juſtices, that he 'would do all that lay in his power to maintain a good in-'telligence and amity between the two crowns.' But,

The anſwer, which Mr. Prior received about the Catalans, was not altogether ſo agreeable to England. The regency had wrote to the court of France, 'That, his 'moſt chriſtian majeſty having promiſed to interpoſe his 'good offices with the king of Spain in favour of the Cata-'lans, they were ſurprized to find, that, inſtead of that,

'his

'his moſt chriſtian majeſty had ſent his troops to aſſiſt thoſe 1714.
'of his grandſon, in the reduction of Barcelona; and that
'they hoped, his moſt chriſtian majeſty would make good
'his promiſes, and conſider the ill conſequences of his ſuf-
'fering his forces to act againſt a people, who were under
'the protection of the crown of Great-Britain.' To this Mr. Prior received an anſwer, 'That the moſt chriſtian
'king had already made good his engagements in behalf of
'the Catalans: that their obſtinacy was the cauſe of all the
'misfortunes, that might befal them: and that his glory
'would not ſuffer him to recal his troops from before Bar-
'celona.' Some days before this anſwer was tranſmitted to England, the marquis d'Almanza, one of the deputies from the principality of Catalonia, made application to the lords-juſtices, and communicated to them a letter he had received from the governor of Majorca, with an account of the condition of the city of Barcelona. Upon which they ordered, that a copy of the letter, which they had written to the court of France, ſhould be communicated to the marquis; and he was farther aſſured, that directions had been ſent to admiral Wiſhart, not to moleſt the inhabitants of Barcelona, or hinder any relief to be brought to them by ſea.

The lords-juſtices were ſenſible how little the French king's aſſurances, that he would not diſturb the proteſtant ſucceſſion, were to be relied on; and therefore, though they had ſent a reinforcement to the garriſon of portſmouth, under the command of colonel Pocock, they ordered another draught of five hundred out-penſioners of Chelſea-hoſpital to march thither, under the command of colonel Jones; and, at the ſame time, ordered the juſtices of the peace of London and Weſtminſter to take exact liſts of the popiſh recuſants, and to ſeize their arms and horſes; and, upon the landing of the ſeven Britiſh battalions from Oſtend, a battalion of the earl of Orkney's royal regiment of Fuſileers was commanded to march to portſmouth, which made a ſtrength ſufficient for the defence of that important place.

The ill conduct of the late miniſtry with relation to the treaty of commerce with Spain ſoon appeared. For, on the 19th of Auguſt, the merchants, trading to that kingdom, laid before the regency the difficulties under which they laboured, by means of a large donative which king Philip was about to extort from the Britiſh and other merchants

Complaints of the merchants againſt the king of Spain. Hiſt. Reg.

1714. chants (r). This increaſed the general indignation againſt the managers of the Spaniſh treaty, who had ſettled our trade to Spain in ſo precarious a manner, as made it ſubject to the will and pleaſure of the king of Spain, whoſe miniſters believed themſelves ſo ſecure of ours in England, that they thought they might put any hardſhips on our merchants. But upon the news of the queen's ſudden death, and of the vigorous proceedings of the regency, they entertained other ſentiments, and recalled the orders they had given for exacting the donative.

Lord Bolingbroke removed.

About the ſame time, Mr. Murray arrived expreſs from Hanover, with an account, that the king had deferred his

(r) An account of this affair was publiſhed in the two following letters from Cadiz:

Cadiz, July 29.

'The king of Spain has demanded a donative in this 'place, and in other parts of 'Spain, and particularly of the 'Britiſh merchants and other 'foreigners inhabiting here; 'and their proportion of the 'donative is ſettled by a note 'left at each of their houſes, 'regulating what each perſon 'is to pay, which the merchants have refuſed to comply with, as being contrary to 'treaties, in force, and have 'repreſented the ſame to the 'king of Spain: But, inſtead of 'finding redreſs, they have had 'ſoldiers quartered upon them, 'and expect the number to be 'doubled every day, during 'the time they ſhall refuſe to 'pay the donative. However, 'they have reſolved to let their 'effects be ſeized, rather than 'comply with a demand ſo unjuſt 'in itſelf, and ſo diſhonourable to the britiſh nation, of 'which there is no precedent.

Cadiz, July 29.

'Our factory is inſulted the 'moſt that ever was yet expe'rienced from this govern'ment; a donative (or free 'gift) being endeavoured to be 'extorted by violence from us. 'To which effect our governor 'has put guards of ſoldiers in 'our houſes, threatening to 'double them at 8 rials value 'per diem, which amounts to 'half a dollar, until we pay 'the ſaid donative, which a'mounts to 125 pieces of eight 'on ſome, on others more or 'leſs. Thus the principal of 'our articles and privileges are 'trampled on. This is the re'ſpect ſhewn to our queen and 'nation, and the honourable 'uſage given to her ſubjects 'here. And what can be ex'pected for the future? We 'hope a ſudden and determined 'reſolution will be taken at 'the court of England, to get 'ſatisfaction for this arbitrary 'dragooning the Britiſh ſub'jects; and that a ſtop will 'be put to their ever pretend'ing here any more to ſuch an 'extortion and breach of pub'lic faith; otherwiſe no living, 'nor can we be ever ſecure 'here.' Hiſt. Reg.

departure

departure for ſome days; and brought ſeveral orders for the regency and council, particularly for the preparing a patent to create the prince royal, prince of Wales; and for removing the lord Bolingbroke from his office of ſecretary of ſtate; which was done on the laſt of Auguſt, with particular marks of diſpleaſure; three of the lords of the regency, the dukes of Shrewſbury and Somerſet, and the lord Cowper, having taken the ſeals from him, and locked and ſealed up all the doors of his office. 1714.

The union between England and Holland was ſo neceſſary for their mutual preſervation, that it was one of the firſt cares of the lords of the regency to notify to the States the queen's death, and his majeſty's peaceable acceſſion to the throne. This was done on the 4th of Auguſt by the earl of Strafford, the Britiſh ambaſſador in Holland, who made a ſpeech on the occaſion, wherein he obſerved, that, by the act of ſucceſſion, all officers were to continue in employment ſix months after the demiſe of the queen, unleſs the ſucceſſor otherwiſe diſpoſed of the offices; and that conſequently he remained ſtill ambaſſador of the crown of Great-Britain. Upon the arrival of Baron Bothmar's ſecretary with the news of the queen's death, monſieur Klingraef, the reſident of Hanover, preſented to the States a memorial, with a letter from the king, which was lodged in his hands, to be in readineſs, if there ſhould be occaſion, by which the king required of the States the performance of their guaranty of his ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain. The States aſſembled that very night, upon Klingraef's delivering the king's letter; and, the next day, came to a reſolution to return this anſwer, 'That as ſoon as they were informed 'of the ſickneſs and death of the queen, they immediately bethought themſelves of their engagements for 'the guaranty of the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-'Britain in the proteſtant line, as it was ſettled by acts 'of parliament. That, at the ſame time, they conſidered 'with themſelves, not only how much it concerns the 'kingdoms of Great-Britain, that the ſettlement of the 'ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line ſhould have intire effect, 'but alſo how deeply the proteſtant religion, the ſafety of 'their ſtate, and the liberty of all Europe, were intereſted 'therein. That therefore they unanimouſly reſolved to 'perform their engagements, and to execute all that by 'treaty of mutual guaranty they had promiſed. That as 'they received the account of the queen's death with 'grief,

The earl of Strafford notifies to the States the king's acceſſion.

Aug. 15, N. S.

1714. ‘ grief, ſo it was very acceptable news to them, that his ‘ electoral highneſs, as the next heir in the proteſtant line, ‘ was inſtantly proclaimed king by the unanimous advice ‘ of the council, and with the acclamations of the people. ‘ That they moſt heartily congratulate him thereupon, and ‘ wiſh him all further happy ſucceſſes in a proſperous reign. ‘ That from this good beginning they hope his majeſty will ‘ take peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdoms without any op- ‘ poſition. That, nevertheleſs, they were willing and ready ‘ to perform their engagements, and to take all proper ‘ meaſures with him for that end. That, it being likely his ‘ majeſty will ſpeedily go for England, they will be very ‘ glad, if he will pleaſe to take his journey through their ‘ dominions. That they will endeavour to facilitate his ‘ paſſage with all that is in their power; and that they will ‘ at all times ſhew the high eſteem they have for his majeſty's ‘ perſon and friendſhip; and that they have his intereſts as ‘ much at heart as their own.’ This reſolution was, with a letter to the king, delivered to the reſident of Hanover; and, at the ſame time, the States diſpatched letters to the ſeveral provinces, deſiring them forthwith to provide the neceſſary funds for ſetting out a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war; of which twelve, that were ſaid to be deſigned for the Baltic, were almoſt ready to put to ſea.

Treaty between Spain and Portugal procured by the regency.

About the middle of Auguſt, the count de Tarouca, ambaſſador plenipotentiary of Portugal, in a conference with the ſtates-deputies, notified to them the favourable declaration the regents of Great-Britain had cauſed to be made to Monſieur de Bruciado, the Portugueſe envoy at London, ‘ That Spain ſhould be obliged to conclude peace immedi- ‘ately with the crown of Portugal; or, in caſe of refuſal, ‘ his Portugueſe majeſty might depend upon being aſſiſted ‘ by the crown of Great-Britain, conformably to the treaty ‘ of defenſive alliance between theſe two crowns.’ This declaration having been reported to the ſtates-general, they cauſed aſſurances to be given to the Portugueſe miniſter, ‘ That ‘ they would readily concur in all meaſures his Britannic ‘ majeſty might judge proper to be taken, for obliging ‘ Spain to agree with Portugal, on fair and juſt conditions ‘ of peace.’ After theſe declarations, there was little difficulty in concluding the treaty between Spain and Portugal.

The earl of Strafford having received a letter from the king, to return the ſtates thanks for their reſolution about the guaranty, the earl, two days after, made a ſpeech to the

the ſtates, and, among other things ſaid, 'That they had 1714.
'thereby engaged the friendſhip of a king, which could
'not but be very advantageous to them, as well in regard
'to the neighbourhood and powerfulneſs of his kingdoms
'and ſtates, as with reſpect to his majeſty's perſonal me-
'rit, who, for his many excellent qualities, would be
'eſteemed and courted by all Europe, as well as loved and
'reſpected by his own ſubjects: and that as he was known
'to be a prince, who was a religious obſerver of his word,
'they might be aſſured, that, in gaining his friendſhip, they
'ſecured to themſelves a ſolid and laſting ſupport.'

The court of France, confounded by the queen's ſudden death, followed the beſt counſel, which, in the preſent condition of their affairs, they could take, which was, to acknowledge king George. Accordingly, beſides the forementioned declarations, monſieur de Chateauneuf, their ambaſſador at the Hague, made the earl of Strafford the uſual compliments of condolance upon the death of the queen, and, at the ſame time, thoſe of congratulation upon the king's acceſſion to the throne. And it is obſervable, that the pretender, who, by our miniſters and thoſe of France, had been put in hopes of carrying his point, as appears by his own declaration, and by what paſſed between our miniſters and the abbot Gaultier, was intirely diſappointed. For, upon the news, which he received the 14th of Auguſt, N. S. that the queen was either dead, or paſt recovery, he poſted immediately for Verſailles: but the king of France having notice of it, the marquis de Torcy ſent to tell him, 'That his moſt chriſtian majeſty was ſurprized at his being 'returned into his dominions, knowing the engagements 'he was under, in reſpect to the ſucceſſion of the crown of 'Great-Britain in the houſe of Hanover; and therefore de-'ſired him to quit his territories.' Upon this the pretender, having made a melancholy viſit to the queen-dowager of England at Chaillot, returned to Barleduc, under the deepeſt concern for the ill ſucceſs of his journey; and ſet out afterwards for the court of Lorrain at Luneville, from whence he went to Plombieres, to drink the waters of that place.

It will not be improper to take notice of ſome remarkable paſſages at Hanover, before the news of the queen's death reached that court. On the 26th of July, N. S. the earl of Clarendon, envoy extraordinary from the queen, arrived at Hanover; but, the elector being then at Herenhauſen, it was the 4th of Auguſt, N. S. before the earl was conducted thither to have his firſt audience: one reaſon of the

Affairs at Hanover before the news of the queen's death. Annals.

1714. delay was, that the king of Pruſſia arrived there incognito on the 30th of July, N. S. The cauſe of this interview between theſe two princes at this juncture was variouſly diſcourſed of; but, very probably, the deſign of it was to cultivate a good correſpondence between them, which their enemies had endeavoured to interrupt. The French court and ours knew, it would not be eaſy to defeat the proteſtant ſucceſſion, while theſe two families, which were both included in the intail, were united in affection and intereſt; and therefore they attempted to divide them, by propoſing to the king of Pruſſia's miniſter here, that his majeſty ſhould immediately ſucceed after the queen, if he would fall in with the meaſures of the two courts. But that king was too diſcerning to be caught in that ſnare: he knew, that their deſign was only to ſet the two families at variance, which muſt not only defeat the proteſtant ſucceſſion, but ruin the intereſt of the reformation, render the two families incapable of ſupporting their own or their country's intereſt againſt the deſigns of France and Sweden, and facilitate the pretender's way to the throne of Great-Britain. He therefore not only rejected the propoſal, but likewiſe aſſured the elector of Hanover, that he would aſſiſt him with all his power to maintain his title to the Britiſh crown; and having concerted meaſures with him for their common intereſt, returned to Berlin, the 3d of Auguſt, N. S.

Mr. Craggs, who had been ſent to Hanover with an account of the queen's dangerous illneſs, arrived there on the 16th of Auguſt, N. S. and went directly to Herenhauſen with the privy-council's letter to the king. The ſame night three other expreſſes arrived at Hanover; two to the king, and one to the earl of Clarendon, with the news of the queen's death; which the earl communicated to him at two o'clock in the morning. This was confirmed, four hours after, by the arrival of monſieur Godike, ſecretary to baron Bothmar, with the farther account of his majeſty's being proclaimed king of Great-Britain in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, without the leaſt ſhew of oppoſition. The king received this news, ſo much to his glory and advantage, with a ſerenity of countenance and compoſure of mind, peculiar to him. The baron de Rhede, his firſt chamberlain, was immediately diſpatched to Berlin, to deſire an interview with the king of Pruſſia, before his departure for Holland. But, that prince, having begun his journey to Koningſberg in Pruſſia, before the baron's arrival at Berlin, the interview was prevented. However, as

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ſoon as the king of Pruſſia received from the Hague the news of the queen's death, and of the proclaiming of king George, he immediately declared his reſolution to contribute his aſſiſtance to the maintaining of that ſucceſſion, in caſe it ſhould be diſputed; and ſent orders to his miniſters at the ſeveral courts, particularly to Mr. Bonnet, his reſident at London, to notify, 'That, as his majeſty had conſtantly declared himſelf in favour of the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the crown of Great-Britain, ſo now he was affected with peculiar joy to hear, that the ſettlement of that crown had, in due time, taken effect, by the proclaiming of king George; the rather, becauſe it viſibly tended to the promoting the proteſtant religion, and the true intereſt and welfare of the Britiſh nation: and that, in caſe of need, he was ready to employ all the power which God had put into his hands, in aſſiſting to maintain that ſucceſſion againſt all, who might offer to diſpute it.' 1714.

The neighbouring princes and ſtates likewiſe either went in perſon, or ſent envoys and deputies to congratulate his majeſty's happy acceſſion to the crown; which occaſioned a great concourſe of people, and retarded the king's departure; the thoughts of which ſo afflicted the inhabitants of Hanover, who had ſo long enjoyed the bleſſings of his mild government, that they were inconſolable. The king, in order to alleviate their grief, cauſed intimation to be given to the magiſtrates, that they might aſk ſome favour of him; and, at their requeſt, the exciſe of proviſions was taken off, the debts of inſolvent debtors were diſcharged, and their perſons ſet at liberty.

The king having committed the government of his German dominions to a council, at the head of which he placed his brother, prince Erneſt, took into conſideration what part of the royal family he ſhould carry with him, and then determined, that the prince ſhould go with him; that the princeſs, his conſort, ſhould follow a few weeks after, with the two eldeſt princeſſes; and that the young prince Frederic George ſhould remain at Hanover with his youngeſt ſiſter. The king alſo named thoſe of the houſhold, who were to attend him to Great-Britain (s).

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(s) Theſe were, the baron de Kilmanſeck, maſter of the horſe; baron Bernſdorf, firſt miniſter of ſtate; baron de Goritz, preſident of the finances, and miniſter of ſtate; monſieur de Robethon, privy-counſellor to the king; count Platen, great chamberlain;

1714. The king sets out for England.

The king set out from Herenhausen the 31st of August, and in four days came to Utrecht, from whence he went to the Hague. He had there several conferences with the States, wherein the assurances, which had been mutually given by letters of friendship and effectual assistance, were confirmed (t). At length, on the 16th of September, the king and prince embarked at Orange-Polder, on board the Peregrine and the Mary Yatcht, which having, soon after, joined the squadron of English and Dutch men of war, that waited for them, under the command of the earl of Berkeley, they all sailed for England, with a fair wind; and, the next day, about nine in the evening, arrived safe at the Hope, where the admiral thought fit to drop anchor. There being a thick fog the Saturday morning, the yatcht did not go up the river till the afternoon. The king and prince went into a barge in Long Reach, and arrived at Greenwich about six o'clock in the evening. The duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lord chancellor, at the head of the lords of the regency, received him at his landing, and complimented him on his safe rrrival. The king chose to walk to his house in the park, accompanied by most of the nobility, and great numbers of the principal gentry, through an infinite crowd of persons of all conditions. Before he left his yatcht, he

lain; baron de Rhedo, great chamberlain; the marquis de la Foret, chamberlain; baron Schutz and his two brothers, one gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king, the other to the prince; monsieur Reiche, privy-counsellor, and secretary to his majesty; baron de Hartoff, counsellor of war; monsieur Schraden, secretary of ambassies; monsieur Hammerstein, gentleman of the king's bed-chamber; monsieur Kempe, gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince; two physicians, Dr. Steigerthal and Dr. Chappuzeau; two surgeons, and two valets de chambre.

(t) The marquis de Chateauneuf, ambassador of France, had an audience, among other foreign ministers, to compliment the king on his accession; and the report was, that he used these, among other civil expressions, 'There are yet a few 'difficulties to be removed, to 'put the finishing hand to the 'treaties yet depending; but 'your majesty shall be the arbi-'ter of the peace.' To which the king answered, 'I will 'be the guaranty of it.' The duke de Ossuna, and the marquis de Monteleone, plenipotentiaries of Spain, came from Utrecht to the Hague, to wait on the king, and had a private audience the 9th of September.

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appointed the earls of Dorſet and Berkeley to be lords of his bed-chamber, and knighted Mr. William Sanderſon, captain of the Peregrine. After the king had undergone the fatigue of paſſing through the crowd, and of giving his hand to all, who approached him, he retired to his bed-chamber, and ſent for ſeveral of the nobility, ſuch as had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal for his ſucceſſion. It was obſerved that the duke of Ormond, the lord chancellor, and the lord Trevor were not of that number. The earl of Oxford was not at Greenwich that evening, but was one of the earlieſt there the next morning; but had the misfortune to be undiſtinguiſhed among the croud, and, with great difficulty, had at laſt the bare honour of kiſſing his majeſty's hand, without exchanging a word with him. Nor did the earl eſcape ſuch reflections from the ſpectators, as his conduct had juſtly deſerved. On the other hand, the duke of Marlborough appeared there, juſtly favoured by the king, and looked upon (though not yet declared) as captain-general (u). The dukes of Shrewſbury, Somerſet, Bolton, Argyle, Montroſe, Rutland, and Montague; the marquis of Dorcheſter; the earls of Dorſet, Bridgewater, Sun- 1714.

(u) The duke of Marlborough, having been detained a fortnight at Oſtend by contrary winds, happened to land at Dover, the day the queen died. He knew nothing of the queen's death, no more than the mayor and jurats of Dover, by whom he was received in their formalities with the acclamations of the people, and with a diſcharge of a great number of guns from the plat-form, but none from the caſtle, which are uſed only in royal ſalutes. The reaſon of his coming at that time is not known for certain. He had been invited firſt by the lord-treaſurer Harley, and afterwards by the lord Bolingbroke, and great promiſes were made him. The compliment went ſo far, that orders were ſaid to be ſent to the commanders of the caſtles and forts on the coaſts of Kent, Eſſex, and Suffolk, to pay the ſame honours, by the firing of guns wherever he landed, as was done when he returned in triumph from his glorious campaigns. But it ſeems this ceremony was ſoon after countermanded by an expreſs. However, the duke conſented to make a kind of public entry. About two hundred inhabitants of Southwark, with their member at their head, reſolved to meet and attend him through the burrough. He was likewiſe attended as he paſſed through the city with the like number on horſeback. His coach happened to break down at temple-bar, and he was forced to go into another. He was cenſured by his enemies for this conduct, as if it was a ſort of inſult on the queen, who was but juſt dead.

1714. derland, Carliſle, Berkeley, Nottingham, Portland, Orford, Wharton, and Cholmondeley; the lord viſcount Townſhend; the lords Oſſulſtone, Sommers, and Halifax; the biſhop of Saliſbury; general Stanhope, Mr. Lechmere, and many others, received particular marks of favour; and the duke of Argyle was declared groom of the ſtole to his royal highneſs; colonel William Car and colonel Tyrrel, grooms of the bed-chamber; the earl of Hertford, the lord Finch, the lord Lumely, and colonel Oughton, gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the prince.

The king's entry. On the 20th of September, the king and prince of Wales made their entry with great pomp and magnificence. There were in the king's coach the prince and the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard in waiting. Above two hundred coaches of the nobility and gentry, all with ſix horſes, preceded the king's. When he came to St. Margaret's hill in Southwark, he was met by the lord-mayor, aldermen, recorder, ſheriffs, and officers of the city of London; in whoſe name Sir Peter King, recorder, made a congratulatory ſpeech. The lord-mayor delivered the ſword to the king, who returned it to him, and he bore it in the proceſſion bare-headed. The royal pomp continued till his arrival at his palace of St. James's, and was favoured by as fair a day as was ever known in that ſeaſon of the year.

The court was extremely numerous the next day, when, beſides the Britiſh nobility and gentry, ſeveral foreign miniſters made their appearance; particularly thoſe of France (x), Poland, Pruſſia, and Sicily, took that occaſion to congratulate his majeſty's happy acceſſion to the throne, and ſafe arrival in England (y).

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(x) Ibberville the French envoy ſaid on this occaſion, 'That, as ſoon as his majeſty's 'leiſure would permit, he would 'deſire an audience, to repeat 'to him the aſſurances, the mar-'quis de Chateauneuf had given 'his majeſty at the Hague, on 'the part of his moſt chriſtian 'majeſty.'

(y) An accident happened this day, which interrupted a little the gay humour the court was in. Charles Aldworth, member of parliament for Windſor, had imbibed, at St. Germain's in France, ſtrong prejudices againſt the Hanover ſucceſſion, which, at his return to England, he made no ſcruple of publiſhing, and confirmed them by frequent drinking the pretender's health. This drew upon him ſeveral quarrels, in which he met with ſome diſgraces; and, in the latter end of the queen's reign, he ſet ſo great value on that merit of his, that he

1714.

Before we proceed to the events of this reign, it will be proper to give a general idea of the ſtate of affairs in Great-Britain and Ireland.

Situation of affairs at king George's acceſſion.

The animoſity between the ſeveral parties, which even at this day divide England, was, at king George's acceſſion, higher than ever. The whigs, who had been in diſgrace the four laſt years of the queen's reign, were full of reſentment at the uſage they had received from the tories, and hoped to have full ſatisfaction under the new reign, which they looked upon as the end of their humiliation. The tories, on their part, were extremely apprehenſive of a downfall, and this apprehenſion had engaged ſeveral of their leaders in practices not only dangerous, but directly contrary to the meaſures, the nation had taken with the two laſt ſovereigns and the houſe of Hanover. To the views of theſe men were aſcribed the late peace with France, and the violence offered by the queen to her allies, to compel them to a reconciliation with that crown, and to the ſacrifice of the fruits of their victories.

Moreover, the principles of the revolution had been far from being univerſally embraced. Not only the papiſts eſpouſed the abdicated family, but alſo great numbers of churchmen; and it was much to be feared, that they would join with the catholicks, to dethrone a prince, whom they looked upon as a foreigner. The famous diſtinction of a king de jure, and a king de facto, was not yet forgot, nor the doctrine of paſſive obedience; and ſeveral refuſed to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration.

he thought himſelf not ſufficiently taken notice of, which made him a little intractable. He took liberties in railing at the old miniſtry; and, to ingratiate himſelf with their ſucceſſors, charged it as a crime in colonel Chudleigh of the foot-guards, that he had drank the duke of Marlborough's health. Colonel Chudleigh, the couſin of the other colonel, meeting unexpectedly Mr. Aldworth in the preſence-chamber at St. James's, expoſtulated with him about it; and, ſome by-ſtanders expreſſing their ſurprize, that men, who had publickly drank the pretender's health, ſhould dare to appear in that place, Mr. Aldworth came to hard words with colonel Chudleigh, and challenged him; upon which they both went out, and fought in Marybone-fields, notwithſtanding colonel Biſſet's endeavours to prevent it. Mr. Aldworth was killed on the ſpot; and the king being told of it, expreſſed his indignation at people's quarrelling in his palace; but ſaid, that, as he came to maintain the laws, he would leave the matter wholly to their deciſion.

Scot-

1714. Scotland was generally diſſatisfied with the union. They were apt to conſider themſelves as degraded to a province of England. They had always been pleaſed with the title of an independent kingdom, heartily lamented the loſs of it, and as heartily wiſhed to recover it. That the Scots ſhould, at king George's acceſſion, be in theſe ſentiments, is no great wonder, ſince it requires ages to root out of the minds of a nation ſuch ſort of impreſſions, however ill-grounded. Accordingly, the Scots began to ſhew their diſcontent ſoon after the queen's death, of which there is the following account: the regency having iſſued a proclamation for a reward of 100,000 *l.* for ſeizing the pretender, they were informed that the pretender's friends in Scotland deſigned an inſurrection; and that ſome of them had been ſeen to go in arms towards the highlands; upon which they ordered a good number of half-pay officers, eſpecially of thoſe belonging to the Scots regiments, to go thither immediately, that, in caſe of neceſſity, they might raiſe the militia of the country, under the orders of major-general Whetham, who commanded in chief there. Though this precaution was neceſſary, yet the Scots jacobites were ſo confounded, that they could do nothing conſiderable; ſo that the chief of them only held ſome conſultations, and retired to their lurking places. Some of the highlanders appeared in a body near Fort William at Inverlochy, in the weſtern highlands. But, the governor ſending out a detachment againſt them, they marched off; ſo that they could do nothing at that time in Scotland, but only ſteal ſome cattle, and took an opportunity by night to proclaim the pretender. The government ordered them to be proſecuted; and, by way of prevention, the duke of Gordon was confined by the regency to the city of Edinburgh, on his parole; his ſon the marquis of Huntley, to his houſe in the north; and his ſon-in-law, the lord Drummond, to his caſtle of that name. The duke of Athol, lord privy-ſeal, who had cauſed the king to be proclaimed at Perth, was ordered to continue at his caſtle of Blair in the highlands, to preſerve the peace of the neighbourhood: and the regency being informed, that the highlanders had appointed huntings, when it is uſual for the clans to attend their chiefs, they forbad thoſe huntings, and ordered Sir Donald Macdonald of Slait, one of thoſe chiefs, ſuſpected to be in the pretender's intereſt, to be made priſoner, and ſent to the caſtle of Edinburgh. The lord Drummond was alſo ordered to be ſeized, but eſcaped to the highlands, from whence

Commotions in Scotland.

whence he wrote to the lords juſtices, and offered bail for his good behaviour. The earl of Broadalbin, who had ſufficiently declared himſelf for the pretender, tho' he had abjured him when he ſat as one of the ſixteen Scots peers, thought fit to retire to an inacceſſible caſtle in a lake; upon which a detachment of foot was ordered to guard the avenues; and captain Campbel of Glendoroul, who had a commiſſion by the earl of Oxford's means, to raiſe an independent company in the highlands, was taken at Inverlochy, and from thence ſent priſoner to Edinburgh. The late lord-treaſurer had, a little before, ſet up a new chamberlain's court in Scotland, the old one having been long diſcontinued, becauſe arbitrary princes had made it a grievance to the ſubject. The deſign of reviving it now was only for a cover to beſtow money upon ſuch, as were in the court-meaſures. Accordingly, the earl of Mar, who managed the affairs of Scotland, recommended his own brother-in-law, Sir Hugh Paterſon of Banockburn, and the lord Haddo, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Aberdeen, to be two of the commiſſioners, to whom the queen had granted a bill of 1000 *l.* each, payable by Mr. Douglas, receiver-general of the land-tax. The lord viſcount Kilſyth, one of the ſixteen Scots peers, andthe lord Lyon, king at arms, two other relations to the earl of Mar, had alſo grants for the like ſum. Soon after the queen's death, Sir Hugh Paterſon demanded payment of his bill; but the earl of Ilay, lord-juſtice-general of Scotland, interpoſed, and acquainted the regents how unreaſonable a thing this was; and particularly that men, ſuſpected of diſaffection to his majeſty's government, ſhould have the public money diſtributed among them. Upon this the lords regents ordered the duke of Athol, lord privy-ſeal, to put an immediate ſtop to all grants, that were not paſſed before the queen's death; which diſappointed thoſe gentlemen of their money, and ſaved 4000 *l.* to the government. 1714.

When the king was proclaimed at Glaſgow, forty or fifty unknown perſons, while the magiſtrates were buſy in attending the proclamation, took an opportunity to pull down the epiſcopal meeting-houſe there, where one Mr. Cockburn had ſet up the Engliſh liturgy, by countenance of the late government, more to diſguſt the citizens, than in hopes of gaining proſelytes. As ſoon as the magiſtrates heard of it, they ſent to apprehend the actors, and to prevent the pulling down the houſe; but they had done their work, and made their eſcape, before the magiſtrates came thi-

1714. thither; so that none of them were discovered or taken. The jacobite party took occasion from hence to reflect upon the presbyterians, as if they had persecuted those of the church of England, and insert an account of it in the post-boy, with all the aggravating circumstances, that their malice and invention could suggest. Complaint was likewise made of it to the regency, who ordered the lord advocate of Scotland to inquire into it. There was found good reason to suspect, that the thing was done on purpose by the disaffected party, to raise a clamour; because Mr. Cockburn, the day before, had retired with his family and effects to Edinburgh, though the magistrates of Glasgow had given him assurance of protection. This account being taken upon oath by the magistrates, and sent up to the regency, put an end to that matter. Thus stood affairs in Scotland, at the time of king George's accession.

As for Ireland, the chief thing to be dreaded there was the great number of papists, who are ever ready to throw off the yoke of the English. A little more conduct in king James II. and a little more assistance from France, would have endangered that kingdom. And, at the time of the queen's death, popery was in much the same situation.

Indeed there seemed to be no danger from any foreign power. Holland would not fail to fulfil all engagements: the king of himself was powerful: he had on foot a good number of troops, which, without obstacle, could have been embarked in his own dominions. But, after all, Lewis XIV. was still alive: it could not be doubted, but that it was against his will that he had acknowledged the protestant succession, and promised not to disturb it. He was assuredly in the same sentiments still, and perhaps thought himself more obliged to keep his word with king James, on his death-bed, never to forsake his son, than the engagements, the necessity of a peace had forced him into. It may be, what he would not do directly, he might do indirectly; with money, may not troops, arms and ships soon be had? It will be seen in the course of this history, that, without any aid, the English and Scots raised such an insurrection, as caused great disturbances; and what would they have done, had they been assisted! In vain would the king have depended on his own troops; they could not be brought over without the consent of the parliament, and the English are too jealous of their liberty, to suffer any foreign forces, and it is with some sort of regret, that they bear even those of the States.

Such

Such was the ſituation of the Britiſh dominions and of Europe, when king George came to the throne; and therefore it is no wonder, that, upon his arrival in England, his firſt proceedings expreſſed a diſlike of the tories and the late miniſtry, and ſhewed his attachment to the whigs. The perſons he had named for the regency, were a plain proof what the friends of the late miniſtry were to expect. He had even before his arrival, removed the lord Bolingbroke (z), and appointed the lord Townſhend ſecretary of ſtate in his room. The day after his landing at Greenwich, he ſent the new ſecretary to acquaint the duke of Ormond, that he had no longer occaſion for his ſervice as captain-general, but would be glad to ſee him at court. 1714.

Theſe changes were followed by many others: the duke of Marlborough was made captain-general of the land-forces, colonel of the firſt regiment of foot-guards, and maſter of the ordnance. The lord Cowper was made lord-chancellor, the earl of Wharton privy-ſeal, and the earl of Sunderland lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Devonſhire was appointed ſteward of the houſhold in the room of earl Paulet, and Mr. James Stanhope ſecretary of ſtate in the room of Mr. Bromley, and the duke of Montroſe in the room of the earl of Mar. The duke of Somerſet was made maſter of the horſe, the duke of St. Albans captain of the band of penſioners, and the duke of Argyle commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. William Pulteney was made ſecretary of war, and Mr. Robert Walpole receiver and pay-maſter-general of all the guards and garriſons, and all other forces of Great-Britain, and pay-maſter to cheſſea hoſpital, in the room of Mr. How and Mr. Moore. The privy-council was diſſolved, and a new one declared, of which the earl of Nottingham was preſident (a).

Out

(z) Shortly after the king's arrival, a meſſage having been ſent to the lord Bolingbroke, in the country, for his coming to town, to be preſent at the taking off the ſeals that had been put on his office; he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, 'The ſame 'might as well be done by one 'of his ſecretaries; but, if he 'could be ſo happy as to have 'the honour to kiſs the king's 'hand, he would fly to throw 'himſelf at his majeſty's feet.'

(a) The reſt were: the prince of Wales, archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, lord chancellor Cowper, the dukes of Shrewsbury, Devonſhire, Somerſet, Bolton, Marlborough, Argyle, Montroſe, .. Roxburgh, Kent, marquis of Lindſey lord great-chamberlain, the earls of Wharton privy-ſeal, Pembroke, Suffolk.

1714. Out of the privy-counſellors a cabinet council was formed, conſiſting chiefly of the lord-chancellor, the duke of Marlborough, the earls of Nottingham, Sunderland, the lords Hallifax, Townſhend, Sommers, and general Stanhope. All theſe had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their profeſſed oppoſition to the late meaſures, and the peace.

The governors of places were alſo moſt of them changed. General Erle was made governor of Portſmouth. There were as many alterations in Ireland as in England. Before the king's arrival, the behaviour of Sir Conſtantine Phipps had been ſuch, that the regency had removed him, as well as the archbiſhop of Armagh, from being lords-juſtices of that kingdom, and in their room appointed the archbiſhop of Dublin and the earl of Kildare, for which they had the king's letter of approbation and thanks (b). Alan Broderick was made lord-chancellor of Ireland, and William Whitſhed chief-juſtice. The privy-council was alſo diſſolved, and another named, of which the duke of Ormond was one (c).

All theſe changes were made before the coronation, which was fixed to the 20th of October. The king is by ſome blamed, for not having joined to the great number of whigs a few more of the tories, which they ſuppoſe would have prevented the general diſcontent of that party. But it was very difficult for the king not to do as he did. The inclination

folk, Sunderland, Angleſea, Carliſle, Abington, Scarborough, Orford, viſcount Townſhend, biſhop of London, the lords Sommers and Hallifax, Thomas Coke vice-chamberlain, James Stanhope ſecretary of State, Sir Thomas Parker chief-juſtice, Thomas Erle lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and Robert Walpole pay-maſter general.

(b) On the 14th of Sept. the regency had advice from Dublin, that, upon the removal of Sir Conſtantine Phipps, and the archbiſhop of Armagh, from being lords-juſtices of Ireland, there was an univerſal joy among all the friends of his majeſty's ſucceſſion; and that ſome of the populace, who were filled with reſentment againſt Sir Conſtantine, went to his houſe, in order to inſult him; but he had beforehand retired to the caſtle.

(c) Some time after the following creations were made in Ireland:

George Cholmondeley, eſq; baron Newburgh.

Allan Broderick, eſq; baron Broderick.

Sir George St. George, baron St. George.

Sir Arthur Cole, baron Ranelagh.

Sir John Percival, baron Percival.

Richard Fitz-Patrick, eſq; baron Goran.

George Evans, eſq; baron Carbery.

which

which the pretender had indiſcreetly aſſerted, the queen had for him in the latter years of her life, could be aſcribed only to thoſe who had the management of affairs. The miniſtry, reſolutely bent to end the war, notwithſtanding the complaints of all the allies (who placed their ſafety in the humbling of France) and particularly, notwithſtanding the repeated oppoſition of the duke of Hanover, they could not but be ſenſible, that, if he one day became their maſter, he would not fail to ſacrifice them to his own, and the reſentment of the allies, whoſe projects they had diſappointed, and whoſe hopes they had confounded. It was therefore natural to think, they had taken meaſures to prevent any danger from him. A thouſand circumſtances ſupported theſe conjectures: the dowry paid to king James's queen: the ſmall reward offered for taking the pretender: the conniving at the liſting of men in his ſervice: the ſuffering the Revolution to be publickly talked and preached againſt, and doctrines to be vented, deſtructive of the principles on which it was built: the little care to have an eye to Scotland, to redreſs the grievances complained of by that nation, and which were capable of driving them to extremities: England unprovided of troops, as well as Scotland and Ireland, whilſt under frivolous pretences ſeveral regiments were kept in Flanders: all this amounted to a ſort of demonſtration, that the queen's death alone had prevented the defeating of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the deſtroying all that had been done for above twenty years to ſecure and juſtify the excluſion of king James and his pretended heir. Now can there be to a prince attacked in ſo important a point, any room for pardon or diſſimulation? 1714.

Beſides, there was a kind of neceſſity to eſpouſe one of the two parties, who had by turns prevailed under king William and queen Anne. By that means he would be freed from the continual trouble of managing and keeping the balance even between them, and perhaps from the danger of having both turn againſt him. The whigs were really enemies of France and the pretender, and could not be otherwiſe; they had conſtantly declared for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and though, in ſome of their proceedings, the ſpirit of party no leſs appeared than a true zeal, yet they might be depended upon. To the whigs the court of Hanover was indebted, for obliging the French king and the duke of Lorrain not to ſuffer the pretender in their dominions, and for the advices of what was contriving againſt the

1714. the intereſts of the proteſtant ſucceſſor. This being the caſe, there was no room to deliberate which party to chuſe, king William, accuſtomed from his youth to diſſimulation, might have deliberated, or ſeemed to have done ſo: but the elector of Hanover, abſolute maſter in his German dominions, and conſequently unuſed to faction and party, was hardly capable of that diſſimulation, ſo requiſite in a government like that of England.

Notwithſtanding all the changes and the diſgrace of ſo many perſons, no ill effects followed. Addreſſes from the univerſities, the counties, cities, burroughs and corporations, expreſſed the public joy and ſatisfaction at the king's acceſſion, though in a very different ſtile; for ſome inſinuated that the proteſtant ſucceſſion had not been in danger, whilſt others ſpoke of the late miniſtry in very ſevere terms, and mentioned the utmoſt dread of their meaſures (d).

The

(d) The addreſs of the univerſity of Cambridge, after condoling the queen's death, and congratulating the king's acceſſion, proceeds as follows:

'It would be unpardonable folly and downright infatuation, if any of your majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects ſhould turn their eyes to a popiſh pretender, who can never reign over us but to the certain loſs of every thing, that ought to be dear to us, either as we are Britons or proteſtants. But then your majeſty's moſt loyal univerſity muſt be utterly incapable of a thought, ſo deſtructive to our moſt holy faith, ſo oppoſite to our happy conſtitution both in church and ſtate, ſo full of ingratitude to God, and of injuſtice to your majeſty, who, by the death of our late ſovereign, hath now alone the rightful and undoubted title to the imperial crown of theſe realms, which receives a new luſtre by your majeſty's happy acceſſion to it.

'Out of a deep ſenſe of theſe things, and in obedience to the juſt and wholeſome laws of the realm, and in a conſcientious regard to our repeated oaths, we moſt humbly preſume to aſſure your majeſty, that as our own ſtudies and endeavours ſhall always be employed in the defence of your majeſty's ſacred perſon and government, and your juſt and rightful title to our allegiance againſt the pretender, and all other your majeſty's enemies and oppoſers whatſoever; ſo ſhall it be likewiſe our eſpecial care, that all thoſe, who are educated amongſt us, be inſtructed in the ſame true principles of loyalty and duty to your majeſty.'

The addreſs of the univerſity of Oxford was in a different ſtile:

'The inexpreſſible loſs, we have ſuſtained by the death of

'our

The firſt time the king was preſent at the privy-council, after he had taken the oath relating to the ſecurity of the church of Scotland, he made the following declaration: 1714. The king's declaration in council. Sept. 22.

'Having our late ſovereign of bleſſed memory, would have been inſupportable, had not God, in his great goodneſs to this nation, ſupplied it to us by your majeſty's happy and quiet acceſſion to the throne. With the proſpect of this bleſſing we comforted ourſelves, as often as we apprehended that precious life to be in danger; for, knowing the ſincerity of our hearts, we never ſuſpected, that any perſons would be ſo regardleſs of their duty and of their intereſt, as not to ſupport, with the utmoſt zeal, that ſucceſſion, to which they were bound by the moſt ſolemn oaths, and on which the preſervation of our religion, laws, and liberties, did next, under God, ſo manifeſtly depend. Our expectations, our wiſhes, and our prayers, have been anſwered by that unanimity, with which your ſubjects have recognized your majeſty's undoubted right, that impatience they have expreſſed to ſee your royal perſon in the actual poſſeſſion of your throne, and themſelves happy under the influence of your government.'

The addreſſes of Oxford and Glouceſter were very remarkable. In the Oxford addreſs was this paſſage:

'We hope, that the univerſal approbation, with which your majeſty entered your reign, will be an happy omen of unanimity among us; all the inſinuations, as if the proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger muſt now appear (as they were) groundleſs, and only a contrivance of deſigning men to divide us. We can now have no ſtrife, but who ſhall ſhew the greateſt zeal for your ſacred majeſty, for our admirable church and happy conſtitution, in oppoſition to your majeſty's enemies, to popery and ſchiſm, and to all anti-monarchical and republican principles.'

In that of Glouceſter were theſe words:

'Her late majeſty at laſt by a happy peace (which God continue to us and our children) ſecured your majeſty's quiet ſucceſſion, which ſhe had always at heart, and was careful of through her whole reign. Your majeſty ſucceeds in our hearts: no time, no accident, can make us otherwiſe than truly loyal. It is our principle to obey your majeſty without reſerve, for we think you accountable to none upon earth: and the ſame principles will embolden us unanimouſly to reſiſt your majeſty's enemies, and, with all that is dear to us, to defend your majeſty's juſt title to the crown you wear, againſt all perſons whatſoever. And theſe our inclinations and principles we owe to our ſteady adherence to the eſtabliſhed church

1714. 'Having, in my anſwers to addreſſes of both houſes of 'parliament, fully expreſſed my reſolution to defend the 'religious and civil rights of all my ſubjects, there remains 'very little for me to ſay upon this occaſion.

'Yet having been willing to omit no opportunity of 'giving all poſſible aſſurances to a people, who have al-'ready deſerved ſo well of me; I take this occaſion alſo to 'expreſs to you my firm purpoſe, to do all that is in my 'power for the ſupporting and maintaining the churches of 'England and Scotland, as they are ſeverally by law eſtab-'liſhed; which I am of opinion may be effectually done, 'without the leaſt impairing the toleration allowed by law 'to proteſtant diſſenters, ſo agreeable to chriſtian charity, 'and ſo neceſſary to the trade and riches of this kingdom. 'The good effects of making property ſecure are no where

'church of England, the glory 'of the reformation, truly an-'tient, truly apoſtolical, for 'her ſubmiſſion and obedience 'to kings and governors, for 'her mild behaviour to thoſe, 'who have formerly torn out 'her very bowels. No church 'upon earth can ſhew ſo antient 'a charter, ſo unlimited obe-'dience, ſo univerſal charity: 'no church can boaſt ſo great 'a defender. May your love 'to each other find no bounds. 'May it pleaſe your majeſty, 'we here ſpeak the ſenſe of all 'your people, who are truly 'loyal, and are aſſured they are 'vaſtly more numerous than 'thoſe, who are but occaſional-'ly ſo; and therefore doubt 'not to ſend your majeſty mem-'bers of parliament, who are 'not of thoſe, whoſe principles 'are to obey no longer than 'they are pleaſed.'

On the contrary, in the ad-dreſs from Nottingham, pre-ſented by their member, Mr. Plumtree, it is ſaid:

'With pleaſure we now look 'back upon our paſt dangers, 'with joy we ſee thoſe intrigues 'and ſtratagems diſappointed, 'which were ſo artfully con-'trived by ſome ill-deſigning 'men to effect our ruin, and 'from that dreadful ſtorm 'which lately threatened us, 'and which, by divine provi-'dence, and the wiſe conduct 'of your majeſty, is blown 'over, we cannot but addreſs 'ourſelves to your ſacred per-'ſon, as our ſecond great deli-'verer, from a ſlaviſh yoke, 'and a popiſh impoſtor.'

In the addreſs from the county of Hereford is this paragraph:

'We are the more ſenſible 'of the ineſtimable bleſſing of 'your majeſty's acceſſion to the 'throne, becauſe we had very 'lately ſo much reaſon to ap-'prehend, we were in danger 'of being deprived of it, by 'the deſigns of ambitious men, 'who, if God had not pre-'vented them, to raiſe them-'ſelves to power and riches, 'had ſacrificed their country to 'tyranny and ſuperſtition.'

'ſo

'so clearly seen, and to so great a degree, as in this happy 1714.
'kingdom; and I assure you, that there is not any among
'you shall more earnestly endeavour the preservation of it
'than myself.'

At the same time the prince royal was declared prince of Wales, and took his seat at the upper end of the board, at the king's right-hand. Soon after the treasury was put in commission, and also the admiralty. The commissioners of the treasury were the lord Hallifax, Sir Richard Onslow chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William St. Quintin, Edward Wortley Montague, and Paul Methuen. Those of the admiralty were the earl of Orford, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, Sir John Jennings, Sir Charles Turner, Abraham Stanyan, and George Bailie. John Aislabie was made treasurer of the navy, and the earl of Cholmondeley was appointed treasurer, Hugh Boscawen comptroller, and Edmund Dunch master of the king's household. Dr. Samuel Garth was knighted, who had lately published a latin dedication, which he intended to prefix to an edition of Lucretius three years before; but it was not then thought seasonable.

The treasury and admiralty put in commission.

On the 9th of October, N. S. the two eldest princesses of Great-Britain, Anne and Amelia, set out from Hanover, to go, by easy journies, to the Hague; the youngest princess Caroline being left at Hanover, on account of a late indisposition. Three days after, the princess of Wales set out for Holland, attended by the countess of Pickleburgh; and, on the 17th, arrived at the Hague, with the two eldest princesses her daughters. The next morning she received the compliments of the States-general, by deputies nominated for that purpose; and, the weather being fair, she appeared in the afternoon in the Voorhout, attended by a very numerous train of coaches; and, in the evening, kept a drawing room, at which all the ladies and persons of distinction of that place were present. The next day she received visits from the French ambassador, and other foreign ministers. The earl of Berkeley and Sir John Walter of the green cloth were come thither five days before, having left the squadron of men of war at Helvoet-sluys, with orders for the yatchts to come up to Rotterdam. The princess being informed by the earl, that the wind was easterly, on the 20th of October, N. S. she went on board a yatcht of the States of Holland, accompanied by the earl of Albemarle, and the rest of the deputies of that province; by the count of Hanau, and the countess, her sister, prince

1714. William of Heſſe, and the prince of Anhault, The earl of Strafford accompanied her alſo part of her way to Rotterdam, where being arrived, ſhe embarked on board the Mary yatcht, and with the two princeſſes and their retinue, landed at Margate, Octob. 11, O. S. and the next evening arrived at Rocheſter. The prince of Wales, having early that day received the news of her arrival, ſet out about ſeven o'clock in the morning, accompanied by the dukes of Somerſet and Argyle, and the earl of Bridgewater, lord-chamberlain to their royal highneſſes. The prince met the princeſs beyond Rocheſter, where ſhe was attended by the counteſſes of Dorſet and Berkeley, who had been named two of the ladies of the bed-chamber. Their royal highneſſes paſſed through the city of London in a chariot with ſix horſes, followed by another, in which were the two young princeſſes, and came to St. James's on the 13th of October (e).

Promotions. Octob. 15. The day appointed for the coronation drawing near, the king, as uſual on ſuch occaſions, advanced ſome of the peers to higher titles, and created ſome new ones (f). Five days

(e) The princeſs Carolina, who was left behind, did not come to England till the 24th of May.

(f) Letters patents, Octob. 15, paſſed the great ſeal, creating

James, lord Chandos, earl of Caernarvon.

Lewis, lord Rockingham, baron of Throwley in the county of Kent, viſcount Sondes of Lees Court in the ſame county, and earl of Rockingham.

Charles, lord Oſſulſton, earl of Tankerville.

Charles, lord Halliſax, viſcount Sunbury in the county of Middleſex, and earl of Halliſax.

Heneage, lord Guernſey, earl of Aylesford in the county of Kent.

John, lord Harvey, earl of Briſtol.

Thomas, lord Pelham, viſcount Houghton in the county of Nottingham, and earl of Clare.

Henry, earl of Thomond in Ireland, viſcount Tadcaſter in the county of York.

James, viſcount Caſtleton in Ireland, baron Sanderſon of Sexby in the county of Lincoln.

Bennet, lord Sherard in Ireland, baron of Harborough in the county of Leiceſter.

Gervaſe, lord Pierrepoint in Ireland, baron Pierrepoint of Hanſlop in the county of Bucks

Henry Boyle, baron of Carleton in the county of York.

Sir Richard Temple, baron of Cobham in the county of Kent.

Henry,

days after, the coronation was performed at Weſtminſter with great magnificence (g). There never was ſo great an appearance 1714. The coronation. Octob. 20.

Henry, lord Paget, earl of Uxbridge.

The ſame day the king appointed lieutenant-general Cadogan to be colonel of the ſecond regiment of foot-guards, in the room of general Churchill. The dukes of Bolton and Rutland, and the earls of Dorſet and Halliſax, were made knights of the garter. The lord Cobham was appointed envoy to the court of Vienna, and the earl of Stair ambaſſador to the court of France. The dukes of Richmond, Grafton, and Kent, the earls of Lincoln, Dorſet, Manchester, Berkeley, Selkirk, Stair, and Orrery, and the lord Carteret, were appointed gentlemen of the bed-chamber; and Mr. Howard, brigadier Dormer, brigadier Breton, colonel Ker, colonel Tyrrel, colonel Fielding, and colonel Cornwal, grooms of the bed-chamber.

(g) The forms were much the ſame as in former coronations; what was particular in this was as follows:

The proceſſion of the officers, and then the peers from Weſtminſter-Hall to the Abbey-church, being cloſed by two perſons repreſenting the dukes of Aquitain and Normandy, the lords who bore the Regalia, came in turn. The earl of Saliſbury, with St. Edward's ſtaff; the lord viſcount Longueville, with the ſpurs; the earl of Dorſet, with the ſceptre and croſs; the earls of Sunderland, Pembroke, and Lincoln, with the three ſwords. Then Garter's deputy, with his coronet between the uſher of the black-Rod, and the lord-mayor of London; then the lord great-chamberlain ſingle; then the prince of Wales in his robes of ſtate of crimſon velvet furred with ermin; his coronet, with precious ſtones, and cap borne by the earl of Hertford on a crimſon velvet cuſhion, and wearing a cap of crimſon velvet turned up with ermin, by his majeſty's permiſſion; his train ſupported by Adolphus Oughton, and another groom of his bed-chamber, aſſiſted by Henry Killigrew, gentleman of his royal highneſs's robes. Then the earl of Derby, with the ſword of ſtate, between the duke of Mountague, lord high-conſtable for that day, and the earl of Suffolk and Bindon, as earl-marſhal of England; the duke of Grafton, lord high-ſteward on that occaſion, with the crown, between the duke of Argyle, bearing the ſceptre with the dove, and the duke of Somerſet with the orb; the biſhop of Saliſbury with the bible, and the biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry with the patten, and the biſhop of Bangor with the chalice. Then the KING in his royal robes of crimſon velvet, furred with ermin, and bordered with a rich broad gold lace, wearing the collar of the order of St. George, and on his head a cap of ſtate of crimſon velvet, turned up with ermin, adorned with a circle of gold, enriched with diamonds, ſupported by the biſhops of Durham and Bath and Wells, under a canopy borne by the barons

1714. appearance of lords ſpiritual and temporal, as on this occaſion, no leſs than ſeventeen archbiſhops and biſhops, though two ſees were then vacant; all the dukes in or about London, except the duke of Buckingham; ſeventy earls and viſcounts, and amongſt them the earl of Oxford and viſcount Bolingbroke; and as many barons. The demonſtrations of joy throughout the kingdom on the coronation-day ſeemed to be general, and were in proportion as ſplendid as at London, ſome few places excepted, where the rabble ſhewed their hatred to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, by riots and outrages.

barons of the Cinque ports. The litany was ſung by the biſhops of Lichfield and Coventry and Norwich, and the ſermon preached by Dr. William Talbot, biſhop of Oxford, father to the late lord chancellor. The biſhop obſerves in his ſermon, 'Queen Anne not only 'paſſed laws for the further 'eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant 'ſucceſſion, but by her arms, 'and thoſe of her allies, had, 'in human appearance, placed 'it almoſt out of danger, having, in eight campaigns, ſo 'glorious in the conduct, and 'ſo aſtoniſhing in the ſucceſs of 'them, as not to be paralelled 'in hiſtory, ſo far reduced the 'only power, that could interrupt it, that there was little 'more wanting to have completed our ſecurity. But whether it was to correct us for 'ſome ſins, whereby we had 'provoked God to anger, or to 'chaſtiſe our confidence, which, 'it may be, was placed too 'much in the arm of fleſh; or 'to convince us, that his providence, which alone began, 'ſhould alone have the glory of 'finiſhing this great work; he 'was pleaſed to ſuffer us to fall 'into a condition, from which 'nothing elſe could have relieved us. Our enemy, who 'had ſet up a pretender to this 'throne, raiſed from a ſtate of 'aſking peace, to a condition 'of giving peace and princes 'to Europe, our allies, 'ſome divided from us, others 'miſerably disjointed; and we 'ourſelves not only unguarded, 'but wretchedly broken into 'parties and factions at home. 'The friends of the pretender 'thought theſe circumſtances 'ſo encouraging, that they openly avowed his title in writing 'and diſcourſe, and his agents 'as boldly inliſted ſoldiers to 'aſſert it with the ſword. And 'he muſt have been very ſanguine, who, in this view of 'things, could have thought, 'that the pretender, whom our 'queen's repeated inſtances 'could not remove from a ſituation, which her parliament 'thought too near us, would 'not, upon her majeſty's demiſe, have brought a foreign 'army to join his friends here, 'before the proteſtant heir, 'who was at a much greater 'diſtance, could have arrived, 'to have maintained his own 'juſt right, or defended his 'faithful ſubjects. But when

'that

outrages (h). The univerſity of Oxford (who, the day before, had preſented to the king by Dr. Gardiner, their vice-chancellor, a book of verſes on the death of queen Anne, and the acceſſion of his majeſty to the throne) on the coronation-day, conferred unanimouſly, in a full convocation, the degree of doctor of civil law on Sir Conſtantine Phipps, with all imaginable marks of honour and eſteem. 1714. Phipps made Dr. of laws at Oxford.

The firſt affair the king turned his thoughts to, was the execution of an article of the treaty of Utrecht, the demolition of Dunkirk; from whence the trade of England and Holland had been greatly incommoded during the late The affair of Dunkirk.

'that day was come, that was 'to put a period to that royal 'life, on the continuance of 'which alone, this threatening 'danger ſeemed ſuſpended; 'then was God pleaſed to mix 'ſo much mercy with the 'ſtroke, as by his providence 'to order it, that the unſettled 'poſture of affairs abroad would 'not permit the pretender's fo'reign friends to ſend any 'forces to encourage an inſur'rection; and the unreadineſs 'of his ſurprized abetters here 'would not permit them to ap'pear in ſuch a manner, as to 'invite an invaſion; but our 'king was peaceably proclaim'ed, to the univerſal joy of his 'people.'

(h) Dr. Sacheverel was at that time at Sutton, near Birmingham in Warwickſhire, where he preached on the Sunday before the coronation; and above two hundred of the Birmingham people came ſo far to attend upon him, and the conſequence of it appeared a day or two after. Several of the principal inhabitants of Birmingham having reſolved in a ſuitable manner to expreſs their joy on the day of the coronation, an entertainment was prepared for them at the Caſtle-tavern. When the night came on, a tumultuous rabble got together, broke the windows of the houſe, and forced the company to remove: all the cry was 'Sacheverel for ever; and 'down with the whigs.' If any one in the ſtreet cried, 'God 'bleſs king George,' he was in danger of his life. At Briſtol alſo the mob broke the windows of Mr. Whiting, the under-ſheriff, who had offended them by proſecuting one guilty of perjury. They did the ſame at Mr. Jeffreys's houſe; but fell in a ſtill more furious manner on Mr. Stevens's, which they aſſaulted, entered, and plundered. One Mr. Thomas, who perſuaded them to withdraw, was murdered; and ſeveral gentlemen inſulted, hurt, and abuſed. At Chippenham in Wiltſhire, the rabble armed with guns, piſtols, and clubs, marched with beat of drum, and abuſed the juſtices, gentlemen, and freemen, who were ſhewing their loyalty in ſolemnizing the king's coronation. The ſame kind of diſorders were committed at Norwich and Reading.

1714. wars. Inſtead of executing this article, the French king had entirely evaded it; and therefore Mr. Prior, who was ſtill reſident at Paris, was ordered to preſent a memorial to him, preſſing the performance of the 9th article of the treaty of Utrecht (i). The French king, who had uſed the diſtinction

(i) The memorial was as follows:

The under-written plenipotentiary, miniſter of the king of Great Britain, has orders from the king his maſter to repreſent to your majeſty, that, having heard the report of the commiſſaries and ingineers ſent to view the ſtate of the fortifications and port of Dunkirk, his majeſty is very much ſurprized to hear, that notwithſtanding the inſtances and repreſentations made on the part of Great-Britain, to preſs the execution of the 9th article of the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, the ſaid port is ſo little filled up, that there can ſtill to this day as great ſhips as formerly paſs by the old canal, up to the horn-work of the town. So long as that canal remains, it cannot be denied, that there is ſtill at Dunkirk a port of one thouſand rods long, and conſequently able to receive many hundred ſhips. The words of the treaty are, Portus compleatur (that the haven ſhall be filled up) Aggeres aut moles diruantur (that the dykes which form the canal and the moles be deſtroyed.) We appeal even to your majeſty's ingineers, if the haven be filled up, and if the dykes be deſtroyed? The king his maſter is very much perſuaded, that your majeſty, being fully informed of this fact will give your ſtrict orders, that at laſt that ſhall be accompliſhed, which, according to the words of the treaty, ought to have been done above a year ago. The ſame miniſter has orders to repreſent to your majeſty, that the ſurprize of the king his maſter has been ſtill greater, when he was told, that notwithſtanding the ſaid 9th article, which ſays expreſsly, 'Ne 'dicta munimenta, portus, mo-'les, aut aggeres denuò un-'quam reficiantur' (that the ſaid fortifications, port, or the dykes of Dunkirk ſhall never be rebuilt) that they are actually at work in making a new port, much larger than the old canal; which, as well as the old haven, goes up to the town of Dunkirk; and that the foundation of a ſluice, much greater than the former, which ſerved to clean the old haven, is laid.

It cannot be imagined, that your majeſty will make uſe of the word Dicta, which is in that article, to maintain, that, ſince the ſame canal is not reſtored, the ſame materials are not made uſe of, and the ſame baſtions and courtains are not rebuilt, that your majeſty is at liberty to raiſe new works, and to make a new port better than the former. The Bona fides, which ought to reign in all treaties, and which will be religiouſly obſerved by the king my maſter, will not admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition.

When ſhips can go into Dun-

kirk

tion of the letter and ſpirit of treaties to juſtify his non-compliance with the treaty of partition, adhered to the letter of this, and pretended he had fulfilled it in the utmoſt extent (k). His anſwer was not ſatisfactory; Prior was recalled, 1714,

kirk by the old canal, which is in the north, or by the new, which is on the weſt, Dunkirk, will, in the ſame manner, be a port, and be equally incommodious and dangerous to the commerce of Great Britain.

In either of theſe two caſes, the treaty will be equally violated. The King of Great-Britain is reſolved, on his ſide, religiouſly to obſerve the treaty of Utrecht, and to maintain with your majeſty an amity ſo ſincere, that he deſires, above all things, to prevent all incidents that may diſturb that good intelligence. And, as the hopes of ſeeing the intire execution of that 9th article has been to Great-Britain the principal motive for accepting the peace of Utrecht, he has ordered the under-written miniſter to make the moſt preſſing inſtances with your majeſty, that you will pleaſe to give order for the filling up the ſaid canals, &c.

(k) His anſwer was as follows:

Purſuant to the 9th article of the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, the harbour of Dunkirk, between the town and the citadel, is intirely filled up. Nevertheleſs, men are ſtill at work, carrying into it the earth, that is produced by the demoliſhing of the cavaliers of the citadel.

The words Portus compleatur, can never be applied to the old canal, which is very different from the harbour; neither, to be ſure, would the king ever have engaged intirely to deſtroy a canal of a thouſand toiſes in length.

That would have been a work immoderately great, for the only time, men could have been employed therein, would have been at low water.

On the other hand, it would have been altogether needleſs, for the ſea will ſoon carry away what remains of the dykes, that were made,

Theſe dykes and jettes ſink daily, and are waſhed away by the ſea. But it having been lately demanded, on the part of the king of Great-Britain, that, to the end they might be carried off the ſooner, the king would cauſe four coupures or outlets to be made therein, his majeſty gave orders accordingly; and, by means of this new work, the old canal will be ſo choaked up in a few days, that it will be level with the ſtrand, and no ſhipping will be able to enter it. Nay, they will not be able to go up thither, even at high water, but as they do at all other places along the coaſt, quite from Newport to Calais.

The king has ſeveral times complained of the dilatorineſs on the part of England, in point of executing the 9th article of the peace of Utrecht. It ought not therefore to be charged

1714. called, and the earl of Stair ſent in his room, who proſecuted the affair with great vigour. The court of France would not yield, and declared in expreſs terms, Mardyke was not Dunkirk, and that the treaty of Utrecht, did not deprive

charged upon his majeſty. This is notorious.

It is well known too, that the fortifications of Dunkirk are demoliſhed; and that the harbour is ſo filled up, that it would be impoſſible for the king to make it good again, did not his majeſty deſign (as he fully does) punctually to perform the treaty.

He has already ſeveral times anſwered the complaints, which for ſome time paſt he has received, about the work he was forced to make, to hinder a great tract of land from being laid under water, which the ruining of the ſluices of Dunkirk would have effected. However, he is willing to repeat once more the reaſons he has given for that proceeding.

The waters of the canals of Furnes, La Moere, Wynoxberg, and Bourbourg, were diſcharged by the ſluices of Dunkirk. This outlet was neceſſary to keep the caſtellanies of Bourbourg, Wynoxberg, and even ſome part of that of Furnes, from being overflowed, which, without it, they muſt infallibly have been. But the king, having promiſed utterly to deſtroy the ſluices of Dunkirk, gave his orders for executing the treaty; and, in the mean while, caused a repreſentation to be made to the queen of Great Britain, of the inconveniencies, that would enſue upon this rigorous performance; deſiring, at the ſame time, that ſhe would ſuffer one of the three ſluices, which were to be deſtroyed, to ſtand as it did.

This was denied by that princeſs. So it became neceſſary to find out ſome other method for diſcharging the water of thoſe four canals.

The Engliſh commiſſaries and engineers were witneſſes of the ſeveral projects, that were formed for that purpoſe. They were full well acquainted with the deſign of the canal of Mardyke, and were of opinion, it was impoſſible to be executed. It is true, it was a very expenſive one; and the king would gladly have ſaved that money, had it pleaſed the queen of Great-Britain to leave one of the ſluices of Dunkirk ſtanding, only to diſcharge the waters from the country. But, upon her refuſal, it was abſolutely neceſſary to open this canal, to receive the waters of the four other canals.

Theſe four old canals are navigable, and are together forty-eight toiſes broad; and conſequently the new canal muſt needs have a ſufficient breadth to receive all theſe waters, and diſcharge them into the ſea.

The ſluice alſo muſt neceſſarily be proportionable to the breadth of the canal, and to the quantity of waters it retains; for the point is, to hinder the tides getting into the country, and to keep in the waters of the four old canals at high tides.

The ſeaſon preſſed the finiſhing of that work; and if the ſame

deprive the king of the natural right of a ſovereign, to make what works he ſhould judge proper for the preſervation of his ſubjects. The truth is, the plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain had been too negligent in the affair. In ſtipulating the demolition of Dunkirk, it was doubtleſs their intention that another and better harbour ſhould not be made on that coaſt; but then it ſhould have been ſo expreſſed; otherwiſe, in ſuch articles all advantages will be taken by thoſe on whom they are impoſed. 1714.

The ſame fault had been committed in the treaty of commerce with Spain. The advantages obtained in the body of the treaty were all explained away by the ſeparate articles, and the reſult was, that the Britiſh goods and merchandizes paid ſeven per cent. more than had been paid before. King George applied himſelf alſo to redreſs this grievance. Spain, in imitation of France, adhered to the letter of the treaty, and would not agree that the terms ſhould be explained according to the intentions of the queen's plenipotentiaries; and it was not till after much time and pains that this, and ſeveral other difficulties relating to the Aſſiento contract, were adjuſted. So true is it, that a good negotiator is as rare and as uſeful as a great general.

ſame had not been carried on with great diligence, what would not men have apprehended from the diſorder, which the autumn-rains might occaſion?

Theſe are the motives, which obliged the king to cauſe the new canal of Mardyke to be opened, and to haſten the accompliſhment of that work. His majeſty has no deſign, no intention to make a new harbour at Mardyke, to build a place there. He has already declared, and once more repeats it, that he is only willing to ſave a country, which would be laid under water, if this was not diſcharged into the ſea.

For the reſt, the king has given good proofs of his bona fides in the execution of the treaties. His majeſty has given particular marks thereof to the king of Great-Britain. He ſees, with pleaſure, the aſſurances which that prince renews to him, that he will religiouſly obſerve the treaty of Utrecht, and maintain a ſincere friendſhip with him.

In caſe of thoſe happy diſpoſitions, all incidents, capable of diſturbing this good underſtanding, may be eaſily avoided.

The king does not doubt but it will be perfect, when all ſuſpicions on both ſides ſhall be ſincerely cleared up, and all ſuppoſitions baniſhed. It is for this end that his majeſty is pleaſed to repeat the reaſons contained in this memorial, and that he again orders the ſieur d'Ibberville, his envoy extraordinary, to give an account thereof to the king of Great-Britain. The 2d of November, 1714.

The

1714. The barrier treaty, which was negotiating at Antwerp between the emperor and the States-General, and which was of great conſequence to the trade of England, drew alſo the attention of the new king. General Cadogan, intimate friend of the duke of Marlborough, was ſent as plenipotentiary.

Seditious libels.

In the mean time, the behaviour of the jacobite and high-church party occaſioned the publiſhing a proclamation for ſuppreſſing of riots and tumults. Seditious libels were with great induſtry diſperſed, jealouſies infuſed into weak minds, and the groundleſs clamour of the danger of the church revived (1). In November, the dukes of Marlborough, Shrewſbury, and Argyle, the earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the lord Townſhend, the marquis de Monteleone the Spaniſh ambaſſador, the count de Noſtiz, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, received, by the mail from France, copies of a paper, printed in Engliſh, French, and Latin, ſigned at the top James R. and dated at Plombieres the 29th of Auguſt, 1714, N. S. being a kind of manifeſto or declaration of the pretender, aſſerting his claim to the crown of Great-Britain. He ſays, 'The 'revolution ruined the Engliſh monarchy, laid the foundation of a republican government, and devolved the ſovereign power on the people.' He obſerves, 'That when 'he found the treaty of peace was upon the point of being concluded, without any regard to him, he publiſhed, 'in April 1712, his proteſtation againſt it.' He then gives the reaſon of his ſitting ſtill for ſome time paſt, in theſe remarkable words: 'Yet, contrary to our expectations, upon 'the death of the princeſs our ſiſter (of whoſe good intentions towards us, we could not for ſome time paſt well 'doubt: and this was the reaſon we then ſat ſtill, expecting the good effects thereof; which were unfortunately

The pretender's manifeſto.

(1) Some of theſe libels were, 'Stand faſt to the church; 'where are our biſhops now? 'The religion of king George. 'No preſbyterian government. 'The State Gameſter: or The 'Church of England's ſorrowful lamentation. Æſop in 'mourning. The duke of Ormond's vindication. The lord 'Bolingbroke's vindication. No 'lord protector: or The duke 'of Marlborough's deſign de'feated.' The hawkers that cried theſe libels, and ſung ſeditious ballads, were by Sir William Humphreys, lord-mayor of London, taken up and ſent to the houſe of correction, for which he had the king's approbation, in a letter from lord Townſhend, ſecretary of ſtate.

'prevented

'prevented by her deplorable death) we found that our 1714.
'people, inſtead of taking this favourable opportunity
'of retrieving the honour and true intereſt of their coun-
'try, by doing us and themſelves juſtice, had immediately
'proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, to our preju-
'dice, contrary to the fundamental and inconteſtable laws
'of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of ſettle-
'ment can never abrogate (m).' The perſons who receiv-
'ed this declaration, thought it their duty to deliver it into the

(m) Matthew Tindal, Dr. of laws, publiſhed at London, 1715, in 8vo, remarks on this declaration,' of both which it will be proper to give the following abſtract:

The pretender maintains, 'That the revolution ruined 'the Engliſh monarchy, laid 'the foundation of a republi-'can government, and devolv-'ed the ſovereign power on the 'people; and that we are ex-'poſed to arbitrary power, and 'become a prey to foreigners.' This the pretender, out of his hereditary courage and goodneſs, would have prevented, and therefore ſays, 'We parted 'from our ordinary reſidence, 'to put ourſelves at the head of 'ſuch of our loyal ſubjects, as 'were diſpoſed to defend us 'and themſelves from all fo-'reign invaſion.

In anſwer to this, the author of the remarks obſerves, that the European monarchies, founded on the gothic conſtitutions, were all at firſt elective.

The pretender, after having put the nation in mind how he invaded Scotland, and boaſted, that the miſcarriage of that expedition could not be imputed to him, ſays, 'That when he found 'the treaty of peace was upon 'the point of being concluded, 'without any regard to him, he 'publiſhed, April 1712, his pro-'teſtation againſt it.'

Though the princes of Europe have ſo often rejected all his pretenſions, yet he thinks to cajole them, by ſaying, 'We hope, 'that all chriſtian princes and 'potentates, who are now in 'peace together, will reflect on 'the dangerous example here 'given them, and the formida-'ble effects they are threatened 'with from ſuch an united force 'as that of England and Hano-'ver; and that they will ſeri-'ouſly conſider, whether the ex-'orbitant power, that now ac-'crues to the houſe of Brunſ-'wick, be conſiſtent with the 'balance of power they have 'been fighting for all this laſt 'war; and therefore we call on 'them for their aſſiſtance for 'the recovery of our dominions, which their intereſt, as 'well as honour, engages them 'to grant us, as far as they are 'able.' Can any thing be more impolitic, than for this popiſh pretender, in the ſame declaration, in which he expects that the proteſtants of Great-Britain ſhould rely on his word for the preſervation of their religion, to call on all chriſtian princes to have no regard to their moſt ſolemn engagements, but to violate

1714. the hands of the ſecretaries of ſtate; upon which the marquis de Lamberti, the duke of Lorrain's miniſter, was forbid the court, becauſe ſuch a thing could not be done at Plombieres without the countenance of his maſter; and the fol-

late their faith, by breaking that peace, which they have ſo lately concluded? And nothing can be more ridiculous, than his ſuppoſing, that France, as well as the reſt of Europe, are in ſuch immediate danger, by the exorbitant power of the houſe of Brunſwick, that they are obliged, if they will preſerve themſelves, to fall upon it with their united forces. The pretender, even while he is perſuading the people of Great Britain to take up arms againſt the king, cannot forbear telling them, that, by the union of England and Hanover, they have got that balance of power, which all Europe has been ſo long fighting for; and repreſenting their taking up arms as a moſt deſperate attempt, by reaſon of that moſt exorbitant power, which, he ſays is now in the houſe of Brunſwick; and, as if he had a mind wholly to intimidate them, he affirms, that the elector is a powerful prince, 'ſupported by a good 'army of his own people, be'ſides the aſſiſtance, which a 'neighbouring ſtate (and he 'might have added the king of 'Pruſſia) is obliged to grant him 'upon demand; and many 'thouſand of aliens refuged in 'England theſe thirty years 'paſt, who, having their depen'dence wholly upon him, will 'be ready to ſtand by him upon 'all occaſions.'

The pretender labours to draw his loving ſubjects, as he calls them, into a civil war, by ſhewing them the miſchief of ſuch wars; and therefore ſays, 'What 'can our ſubjects expect but 'endleſs wars and diviſions, 'from ſubverting ſo ſacred and 'fundamental a conſtitution as 'that of hereditary right? 'Which has ſtill prevailed 'againſt all uſurpations, how 'ſucceſsful, and how long time 'ſoever continued; the govern'ment finding ſtill no reſt, till 'it returned again to its true cen'ter.' But if what he calls ſucceſsful uſurpations have continued for a long time, and we may add, a much longer than his hereditary right, how can that be the true center of government? Eſpecially, if, of the nineteen ſucceſſive kings ſince the conqueſt, thirteen of them did not come to the crown by proximity of blood; and there have been more of thoſe few, that did ſo ſucceed, depoſed, than of the many who did not, who were all of them not only looked on to have a competent authority during their lives, but their proceedings (upon the validity of which moſt of the titles to our eſtates depend) have been eſteemed good in all ages.

He threatens us with other popiſh pretenders, and ſays, 'How can our ſubjects be ig'norant of the juſt pretence of 'ſo many other princes, that 'are before the houſe of Hano'ver, whoſe right, after us, 'will be as undoubted as our

own;

following meſſage was delivered to him by the lord Townſhend: 'That it was inconſiſtent with his majeſty's honour 1714.
'and dignity, as well as intereſt, to admit to audience the 'miniſter of a prince, who at that very juncture, gave 'ſhelter

'own; who want neither will 'nor power to aſſert it in their 'turns; and to intail a perpetu-'al war upon our kingdoms, 'with a civil war in our own 'bowels, which their diviſions 'will make unavoidable? The late miniſtry, muſt have reduced the nation to a low condition indeed, if they dare not ſtand by their own, ſettlement of the crown, leſt it offend the popiſh houſe of Savoy, or any other popiſh pretender. But have not all theſe popiſh pretenders owned the right and title, not only of king William and queen Mary, but of his majeſty, and conſequently acknowledged, that the parliament has a right to diſpoſe of the crown?

The pretender ſays, 'We 'ſhall not think ourſelves an-'ſwerable before God and man 'for the pernicious conſequen-'ces, which this new uſurpation 'of our crown may draw on 'our ſubjects and all chriſten-'dom.' Which is in effect ſaying, We have regard to nothing but our own private intereſt; and, for the ſake of that, we care not what pernicious conſequences we draw on theſe nations and all chriſtendom. If it be lawful, after the ſucceſſion of four kings or queens, on pretence of a former indefeaſeable title, to diſturb the peace of a kingdom; it muſt be lawful (ſince no time can deſtroy ſuch a title) after the ſucceſſion of four thouſand, and then what kingdom can promiſe itſelf the leaſt peace or quiet?

Though the pretender threatens a fatal war, yet he would have thoſe, whom he calls his loving ſubjects, think, he has an unſpeakable kindneſs for them; and therefore tells them, 'It is 'not our intereſt alone we are 'concerned for; our natural 'and unalterable love for our 'people is ſuch, that as we 'could not ſee without grief 'their blood and treaſure laviſh-'ed in the laſt war, in oppoſiti-'on to our undoubted right; ſo 'we cannot now with leſs ſor-'row ſee them expoſed to be 'ſubjected to an arbitrary pow-'er, and become a prey to fo-'reigners.' If indeed he had 'a natural and unalterable love' for theſe nations, he would, ſince he ſlipped the opportunity of making uſe of the 'good in-'tentions of the princeſs his 'ſiſter,' rather quit his pretenſions, than diſturb the peace, and involve them in endleſs wars: or, if he had any ſenſe of honour, he would never endeavour to impoſe upon them by notorious falſhoods: and what can be more ſo, than this part of his declaration; which, though dated before the king came over, or had done any one act of government, yet moſt maliciouſly charges him with deſigning to inſlave the people, and make them become a prey to foreigners, who, by the laws, of which our king has ſhewn himſelf a moſt

1714. 'ſhelter and protection to a pretender, and an open enemy 'to his dominions.' The marquis tranſmitted this meſſage to the duke of Lorrain, left London, and went to Oxford, to wait his maſter's anſwer. This gave juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion,

moſt religious obſerver, are excluded from all places of truſt and profit?

Did not the pretender, bred up in the polities of France, think every one, that could inſlave a nation, would certainly do it, he would not talk at this rate, nor think to terrify us by ſaying, 'The elector is a powerful 'prince, and abſolute in his 'own country, were he has ne-'ver met with the leaſt contra-'diction from his own ſubjects.' It is ſo far true, the elector never met with the leaſt contradiction from his ſubjects; but then it is as true, he never required any thing of them, but what was for their good; and ſubjects will never think a prince's power too great, when he is always contriving how to employ it moſt for their ſervice; and thinks his greateſt happineſs conſiſts in making them happy.

The pretender ſays, 'The 'elector is a foreigner, ignorant 'of our laws, cuſtoms, manners, 'and language;' but for himſelf, 'We are the only born 'Engliſhman left of the royal 'family.' Though the pretender was born in England, yet, ſince he was carried into France in his cradle, this could not qualify him to underſtand our laws, cuſtoms, and manners; and he, who ſeems to underſtand nothing but the ridiculous trumperies of the Romiſh church, muſt be an utter ſtranger to the laws and cuſtoms of the nation; nor can he have a notion of any conſtitution, but one as arbitrary as that of France. Merely being born in a country cannot create in a man the leaſt kindneſs for it. The place indeed, where one is bred (uſually the ſame where he is born) and the perſons, with whom he is bred, generally prejudice a man in their favour; and conſequently the pretender ought to be accounted by the people of Great-Britain as much a Frenchman, as if he had been born there: and tis all grimace and French banter to talk of his natural and unalterable love for the Engliſh.

Though he would have it thought, that king George's being a foreigner renders him unfit to govern this nation; yet he will not allow it to be any manner of objection to himſelf, or any other pretender of the popiſh line.

Was not king James II. born and bred among us, and under the greateſt obligations to the church of England, and bound by the moſt ſolemn engagements to preſerve our laws and religion? And yet that did not hinder him, as ſoon as he got into the throne, from attempting the ſubverſion of both. And did not we owe the preſervation of both to a foreigner?

Was not the pretender, though born here, educated among the enemies of our country and religion? Who, from the firſt moment he was capable of underſtand-

cion, that the pretender and his friends had formed a party in that univerſity to advance his intereſt, as it afterwards appeared. The marquis having received the duke of Lorrain's anſwer, dated at Nancy, December the 6th, 1714, N. S. communicated it to the lord Townſhend. It was to this effect: 1714.

'I believe, Sir, you no ways doubt of my being extremely ſurprized to hear by the courier, which came from you, that, when you applied to my lord Townſhend to obtain

ſtanding any thing, could hear nothing from thoſe diſappointed perſons about him, but reviling the Engliſh nation. And has not this early averſion been daily improved by the French, who bear an hereditary hatred to the Engliſh? And can it be thought that the Italian princeſs, who calls herſelf his mother, as well as the prieſts and jeſuites (to whoſe intereſt he is intirely devoted) have not uſed all arts to create in him a mortal averſion to thoſe they call heretics and rebels?

Add to this, that his moroſe, ſullen, and revengeful temper makes him apt to receive the worſt impreſſions: ſo that nature, education, religion (not to mention want of underſtanding) have rendered him, of all mankind, the moſt unfit, notwithſtanding his being born here, to govern proteſtants and free-born Britons.

Could we ſuppoſe the pretender, though a papiſt, no perſecutor of proteſtants, and with his French education no hater of the Engliſh; yet, as he muſt be wholly in the power of thoſe foreign popiſh forces, with which he deſigns to invade the dominions of ſo powerful a king, ſo he could not hinder them, if they got the better, from treating the people with the utmoſt cruelty. All churchmen then, whether high or low, would, as at the Iriſh maſſacre, be involved in one common ruin. Then all that the nation is worth could not ſatisfy the demands of France, for what they had expended in behalf of the abdicated family. 'In a word, Concludes the author of the remarks, ſince there is no ſcene of cruelty, that even the reading of the popiſh maſſacres can ſuggeſt, but what the proteſtants of theſe nations had reaſon to apprehend, if faithleſs and blood-thirſty men had prevailed; ought we not every day of our lives, to pour out our thanks to the Father of all mercies, for having ſo wonderfully brought about this great deliverance; and to take the utmoſt care to avoid all ſuch diviſions, as may encourage any more attempts from this popiſh pretender? Which nothing can more effectually hinder, than the chuſing ſuch men to repreſent us in the next parliament, who no ways abetted the execrable deſigns of the late miniſtry, but are truly and heartily in the intereſt of their king and country. This, and this only, can put us upon a happy and laſting eſtabliſhment.'

1714. ‘ an audience, that miniſter made, anſwer, that, ſince the
‘ chevalier de St. George remained ſtill in my dominions,
‘ the king thought fit to forbid you the court: in caſe his
‘ majeſty ſhould continue in this diſagreeable reſolution with
‘ reſpect to me, I muſt ſubmit to his pleaſure, and you
‘ have nothing elſe to do, but to return hither as ſoon as
‘ you are able. However, you are firſt to apply to the duke
‘ of Marlborough, and to the king's miniſters, deſiring
‘ them to lay before his majeſty the unfortunate ſituation I
‘ am in, if, after having been ſo ready to let the king know
‘ the part I take in his acceſſion to the crown of England,
‘ and after having been one of the firſt to make my com-
‘ piments, and ſhow my zeal on this occaſion, all Europe
‘ ſhould be acquainted, that his majeſty had ſome reaſon to
‘ be diſſatisfied with me. That I cannot conceive, whence
‘ this ſhould proceed, ſince, as to the chevalier de St.
‘ George, the world knows, by what means he came into
‘ this country: that every one is informed of the ſituation
‘ of my territories, which are ſurrounded and cut through
‘ on all ſides by France: that it is known how I had no
‘ ſhare in his coming into my country: that I neither
‘ invited him to come thither, nor could I force him to go
‘ away: that lately, upon the death of queen Anne, I knew
‘ nothing of his leaving Bar, till twelve hours after he was
‘ gone from thence; and I knew nothing of his return to
‘ Bar, till after he was come back, as a traveller, that goes
‘ backwards and forwards in an open country, and inter-
‘ mixed with other territories as mine is: as to the mani-
‘ feſto or declaration dated at Prombieres, when the che-
‘ valier de St. George had got printed, I knew nothing
‘ more of it, than that he gave me one after it had been
‘ publiſhed; but that really I am much concerned to hear
‘ from you, that it has been reported, that the ſame ma-
‘ niſeſtoes have been ſpread abroad by you, or thoſe of
‘ your retinue. I own to you, that I am extremely con-
‘ cerned at this, and that in ſome ſort it ſeems to be a de-
‘ ſign to make me uneaſy, to give out, that either I or my
‘ ſervants meddled in ſuch an affair.

‘ Theſe are the reaſons, which I have to offer, and which
‘ I would have you deſire thoſe gentlemen to lay before the
‘ king, in hopes they will convince his majeſty of my moſt
‘ reſpectful adherence to him, and that his majeſty will be
‘ pleaſed to admit you to an audience.

‘ But, if contrary to my expectation, the king will not
‘ grant you an audience, you are to come away, having de-
‘ ſired

'fired the miniſters to let the king know the concern I am 1714.
'under; and that I hope his majeſty will pleaſe to accept of
'my good intentions, and the early care I took to ſhew
'him the inviolable zeal I have for him.'

When the marquis communicated this letter to the king's miniſters, he, at the ſame time, expreſſed his maſter's 'deep 'concern at this unlucky affair, which obſtructed the friend-'ſhip and good underſtanding he had ſo early ſought with 'his Britannic majeſty, for whom he ever entertained the 'higheſt eſteem and veneration.' And he likewiſe expreſſed his own particular concern, and the great mortification it was to him, not to be admitted to a court, which he had ſo great a deſire to be made known to. He was anſwered, 'That it was not out of any prejudice to his perſon, 'nor even to the perſon of his maſter, for whom the king 'had a great eſteem. But, that, as affairs ſtood at pre-'ſent, though his excuſes were, in ſome meaſure, allow-'able, yet his majeſty was the beſt judge of what was con-'ſiſtent with his own honour and dignity; and, as his ma-'jeſty was likewiſe ſenſible of the duke's readineſs to ſeek 'and cultivate a friendſhip with his majeſty, ſo the king 'wiſhed, that the cauſes, which obſtructed the ſame at pre-'ſent, might be ſpeedily removed.' The marquis finding by this anſwer, that his majeſty inſiſted on the removal of the pretender from the dominions of Lorrain, before he would admit him to an audience, took his leave of the lord Townſhend, and, on the 13th of December, ſet out on his return home. In anſwer to that part of the duke of Lorrain's letter, wherein he alledges, 'That his territories are 'ſurrounded and cut through on all ſides by France; and 'that he neither invited the chevalier de St. George thither, 'nor could force him to go away;' a paper tranſmitted hither by Mr. Prior, and delivered to him by the marquis de Torcy, was ſaid to be produced to the marquis, whereby his moſt chriſtian majeſty declared, 'That he neither did, 'nor would in any manner concern himſelf with the che-'valier de St. George;' which declaration was directly contrary to the duke of Lorrain's allegation.

When the pretender's declaration came firſt into England, and was publiſhed in the foreign prints, the jacobites and tories inſiſted upon its being a contrivance of the whigs, to reflect on the memory of the queen, and to fix an odium upon the high-church party, becauſe in that declaration he ſaid, 'That for ſome time paſt he could not well doubt of 'his ſiſter's good intentions towards him.' But they were

1714. much confounded by the duke of Lorrain's letter, which owned the declaration to be genuine, and that the pretender himſelf had given him one of them.

About the latter end of November, the king advanced the ſalaries of the chief-juſtice of the king's-bench, and of the chief-barons of the exchequer, to the ſame ſum, as was allowed the chief-juſtice of the common-pleas, being 2000 *l.* a year, and the ſalaries of the other nine judges to 1500 *l.* a year (n).

Addreſſes to diſſolve the union.

About this time addreſſes were ſet on foot in Scotland, for diſſolving the union; and it was alſo propoſed, that none ſhould be elected members of parliament there, but ſuch as would promiſe to uſe their endeavours for that purpoſe. Many well-meaning people ſeemed at firſt inclinable to fall in with thoſe meaſures; but when they found, that the jacobites were the moſt zealous in puſhing this affair, in order to raiſe confuſion and diſcord betwixt the two nations, they refuſed to concur, and referred their grievances by the union to be conſidered, when the nation ſhould be better ſettled. But there was a quite different ſpirit among the high-church party in England, who excited riots and tumults in many parts of the kingdom, to which they had been encouraged by the pretender's declaration. To prevent theſe diſorders, a proclamation was publiſhed on the 6th of December.

Re-

(n) Sir Peter King recorder of London, was appointed chief-juſtice of the common pleas, in the room of the lord Trevor; and Samuel Dodd was made chief-baron of the exchequer; Sir James Montague, a baron of that court, in the room of ſerjeant Baniſter; ſerjeant Prat, a judge of the king's bench in the room of Sir Thomas Powis; Nicholas Lechmere, ſollicitor-general, in the room of Sir Robert Raymond; Spencer Cowper, Attorney-general; and John Forteſcue-Aland ſollicitor-general to his royal highneſs. About the ſame time it was made public, that the ducheſs of Bolton, the ducheſs of St. Alban's, the ducheſs of Mountague, the counteſs of Dorſet, the counteſs of Berkeley, and the lady Cowper, were made ladies of the bed-chamber to the princeſs of Wales; and Mrs. Selwyn, Mrs. Pollexfen, Mrs. Howard, and Mrs. Clayton, bed chamber women to her royal highneſs.

It was generally reported and believed, that Robert Price, one of the barons of the exchequer, would be laid aſide upon the demiſe of the queen, he having always ſhewn an indifference with reſpect to the proteſtant ſucceſſion: but he was continued, and it was thought he owed his continuance to his readineſs to go down to Briſtol with Sir Littleton Powis and Robert

Religious diſputes were at this time alſo at a great height. 1714.
Dr. Samuel Clarke having, before the queen's death, publiſhed his ſcripture-doctrine of the Trinity, the lower-houſe of convocation had complained of his book, as containing aſſertions contrary to the catholic faith. This complaint being laid before the biſhops, they deſired an extract to be made of ſuch paſſages, as gave greateſt offence; and were moſt liable to cenſure. Accordingly, the lower-houſe made an extract, and, having ſent it up to the biſhops, Dr. Clarke, whilſt it was under conſideration, wrote a reply to it, which was preſented to ſome of the biſhops, but was not laid before the houſe. After this, there appeared in almoſt the whole upper-houſe a great diſpoſition to prevent diſſenſions and diviſions, by coming to a temper in this matter, and Dr. Clarke was prevailed upon to lay before

Diſputes about the Trinity.
Complaint againſt Dr. Clarke. June 2.
June 23.

Robert Tracy, two other judges, and to try thoſe, who had been guilty of the riot there, on the day of the king's coronation. The cry of theſe rioters was 'Sacheverel and Ormond: 'Damn all foreign governments.' On the 27th of November, ſeven of the chief rioters were brought to their trials for aſſaulting and plundering Mr. Stephens's houſe, and murdering Mr. Thomas. During the trials Mr. Hart, a tobacco-merchant, who had been made a juſtice of the peace by the laſt miniſtry, behaved himſelf with ſuch inſolence, that he was ordered to quit the bench. Another reflected ſo ſcandalouſly upon the grand-jury, that he was ordered to the bar, and bound over to anſwer for his offence. Six of the priſoners were found guilty of the riot; and one of them upon whom Mr. Stephens's wearing apparel had been found, was convicted of felony and burglary to the value of ten-pence only. All the criminals convicted of the riot were fined each twenty nobles only, to be impriſoned three months, and give ſecurity for twelve months for their good behaviour. As the proofs againſt them were plain, a houſe being plundered, and a man murdered by them, it was thought ſurprizing, that not one of them ſuffered capitally for theſe crimes.' The grand jury for the city and county of Briſtol drew up an addreſs to the king, in which they 'returned their unfeigned thanks 'for his great goodneſs in ſending a ſpecial commiſſion to 'that city, not only to protect 'his good ſubjects, but to prevent for the future ſuch riotous aſſemblies, which for 'theſe four laſt years that before happy place had been expoſed to And they were 'ſorry to ſay, that theſe aſſemblies had been encouraged and 'abetted by ſome of their own 'fellow-citizens, who had from 'time to time notoriouſly eſpouſed their cauſe, and, as 'far as in them lay, had ſcreened them from juſtice.'

1714. them a paper, in order to put an end to the affair (o). Dr. Clarke being apprehenſive, that, if his paper ſhould be pub-
July 2. liſhed ſeparately without a true account of the preceding and following circumſtances, it might be liable to be miſun-
July 5. derſtood in ſeveral particulars, cauſed, three days after, an explanation to be delivered to the biſhop of London (p). The

(o) The paper was as follows:

1. My opinion is, that the Son of God was eternally begotten by the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit was likewiſe eternally derived from the Father, by or through the Son, according to the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father.

2. Before my book, intituled, 'The Scripture Doctrine, &c,' was publiſhed, I did indeed preach two or three ſermons upon this ſubject; but, ſince the book was publiſhed, I have never preached upon this ſubject: and (becauſe I think it not fair to propoſe particular opinions, where there is not liberty of anſwering) I am willing to promiſe (as indeed I intended) not to preach any more upon this ſubject.

3. I do not intend to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. But if I ſhall fail herein, and write any thing hereafter, upon this ſubject, contrary to the doctrine of the church of England, I do hereby willingly ſubmit myſelf to any ſuch cenſure, as my ſuperiors ſhall think fit to paſs upon me.

4 And whereas it has been confidently reported, that the Athanaſian creed, and the third and fourth petitions in the Litany have been omitted in my church by my direction, I do hereby declare, that the third and fourth petitions in the Litany have never been omitted at all, as far as I know; and that the Athanaſian Creed was never omitted at eleven o'clock prayers, but at early prayers only, for brevity ſake, at the diſcretion of the curate, and not by my appointment.

5. As to my private converſation, I am not conſcious to myſelf, that I have given any juſt occaſion for thoſe reports which have been ſpread concerning me, with relation to this controverſy.

I am ſorry that what I ſincerely intended for the honour and glory of God, and ſo to explain this great myſtery, as to avoid the hereſies in both extreams, ſhould have given any offence to this ſynod, and particularly to my lords the biſhops. I hope my behaviour for the time to come, with relation hereunto, will be ſuch, as to prevent any future complaints againſt me.

(p) The explanation was thus:

Whereas the paper laid before your lordſhips, on Friday laſt, was, through haſte and want of time, not drawn up with ſufficient exactneſs; ſome things

The ſame day the upper-houſe came to a reſolution to enter the paper and explanation in the acts of the houſe, to communicate the ſame to the lower-houſe, and to proceed no farther upon the extract. But the lower-houſe were of a different opinion, and reſolved, that the paper was no recantation of his heretical aſſertions, nor did give ſuch ſatisfaction for the great ſcandal occaſioned by his writings, as ought to put a ſtop to any further examination. 1714. July 7.

Thus ſtood the affair at the queen's death, and, the diſputes about the Trinity increaſing, on the 11th of Decem-

things therein being not ſo fully expreſſed as they might have been; and others expreſſed in ſuch a manner as may be liable to be miſunderſtood, as not explaining with ſufficient clearneſs and diſtinctneſs my whole thoughts to your lordſhips upon the ſubject therein contained: and whereas, if my preſent meaning in any part of it, ſhould now be miſunderſtood, I may hereafter be thought not to have fully and ſincerely to have opened myſelf to your lordſhips; I do humbly, and with all ſubmiſſion, beg leave to take this immediate opportunity of repreſenting to your lordſhips, that I think myſelf indiſpenſably obliged, in conſcience, to lay before your lordſhips the following explanations of the aforeſaid paper, viz.

That whereas I declared in that paper my opinion to be, that 'the Son was eternally begotten, by the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit, &c.' I did not mean thereby to retract any thing I had written; but to declare that the opinion ſet forth at large in the book intituled, 'The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity,' and in the defences of it, is, that 'the Son was eternally begotten, by the eternal incomprehenſible power and will, &c.' Which words (the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father) I deſire may be ſo underſtood, as to ſignify that God the Father alone is, and is to be honoured as being, ἀναίτιος and παναίτιος, the original of all, himſelf without original.

And whereas I declared I did not 'intend to write any more 'concerning the doctrine of 'the Trinity: but if I ſhould 'fail herein, and write any 'thing hereafter, &c.' I deſire it may be ſo underſtood, as not to preclude myſelf in point of conſcience from a liberty of making any inoffenſive corrections in my former books, if they ſhall come to another edition: or from vindicating myſelf from any miſrepreſentation or aſperſions, which may poſſibly hereafter be caſt upon me on the occaſion of this controverſy; but only to ſignify, that I have no preſent intention of writing any new book; and that, if hereafter I ſhall at any time write any thing which your lordſhips ſhall judge worthy of cenſure, I ſhall readily ſubmit to ſuch cenſure.

1714. ber were publiſhed 'Directions to the archbiſhops, and bi-
'ſhops, for the preſerving unity in the church, and the
'purity of the chriſtian faith, concerning the Holy Trini-
'ty; and alſo for preſerving the peace and quiet of the
'ſtate.'

Theſe directions were:

I. That no preacher whatſoever, in his ſermon or lecture, do preſume to deliver any other doctrine concerning the bleſſed Trinity, than what is contained in the holy ſcriptures, and is agreeable to the three creeds, and the thirty-nine articles of religion.

II. That, in the explication of this doctrine, they carefully avoid all new terms, and confine themſelves to ſuch ways of expreſſion, as have been commonly uſed in the church.

III. That care be taken, in this matter, eſpecially to obſerve the fifty-third canon of this church, which forbids public oppoſition, between preachers, becauſe (as that canon expreſſes it) there groweth thereby much offence and diſquietneſs unto the people: and that, above all things, they abſtain from bitter invectives and ſcurrilous language againſt all perſons whatſoever.

IV. That none of the clergy, in their ſermons and lectures, preſume to intermeddle in any affairs of ſtate or government, or the conſtitution of the realm, ſave only on ſuch ſpecial feaſts and faſts, as are or ſhall be appointed by public authority; and then no farther than the occaſion of ſuch days ſhall ſtrictly require. Provided always, that nothing in this direction ſhall be underſtood to diſcharge any perſon from preaching in defence of the regal ſupremacy eſtabliſhed by law, as often, and in ſuch manner, as the firſt canon of the church doth require.

V. That the foregoing directions be alſo obſerved by thoſe, who write any thing concerning the ſaid ſubjects.

VI. Whereas alſo we are credibly informed, that it is the manner of ſome in every dioceſe, before their ſermon, either to uſe a collect and the Lord's-prayer, or the lord's-prayer only (which the fifty-fifth canon preſcribes as the concluſion of the prayer, and not the whole prayer) or at leaſt to leave out our titles, by the ſaid canon required to be declared and recognized: we do further direct, that you require your clergy, in their prayer before ſermon, that they

they do keep ſtrictly to the form in the ſaid canon contained, or to the full effect thereof. 1714.

VII. And whereas we alſo underſtand, that divers perſons, who are not of the clergy, have of late preſumed, not only to talk and to diſpute againſt the chriſtian faith concerning the bleſſed Trinity, but alſo to write and publiſh books and pamphlets againſt the ſame, and induſtriouſly ſpread them through the kingdom, contrary to the known laws in that behalf made and enacted, and particularly to one act of parliament made in the ninth year of king William the third, intitled, 'An act for the more effectual 'ſuppreſſing of blaſphemy and profaneneſs;' we taking all the matters abovementioned into our royal and ſerious conſideration, and being deſirous to do what in us lies, to put a ſtop to theſe diſorders, do ſtrictly charge and command you, together with all other means ſuitable to your holy profeſſion, to make uſe of your authority according to law, for the ſuppreſſing and reſtraining of all ſuch exorbitant practices. And, for your aſſiſtance, we will give charge to our judges, and all other civil officers, to do their duty herein, in executing the ſaid act, and all other laws, againſt all ſuch perſons as ſhall, by theſe means, give occaſion of ſcandal, diſcord, and diſturbance in our church and kingdom.

On the 5th of January, a proclamation was publiſhed for diſſolving the parliament, and, on the 15th, another was iſſued for calling a new one, in the following terms: 1714-15. The parliament diſſolved, and a new one called.

'It having pleaſed almighty God, by moſt remarkable 'ſteps of his providence, to bring us ſafe, to the crown of 'this kingdom, notwithſtanding the deſigns of evil men, 'who ſhewed themſelves diſaffected to our ſucceſſion, and 'who have ſince, with the utmoſt degree of malice, miſ'repreſented our firm reſolutions and uniform endeavours 'to preſerve and defend our moſt excellent conſtitution 'both in church and ſtate, and attempted, by many falſe 'ſuggeſtions, to render us ſuſpected to our people; we 'cannot omit, on this occaſion of firſt ſummoning our par'liament of Great-Britain, in juſtice to ourſelves, and that 'the miſcarriages of others may not be imputed to us, at 'a time, when falſe impreſſions may do the greateſt and 'irrecoverable hurt, before they can be cleared up, to ſig'nify to our whole kingdom, that we were very much con'cerned, at our acceſſion to the crown, to find the public 'affairs of our kingdom under the greateſt difficulties, as

'well

1714-15. 'well in reſpect of our trade, and interruption of our na-
'vigation, as of the great debts of our nation, which,
'we were ſurprized to obſerve, had been very much in-
'creaſed ſince the concluſion of the laſt war. We do not
'therefore doubt, that, if the enſuing elections ſhould be
'made by our loving ſubjects with that ſafety and freedom,
'which by law they are intitled to, and we are firmly re-
'ſolved to maintain to them, they will ſend up to parlia-
'ment the fitteſt perſons to redreſs the preſent diſorders,
'and to provide for the peace and happineſs of our king-
'dom, and the eaſe of our people for the future; and there-
'in will have a particular regard to ſuch as ſhewed a firm-
'neſs to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, when it was in danger.'

The late miniſtry foreſeeing, they ſhould be called to an account for their conduct, had frequent conſultations how to avoid the ſtorm; and ſoon after a traiterous libel was publiſhed, under the title of, 'Engliſh advice to the free-'holders of Great-Britain.' Nothing could be more full of malice and falſhood againſt the king's perſon and family; as well as againſt the whigs in general, and the preſent miniſtry; and it was artfully contrived to raiſe diſcontents among the people againſt the government, and to poſſeſs them with an opinion, that the church was in danger by his majeſty's adminiſtration. It was carefully diſperſed through the country, and great numbers of them were intercepted in the city of Exeter (q). Upon which the government iſſued out a proclamation, promiſing a reward of one thouſand pounds for the diſcovery of the author of the libel, and five hundred pounds for the diſcovery of the printer: But to no purpoſe (r).

The

(q) They were directed to Sir John Coriton, Sir Nicholas Morrice, Jonathan Elford, Philip Rathleigh, Francis Seabell, John Williams, Eſquires; Mr. Granville Piper, Mr. Welchman, Mr. William Cary, Mr. Prowſe, Mr. Philips, Mr. Tonkin, Mr. Cannock Kendall, in Cornwall, and to the rev. Mr. Shute, the rev. Mr. Hughes, the rev. Mr. Collyer, and the rev. Mr. Bedford in the ſame county, and to the mayor of Weſtloe.

(r) This libel was ſuppoſed to be penned by biſhop Atterbury. The ſubſtance of it may be reduced to theſe five heads:

I. A declamation againſt the pretended arts and indirect practices of the government, in order to procure a whig houſe of commons to be elected.

II. Preſſing motives to the tories, to whom the author gives the title of the Church, to exert themſelves at this critical juncture

The ſame day, the miſmanagement of the late miniſtry, with regard to Chelſea-College, was made public by order of the privy-council; upon which, the government of that hoſpital was changed, and brigadier Stanwick appointed governor (f). 1714-15.

The earl of Strafford being returned to England, an order of council was iſſued, that the lord Townſhend and Mr. Stanhope, ſecretaries of ſtate, ſhould go to him, and demand the original inſtructions and orders, and all letters he had received from the late miniſtry, or any foreign prince or miniſter, and copies of all inſtructions, of which he had not the originals; and alſo of all letters writ by him to any perſon whatſoever, relating to his negotiations, from the time of his firſt being at the Hague. The earl delivered them two trunks, which, he ſaid, contained what they deſired; and orders were ſent to ſeal up his papers, that were on ſhip-board, or at the cuſtom-houſe. The earl of Strafford's papers ſeized, Jan. 11.

Mr. Prior, who had been deep in the meaſures of the late miniſtry, was now ordered home, the earl of Stair being arrived at Paris, where he had ſeveral conferences with the marquis de Torcy, and preſented memorials about the canal and intended port at Mardyke, and ſignified to the court of France, that he had orders not to take any Prior order'd home.

ture to get churchmen choſen into the enſuing parliament.

III. Articles of impeachment, or a large charge againſt the whigs, for intended crimin[illegible] deſigns againſt the conſtitution in church and ſtate; ſuch as aboliſhing epiſcopacy; repealing the limitations in the act of ſettlement, and act for triennial parliaments; renewing the war; ſetting up a ſtanding army; and inſlaving the nation.

IV. Great ſophiſtry and declamation to prove, that the church was in danger.

V. Invectives againſt the duke of Marlborough and his family; calumnies againſt the miniſtry, and all the nobility and gentry in the king's intereſt; with treaſonable reflections on his majeſty and the royal family.

This libel was anſwered in a pamphlet, intitled, Treaſon detected; and another, called, A reply to a traiterous libel, intitled, Engliſh advice, &c.

(f) A new commiſſion paſſed the great ſeal, appointing commiſſioners for the government of that hoſpital, the lord-preſident of the privy-council, the captain-general of his majeſty's forces, the firſt lord-commiſſioner of the treaſury, the two principal ſecretaries of ſtate for the time being, lieutenant-general Earle, lieutenant-general Lumley, the ſecretary of war, the comptroller of the army, and the governor and lieutenant-governor of the ſaid hoſpital for the time being.

cha-

1714-15. character upon him, till he had a clear and positive answer to the memorials.

Elections for the new parliament. The elections for the new parliament were now carrying on with great warmth by both parties, but with most success on the side of the whigs. The electors in some counties and cities drew up instructions for their representatives, the most remarkable of which were those of the city of London, wherein was this passage: 'We desire 'and expect, that you will inquire by whose counsel it 'was, that, after God had blessed the arms of her late 'majesty, and her allies, with a train of unparalleled successes, she was prevailed upon, contrary to the grand 'alliance, and her repeated promises from the throne to 'both houses, to send to, or receive managers from France, 'to treat separately of a peace, without the knowledge 'and consent of our allies.'

Elections in Scotland. In Scotland the tories published a circular letter, to dissuade the Scotch lords from voting for the whigs, or, as they pretended, for the sixteen peers, of whom the duke of Argyle had brought a list from England. But this letter made little impression, and the following peers were elected, the dukes of Roxburgh and Montrose; the marquisses of Tweedale, Lothian, and Annandale; the earls of Sutherland, Rothes, Buchan, Loudon, Orkney, Stair, Bute, Deloraine and Ilay; and the lords Ross and Belhaven. All these lords were distinguished by their attachment to the revolution, and had contributed to the union to the utmost of their power. The marquis of Annandale, of the antient family of Johnstoun, had openly declared for king William, though, shortly after indeed, he declared for king James. But he repented of that step, and for his faithful services was employed in places of trust. The marquis of Lothian was a great promoter of the revolution. He had in the reign of king James II. married a daughter of the earl of Argyle, beheaded by that prince, purely out of a principle of honour, and, to shew his regard for a family unjustly persecuted, a certain proof that he would not favour the designs of the pretender. The earl of Sutherland, known at the time of the revolution by the name of the lord Strathnaver, was constantly attached to king William, and had followed him in all his campaigns in Flanders, at the head of a regiment. He had appeared very zealous for the privileges of the Scots; and did not think the union detrimental thereto. The earl of Stair was already employed by the new

The sixteen peers.

govern-

government as well as the dukes of Montroſe and Roxburgh, and their attachment to it was not doubted. The only one that ſeemed exceptionable in the liſt was the lord Belhaven. No man had ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the union, and, had his advice been followed, it would never have taken place. But, finding at length all oppoſition in vain, he gave way to the torrent. There was one thing capable of making amends for all his non-compliances, and that was his ſingly oppoſing, in the preſence of the duke of York, the act of ſucceſſion paſſed by a majority of voices in favour of that prince. He was alſo a good ſpeaker, which will be always a great recommendation. 1714-15.

The elections for the houſe of commons were made with almoſt equal ſucceſs, and the whigs had the majority. Thus all ſeemed quiet in Scotland, though a ſtorm was then gathering there, which broke out in leſs than a year. The deſign was conducted more regularly than in England, and was better concealed. It was begun with endeavours for a remonſtrance againſt the union; and the advice of the moſt famous lawyers was aſked upon it, who declared the act of union contained ſeveral nullities, and to be very defective. The oppoſite party, to prevent a remonſtrance ſo diſagreeable to the court, were forced to conſent there ſhould be no addreſs of congratulation: and that, preſented by the kirk, had ſuffered great debates about the manner in which king William was mentioned, and had paſſed with much difficulty. The Highlanders were ſilent, and declared not themſelves. It was only known that they were making proviſion of powder and ball (t).

On the 17th of March, the parliament of Great-Britain met at Weſtminſter; and, the commons proceeding to the choice of a ſpeaker, the earl of Hertford, ſon to the duke of Somerſet, ſaid, 'That, according to his ma-'jeſty's pleaſure, they were immediately to proceed to 'the choice of a ſpeaker: that, in order thereto, they 'ought, in the firſt place, to conſider, that ſcarce any The parliament meets. Pr. H. C.

(t) The king having given orders for a new commiſſion of Chamberlainry, as they call it in Scotland, the following perſons were appointed to be of it: the marquis of Tweedale, lord preſident; the earls of Sutherland, Buchan, Marchmont, Bute, and Deloraine; Mr. Charles Areſkine, Mr. Kennedy, and Mr. Hadden. Some time after Charles Warrender, of Lochend, provoſt of Edinburgh, was created a baronet.

parlia-

1714-15. 'parliament ever met in a more critical juncture than 'this, when matters of the higheſt importance were like 'to be laid before the houſe: that therefore they ought to 'fix their choice upon a perſon of known parts and abi- 'lities; and that, in his opinion, none was ever better 'qualified for ſo great an office than Mr. Spencer Comp- 'ton.' He was ſeconded by the lord Finch, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Nottingham, who inlarged on Mr. Compton's abilities; upon which Mr. Compton ſtood up, and modeſtly excuſed himſelf; but, his excuſes not being admitted, he was led to the chair by the earl of Hertford and lord Finch. The king approved him on the 21ſt of March, and then declared from the throne, he had ordered the lord-chancellor to ſhew the cauſes of calling this parliament. Accordingly, the lord-chancellor read to both houſes the following ſpeech, delivered into his hands by the king:

Mr. Compton choſen Speaker.

My lords and gentlemen,

The king's ſpeech to both houſes.

" THIS being the firſt opportunity, that I have had " of meeting my people in parliament, ſince it pleaſed almighty God of his good providence to call me to " the throne of my anceſtors, I muſt gladly make uſe of " it, to thank my faithful and loving ſubjects for that " zeal and firmneſs, that hath been ſhewn in defence of " the proteſtant ſucceſſion, against all the open and ſecret " practices, that have been uſed to defeat it: and I ſhall " never forget the obligations I have to thoſe, who have " diſtinguiſhed themſelves upon this occaſion.

" It were to be wiſhed, that the unparalleled ſucceſſes " of a war, which was ſo wiſely and chearfully ſupported " by this nation, in order to procure a good peace, had " been attended with a ſuitable concluſion: but it is " with concern I muſt tell you, that ſome conditions, " even of this peace, eſſential to the ſecurity and trade " of Great-Britain, are not yet duly executed; and the " performance of the whole may be looked upon as precarious, until we ſhall have formed defenſive alliances to " guaranty the preſent treaties.

" The pretender, who ſtill reſides in Lorrain, threatens " to diſturb us, and boaſts of the aſſiſtance, which he " ſtill expects here, to repair his former diſappointments.

" A

" A great part of our trade is rendered impracticable. 1714-15.
" This, if not retrieved, muſt deſtroy our manufactures,
" and ruin our navigation.

" The public debts are very great, and ſurpriſingly in-
" creaſed, even ſince the fatal ceſſation of arms. My firſt
" care was to prevent a further increaſe of thoſe debts, by
" paying off forthwith a great number of ſhips, which had
" been kept in pay, when there was no occaſion for conti-
" nuing ſuch an expence.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I rely upon you for ſuch ſupplies, as the preſent cir-
" cumſtances of our affairs require for this year's ſervice,
" and for the ſupport of the public faith. The eſtimates
" ſhall be laid before you, that you may conſider of them;
" and what you ſhall judge neceſſary for your ſafety, I
" ſhall think ſufficient for mine.

" I doubt not but you will concur with me in opinion,
" that nothing can contribute more to the ſupport of the
" credit of the nation, than a ſtrict obſervance of all parlia-
" mentary engagements.

" The branches of the revenue, formerly granted for
" the ſupport of the civil government, are ſo far incum-
" bered and alienated, that the produce of the funds,
" which remain and have been granted to me, will fall
" much ſhort of what was at firſt deſigned, for maintain-
" ing the honour and dignity of the crown. And ſince it
" is my happineſs (as I am confident you think it yours) to
" ſee a prince of Wales, who may, in due time, ſucceed
" me on the throne, and to ſee him bleſſed with many
" children, the beſt and moſt valuable pledges of our care
" and concern for your poſterity; this muſt occaſion an
" expence, to which the nation has not of many years been
" accuſtomed, but ſuch, as ſurely no man will grudge;
" and therefore I do not doubt but you will think of it
" with that affection, which I have reaſon to hope from
" you.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The eyes of all Europe are upon you, waiting the iſ-
" ſue of this firſt ſeſſion. Let no unhappy diviſions of
" parties here at home divert you from purſuing the com-
" mon intereſt of your country. Let no wicked inſinua-
" tions

1714-15. " tions diſquiet the minds of my ſubjects. The eſtabliſh-
" ed conſtitution in church and ſtate ſhall be the rule of
" my government; the happineſs, eaſe, and proſperity of
" my people ſhall be the chief care of my life. Thoſe,
" who aſſiſt me in carrying on theſe meaſures, I ſhall al-
" ways eſteem my beſt friends; and I doubt not but that I
" ſhall be able, with your aſſiſtance, to diſappoint the de-
" ſigns of thoſe, who would deprive me of that bleſſing,
" which is moſt value, the affection of my people."

The lords addreſs.

The addreſſes of the two houſes were agreeable to the king's ſpeech. The lords thanked him for his very affectionate expreſſions towards his people, for his aſſurances, that the eſtabliſhed conſtitution in church and ſtate ſhould be the rule of his government, and for his juſt concern for their not having obtained all the advantages promiſed by ſo ſucceſsful a war; they expreſſed their wonder, that the pretender ſhould be yet permitted to reſide ſo near his dominions; and owning themſelves ſenſible, that trade in its moſt valuable branches was rendered impracticable, they added:

' Theſe and other difficulties your majeſty hath met with
' on your acceſſion to the crown (and which we muſt ob-
' ſerve, in juſtice to you[illegible] would have
' been prevented, had your opinion [illegible] followed) we
' muſt confeſs, are very great and diſcouraging. How-
' ever, we do not doubt, but that your majeſty, aſſiſted by
' this parliament, zeal[illegible]t, and the
' ſafety and honour of [illegible]ble to take
' ſuch further meaſure[illegible] due to us
' by treaties, eaſe our [illegible]redit, re-
' ſtore our trade, extinguiſh the very hopes of the preten-
' der, and recover the reputation of this kingdom in fo-
' reign parts; the loſs of which, we hope to convince the
' world by our actions, is by no means to be imputed to
' the nation in general.'

Debate about the addreſs.

When the addreſs was read, there aroſe a great debate in the houſe, chiefly about the laſt expreſſions in the foregoing paragraph. The lord Trevor, the lord Bolingbroke, the duke of Bucks, the duke of Shrewſbury, the earl of Angleſey, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhops of London and Briſtol, and ſome other peers, excepted againſt that clauſe, alledging, among other things, ' That it was injuri-
' ous to the late queen's memory, and claſhed with that
' part of his majeſty's ſpeech, which recommended to both

" houſes

'houſes the avoiding the unhappy diviſions of parties: 1714-15.
'and that it was unjuſt to condemn perſons, without firſt
'hearing them.' The lord Bolingbroke in particular was very warm on the ſubject, and moved, that the words recover, &c. might be ſoftened into 'Maintain the reputation of this kingdom;' and that the reſt of the paragraph might be left out. The earl of Strafford likewiſe excepted againſt the clauſe, becauſe it would expoſe the honour of the nation abroad, which he was ſure had ſuffered no diminution during his negotiations. Theſe and other arguments, urged on that ſide, were anſwered by the marquis of Wharton, the lord-chancellor, the earl of Nottingham, the earl of Aylesford, the duke of Devonſhire, and other peers. The lord chancellor particularly confuted the objections raiſed by the lord Bolingbroke, ſaying, 'That the 'addreſs did not condemn any particular perſons, but only 'the peace in general, becauſe they felt the ill conſequen-'ces of it. That they, who adviſed and made ſuch a peace, 'deſerved indeed to be cenſured; but that, the words in 'the addreſs being general, no private perſon was affected 'by them: and that the alteration of the word recover into that of maintain would ſignify no more towards the 'juſtification of the guilty, than the word recover towards 'the condemnation of the innocent.' After this debate, the addreſs was approved and preſented by the lords in a body to the king.

The commons in their addreſs, after having thanked the king for his aſſurances, and expreſſed their ſenſe of the reproach brought upon the nation by the unſuitable concluſion of the war, added: 'We are under aſtoniſhment to 'find, that any conditions of the late peace, eſſential to 'the ſecurity and trade of Great-Britain, ſhould not yet be 'duly executed; and that care was not taken to form ſuch 'alliances, as might have rendered that peace not precari-'ous. And as no care ſhall be wanting in your loyal com-'mons to inquire into theſe fatal miſcarriages; ſo we in-'tirely rely on your majeſty's wiſdom, to enter into ſuch 'alliances, as you ſhall judge neceſſary to preſerve the peace 'of Europe; and we faithfully promiſe to inable your ma-'jeſty to make good all ſuch engagements. The commons addreſs

'It is with juſt reſentment we obſerve, that the preten-'der ſtill reſides in Lorrain; and that he has the pre-'ſumption, by declarations from thence, to ſtir up your 'majeſty's ſubjects to rebellion. But that, which raiſes 'the utmoſt indignation of your commons, is, that it ap-'pears

1714-15. ‘pears therein, that his hopes were built upon the mea-
‘ſures that had been taken for ſome time paſt in Great-
‘Britain. It ſhall be our buſineſs to trace out thoſe mea-
‘ſures, whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring the
‘authors of them to condign puniſhment. Then taking
‘notice of the ill ſituation of trade, they conclude with aſ-
‘ſuring, that they would inable his majeſty to ſupport the
‘dignity of the crown, and make an honourable proviſi-
‘on for the royal family.’

Debate in the houſe of commons about their addreſs.

When this addreſs was reported to the houſe, it occaſioned a warm debate, like that in the houſe of lords on the ſame occaſion. Mr. Bromley, Sir William Wyndham, general Roſs, Mr. Cæſar, Mr. Ward, Sir William Whitelocke, Mr. Hungerford, Mr. Shippen, and ſome others raiſed ſeveral objections to it, which were anſwered by Mr. Robert Walpole, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, and Mr. Pulteney. General Roſs inſiſted, ‘That the condemning the peace, and cenſuring the late
‘miniſters, was a reflection on the late queen, whoſe act
‘the peace was; and that the reflecting on the late queen
‘could not be agreeable to his preſent majeſty.’ He was anſwered by Mr Walpole and Mr. Stanhope, ‘That no-
‘thing was further from their intentions than to aſperſe
‘the late queen: that they rather deſigned to vindicate
‘her memory, by expoſing and puniſhing thoſe evil coun-
‘ſellors, who had deluded her into pernicious meaſures;
‘whereas the oppoſite party endeavoured to screen and juſ-
‘tify thoſe counſellors, by throwing on the memory of
‘her late majeſty all the odium of their evil counſels.’ As to what was objected, that the cenſuring the late miniſters without a hearing, and condemning the peace without examining into particulars, was unjuſt and unprecedented, it was anſwered, ‘That they muſt diſtinguiſh between cen-
‘ſuring miniſters, and condemning the peace in general,
‘and condemning particular perſons. That they might,
‘in equity and juſtice, do the firſt, becauſe the whole nati-
‘on is ſenſible, that their honour and true intereſt were
‘given up by the late peace. That, in due time, they
‘would call them to an account, who made and adviſed
‘ſuch a peace; but God forbid they ſhould condemn any
‘perſon unheard.’ On this occaſion Mr. Stanhope took notice of a report induſtriouſly ſpread about, ‘That the
‘preſent miniſters never deſigned to call the late mana-
‘gers to an account, but only to cenſure them in general
‘terms. But he aſſured the houſe, that notwithſtanding

‘all

'all the endeavours, which had been uſed to prevent a 1714-15.
'diſcovery of the late miſmanagements, by conveying away
'ſeveral papers from the ſecretaries office: yet the govern-
'ment had ſufficient evidence left, to prove the late mini-
'ſtry the moſt corrupt, that ever ſat at the helm. That
'thoſe matters would ſoon be laid before the houſe; and
'that it would appear, that a certain Engliſh general had
'acted in concert with, if not received orders from marſhal
'de Villars.' Sir William Wyndham endeavoured to prove, that the peace had been very beneficial to the kingdom, and offered to produce a liſt of goods, by which it appeared, that the cuſtoms had increaſed near 100,000 *l.* per annum. But he was anſwered by Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who readily granted, that Sir William might indeed produce a liſt of vaſt imports from France; but defied him to ſhew, that our exports thither, particularly of our woollen manufactures, had increaſed ſince the peace. He added, that imports, being only our conſumption, rather prove our loſs than our gain; and that the nation gets only by exports, which keep up our manufactures, employ our poor, and bring in returns of money. Sir William Wyndham made no reply; but Sir William Whitelocke having ſuggeſted, that the whigs deſigned to involve the nation in a new war, and lay ſix ſhillings in the pound, he was anſwered by Mr. Walpole, that none in the preſent miniſtry were for a war, if the ſame could any ways be avoided; and that he doubted not but two ſhillings in the pound would be ſufficient towards this year's ſervice.

After theſe and ſome other ſpeeches, the addreſs was carried by a majority of two hundred and forty-four votes againſt a hundred and thirty-eight.

The conduct of the earl of Oxford and the lord Bolingbroke, the two chiefs of the late miniſtry, was at this time very remarkable. The earl ſkulked about ſometimes in town, and ſometimes in the country; affecting to appear very unconcerned, profeſſing his innocence, and boaſting what great things he had done for ſecuring the Hanover ſucceſſion. The other affected to act a more open part, appeared every where, and ſpoke in parliament with ſuch boldneſs, as if he had not the leaſt ſenſe of guilt, or dread of puniſhment. This was ſaid to be owing to the advice of the lord Trevor, who repreſented to him, 'How much their 'cauſe would ſuffer, if he, whoſe chief intereſt it was to 'ſupport it to the laſt, ſhould meanly throw it up, by ab-'ſenting himſelf. He aſſured him, no hold could be taken

The behaviour of the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke. Annals.

1715. ‘ of his perſon till he was impeached; which he could ‘ not be, till the papers relating to the part of the admi- ‘ niſtration, in which he was concerned, were examined.’ However, it was obſerved, that the earl of Oxford ſold out all the ſtock he had in his own name in the ſouth-ſea company; and the lord Bolingbroke's heart began to fail him, as ſoon as he heard, that Mr. Prior was landed at Dover, and had promiſed to reveal all he knew: which however he did not make good, though he was favourably received by the king, to whom he was introduced by the earl of Dorſet; and, the ſame day, was entertained at dinner by the lord Townſhend, together with the duke of Roxburgh, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope, the earl of Dorſet, and the lord Lumley. That evening the lord Bolingbroke, who had the night before appeared at the play-houſe in Drury-Lane, and beſpoke another play for the next night, and ſubſcribed to a new opera, that was to be acted ſome time after, went off to Dover in diſguiſe, as a ſervant to la Vigne, one of the French king's meſſengers; and there William Morgan, who had been a captain in major-general Holt's regiment of marines, hired a veſſel, and carried him over to Calais, where the governor attended him in a coach, and carried him to his houſe, as appeared by Morgan's examination. The next day after it was publickly known, that he was gone to France, there was handed about in writing, and afterwards in print, the following letter ſaid to be writ by him:

Mar. 26.

The lord Bolingbroke flies in diſguiſe.

Mar. 31.

‘ My lord, Dover, March 27.

‘ I left the town ſo abruptly, that I had not time to take ‘ leave of you, or any of my friends. You will excuſe ‘ me, when you know, that I had certain and repeated in- ‘ formations from ſome, who are in the ſecret of affairs, that ‘ a reſolution was taken by thoſe, who have power to exe- ‘ cute it, to purſue me to the ſcaffold. My blood was to ‘ have been the cement of a new alliance; nor could my ‘ innocence be any ſecurity, after it had been once demanded ‘ from abroad, and reſolved on at home, that it was ne- ‘ ceſſary to cut me off. Had there been the leaſt reaſon to ‘ hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already ‘ prejudged, unheard, by the two houſes of parliament, I ‘ ſhould not have declined the ſtricteſt examination. I ‘ challenge the moſt inveterate of my enemies to produce ‘ any one inſtance of criminal correſpondence, or the leaſt

‘ cor-

corruption in any part of the adminiſtration, in which I was concerned. If my zeal for the honour and dignity of my royal miſtreſs, and the true intereſt of my country, has any where tranſported me to let ſlip a warm or unguarded expreſſion, I hope the moſt favourable interpretation will be put upon it. It is a comfort, that will remain with me in all misfortunes, that I ſerved her majeſty faithfully and dutifully, in that eſpecially, which ſhe had moſt at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expenſive war; and that I have always been too much an Engliſhman, to ſacrifice the intereſt of my country to any foreign ally whatſoever. And it is for this crime only, that I am now driven from thence.

'You will hear more at large from me ſhortly.

Yours, &c.' 1715.

Some maintained this letter to be ſuppoſititious, but the generality of the tories owned it to be true. And it plainly appeared afterwards, that he had juſt reaſons to leave the kingdom.

Notwithſtanding all the demonſtrations of the ill conduct of the late miniſtry, many of their friends ventured to juſtify them; of which the addreſs from the corporation of Wigan, in Lancaſhire, preſented by Sir Roger Bradſhaigh, was a remarkable inſtance; in which, after ſtiling the peace of Utrecht 'A general, ſolid, and beneficial peace for the people,' they proceed thus: 'We take this opportunity to return our thanks for your majeſty's gracious aſſurance of protecting the epiſcopal church of England. This, with your being in full communion with that church, muſt make you dear to all the members thereof. We cannot but pleaſe ourſelves with the hopes, that, by the eſtabliſhment of your family amongſt us, the favourable conjuncture (which has been ſo long wiſhed for) is now come, to extend the epiſcopal government to the reformed churches abroad; which, as we believe, is the only foundation poſſible to unite the chriſtian world upon (if ever it muſt be ſo happy) ſo it muſt render you, above all things, glorious to the whole reformation, by being the happy inſtrument of ſo univerſal a benefit.' Addreſſes in favour of the late miniſtry.

About this time died Dr. Gilbert Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, in the 72d year of his age. He was taken ill of a violent cold, which ſoon turned to a pleuretic fever. He was attended by his friend and relation Dr. Cheyne. But the diſtemper growing to a height, which ſeemed to baffle all remedies, the aſſiſtance of Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead Death of biſhop Burnet, Mar. 17.

1715. was called for, who quickly found his caſe deſperate. He bore the notice of the danger his life was in, with that calm reſignation which had always ſupported him under the ſevereſt trials. As he preſerved his ſenſes to the laſt, he employed the remnant of life in acts of devotion, and in giving the beſt advice to his family; of whom he took leave, in a manner, that ſhewed the utmoſt tenderneſs, accompanied with the firmeſt conſtancy of mind. And whilſt he was ſo little ſenſible of the terrors of death, as to embrace its approach with joy; he could not but expreſs a concern for the grief he ſaw it cauſed in others (u). He was ſucceeded by Dr. Talbot, biſhop of Oxford, whoſe ſucceſſor was Dr. John Potter, regius profeſſor, the preſent archbiſhop of Canterbury.

(u) His character was thus drawn by the marquis of Halifax:

'Dr. Burnet is like all men, 'who are above the ordinary 'level, ſeldom ſpoke of in a 'mean, he muſt either be rail-'ed at or admired; he has a 'ſwiftneſs of imagination, that 'no other man comes up to; 'and as our nature hardly al-'lows us to have enough of any 'thing, without having too 'much, he cannot at all times 'ſo hold in his thoughts, but 'that at ſome times he may run 'away with him; as it is hard 'for a veſſel that is brim-full, 'when in motion, not to run 'over; and therefore the vari-'ety of matter, that he ever 'carries about him, may throw 'out more, than an unkind cri-'tic would allow of. His firſt 'thoughts may ſometimes re-'quire more digeſtion, not from 'a defect in his judgment, but 'from the abundance of his 'fancy, which furniſhes too faſt 'for him. His friends love him 'too well, to ſee ſmall faults; 'or, if they do, think that his 'greater talents give him a pri-'vilege of ſtraying from the ſtrict 'rules of caution, and exempt 'him from the ordinary rules of 'cenſure. He produces ſo faſt, 'that what is well in his writ-'ings calls for admiration, and 'what is incorrect deſerves an 'excuſe; he may in ſome things 'require grains of allowance, 'which thoſe only can deny 'him, who are unknown or 'unjuſt to him. He is not 'quicker in diſcerning other 'men's faults, than he is in 'forgiving them; to readier or 'rather glad to acknowledge 'his own, that from blemiſhes 'they may become ornaments. 'All the repeated provocations 'of his indecent adverſaries 'have had no other effect, than 'the ſetting his good-nature in 'ſo much a better light; ſince 'his anger never yet went far-'ther than to pity them. The 'heat, which in moſt other 'men raiſes ſharpneſs and ſa-'tire, in him glows into warmth 'for his friends, and compaſſion 'for thoſe in want and miſery. 'As dull men have quick eyes, 'in

What precaution ſoever had been taken, about a third part of the commons were tories. This appeared as ſoon as the parliament met. Sir William Whitelocke, member for the univerſity of Oxford, upon a motion in the houſe of commons, to take into conſideration the king's proclamation of the 15th of January, for calling a new parliament, made exceptions to the proclamation as unprecedented and unwarrantable; and was called upon by ſome members to explain himſelf; upon which he made an excuſe for what he had ſaid. Notwithſtanding this, Sir William Wyndham roſe up and ſaid, that the proclamation was not only 'unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous 'conſequence to the very being of parliaments.' He was called upon to juſtify his charge, which he declined, but ſaid, 'That, as he thought ſome expreſſions in the proclamation of dangerous conſequence, ſo he believed every 'member was free to ſpeak his thoughts.' He was anſwered by lord Finch, 'That no doubt every member had 'that liberty, freedom of ſpeech being one of their eſ-

1715.

The king's proclamation objected againſt. Apr. 6. Pr. H. C.

'in diſcerning the ſmaller faults 'of thoſe, that nature has made 'ſuperior to them, they do not 'miſs one blot he makes; and, 'being beholden only to their 'barrenneſs for their diſcretion, 'they fall upon the errors, 'which ariſe out of his abun-'dance; and by a miſtake, in-'to which their malice betrays 'them, they think, that by find-'ing a mote in his eye, they 'hide the beams that are in 'their own. His quickneſs 'makes writing ſo eaſy a thing 'to him, that his ſpirits are nei-'ther waſted nor ſoured by it: 'the ſoil is not forced, every 'thing grows, and brings forth 'without pangs; which diſtin-'guiſhes as much what he does, 'from that which ſmells of the 'lamp, as a good palate will 'diſcern between fruit which 'comes from a rich mould, and 'that which taſtes of the un-'cleanly pains, that have been 'beſtowed upon it. He makes 'many enemies, by ſetting an 'ill-natured example of living, 'which they are not inclined to 'follow. His indifference for 'preferment, his contempt not 'only of ſplendor, but of all 'unneceſſary plenty, his de-'grading himſelf into the loweſt 'and moſt painful duties of his 'calling, are ſuch unprelatical 'qualities, that, let him be ne-'ver ſo orthodox in other 'things, in theſe he muſt be a 'diſſenter. Virtues of ſuch a 'ſtamp are ſo many hereſies, in 'the opinion of thoſe divines, 'who have ſoftened the prima-'tive injunctions, ſo as to make 'them ſuit better with the pre-'ſent frailty of mankind. No 'wonder then, if they are an-'gry, ſince it is in their own de-'fence, or that from a principle 'of ſelf-preſervation they ſhould 'endeavour to ſuppreſs a man, 'whoſe parts are a ſhame, and 'whoſe life is a ſcandal to 'them.'

1715. ‘ ſential privileges. But that the houſe, at the ſame time, ‘ had both liberty and power to cenſure and puniſh ſuch ‘ members as tranſgreſs the rules of decency, treſpaſs upon ‘ the reſpect due to the crown, and ſo abuſe the privilege ‘ of the houſe within doors, as to render it contemptible ‘ without.’ Sir William being again called upon to explain himſelf, and ſtill refuſing, ſome members cried, ‘ The ‘ Tower, the Tower.’ But Mr. Robert Walpole ſpoke to this effect: ‘ Mr. ſpeaker, I am not for gratifying the deſire, which the member, who occaſions this debate, ſhews, of being ſent to the Tower. It would make him too conſiderable, but as he is one, who ſets up for a warm champion of the late miniſtry, and was in all their ſecrets, I would have him be in the houſe, when we come to inquire into the conduct of his friends, both that he may have an opportunity to defend them, and be a witneſs of the fairneſs, with which we ſhall proceed againſt thoſe gentlemen; and that it may not be ſaid, that we take advantage againſt them.’ After ſeveral other ſpeeches, which prolonged this debate above four hours, a motion was made, and the queſtion propoſed, ‘ That Sir ‘ William Wyndham, having reflected upon his majeſty’s ‘ proclamation, and having refuſed to juſtify his charge, altho’ often called upon ſo to do, is guilty of a great indignity to his majeſty, and of a breach of the privilege of ‘ this houſe.’ This motion occaſioned a freſh debate. The houſe ſtill inſiſted, that Sir William ſhould juſtify his charge; and he as obſtinately declined to do it, ſaying, ‘ He was ready to undergo whatever a majority would inflict upon him.’ At laſt, the queſtion being put, that he ſhould withdraw, it was carried in the affirmative by two hundred and eight voices againſt one hundred and twenty-nine: whereupon he withdrew, as did all the hundred and twenty-nine members, who had been for the negative. Then the houſe unanimouſly reſolved, That Sir William ſhould be reprimanded by the ſpeaker. This was done by the ſpeaker in the following manner:

‘ Sir William Wyndham,

‘ I am to acquaint you, that the houſe has come to this ‘ reſolution, that you be reprimanded in your place by ‘ me.

‘ You have preſumed to reflect on his majeſty’s proclamation, and made an unwarrantable uſe of the freedom of

ſpeech

'ſpeech granted by his majeſty. 1715.

'This houſe has made their moderation appear, and 'ſhewn their lenity, by laying the mildeſt cenſure your of-'fence was capable of. I am ordered to reprimand you, 'and do reprimand you accordingly.'

To which Sir William replied:

SIR,

'I return you my thanks for what you have done by the 'duty of your office in ſo candid and ſo gentleman-like 'manner. As I am a member of this houſe, I very well 'know I muſt acquieſce in the determination of this houſe. 'But I am not conſcious of any indignity to his majeſty, 'or any breach of the privilege of this houſe; and there-'fore I have no thanks to give thoſe gentlemen, who, 'under pretence of lenity, have brought this cenſure upon 'me (x).'

Three days after the commons entered upon what they ſaid in their addreſs of thanks ſhould be their buſineſs, the inquiry into the conduct of the late miniſtry. General Stanhope preſented to the houſe, in fourteen volumes, all the papers relating to the late negotiations of peace and commerce, and to the ceſſation of arms, telling them, 'That 'nothing had been omitted, that might either anſwer the 'deſire they had expreſſed of being thoroughly informed of 'what had paſſed in thoſe important negotiations, or ſatis-'fy the whole world, that the preſent miniſtry acted with 'the utmoſt fairneſs and candour, and deſigned to take no 'manner of advantage over the late managers in the in-'tended inquiries. That indeed the papers now laid before 'the houſe were only copies; but that the originals would 'be produced, if occaſion required: concluding, that, 'thoſe papers being too many and too voluminous to be 'peruſed and examined by all the members, he therefore 'moved, that they might be referred to a ſelect com-'mittee of twenty perſons, who ſhould digeſt the ſubſtance 'of them under proper heads, and report the ſame, with 'their obſervations to the houſe.'

Papers relating to the late miniſtry laid before the houſe, April 9. Pr. H. C.

(x) The tories took advantage of this moderation, and ſome of their writers ſecretly diſperſed, not many days after, a libel intitled, 'The honour 'and partiality of the houſe of 'commons, ſet forth in the caſe 'of Sir William Wyndham;' containing bitter invectives againſt the well-affected. Annals.

The

1715. The earl of Oxford being come to town the night before, his brother Mr. Edward Harley, a member of the houſe, ſaid, 'That it was eaſy to ſee, that one of his neareſt relations was principally aimed at in theſe intended inquiries; but he might aſſure the houſe, that the ſaid perſon, notwithſtanding the various reports, which had been ſpread concerning him, would neither fly his country, nor conceal himſelf, but be forth-coming whenever he ſhould be called upon to juſtify his conduct. That he hoped he would be able, upon the ſevereſt trial, to make his innocence appear to all the world; but, if he ſhould be ſo unhappy, as to have been guilty of the crimes, that were laid to his charge, he would think all his blood too ſmall a ſatisfaction to attone for them.' No body oppoſed Mr. Stanhope's motion; only Mr. Hungerford excepted againſt the number of twenty, and moved, that one more might be added; which being readily agreed to, it was reſolved, That the books and papers ſhould be referred to a committee of ſecrecy, the number to be twenty-one, who were choſen by ballot (y).

Committee of ſecrecy.

The committee of ſecrecy met that evening, and choſe Mr. Robert Walpole for their chairman. But, he being the next day taken ill, the committee choſe Mr. Stanhope to ſupply his place; and, for diſpatch, ſubdivided themſelves into three committees, to each of which a certain number of books and papers were allotted. They made ſuch diſpatch, that their report was ready in two months.

The earl of Oxford takes his ſeat in the houſe.

On the 11th of April the earl of Oxford went to the parliament, and took his ſeat in the houſe of peers.

The earl of Peterborough forbid the court.

About this time the earl of Peterborough ſuddenly returned from his late travels to Italy and France, having met with the lord Bolingbroke on the road between Paris and Calais; but it was ſaid, he did not ſpeak to him. The next

(y) The committee conſiſted of the following members:

Sir Richard Onſlow,
Robert Walpole,
Spencer Cowper,
James Stanhope,
Hugh Boſcawen,
William Pulteney,
Nicholas Lechmere,
Daniel lord Finch,
John Aiſlaiby,
Thomas Vernon,
Algernoon earl of Hertford,
Edward Wortley Mountague,
Sir David Dalrymple,
George Baillie,
Sir Joſeph Jekyll,
Thomas Erle,
Richard Hampden,
Sir Robert Marſham,
Alexander Denton,
Thomas Pitt, ſenr,
Thomas lord Conningſby.

day

day after his arrival, the earl appeared at St. James's, but, whatever was the occaſion, two days after the lord Townſhend ſignified to him an order forbidding him the court. 1715.

Death of lord Wharton.

On the 12th of April the marquis of Wharton, lord privy-ſeal, died at his houſe in Dover-ſtreet, after an indiſpoſition of twelve days, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age. His name will be ever endeared to the friends of liberty, and to all who have a true concern for the proteſtant intereſt. Could the ſervices, which he performed for this nation and the preſent royal family be duly enumerated, they would appear beyond the beſt ſkill and abilities of any ſingle man. King Charles II. admitted him to great familiarities, and had him for a companion in many of his debauches, with a deſign to make him wholly his own. With regard to private vices, the ſucceſs was notorious; but, in what related to the public and court, he abſolutely diſappointed the king. He ſaw and heard the deſigns of a prince, to whoſe indolence and luxury the nation was obliged for its preſervation. This gave him a juſt contempt for ſuch a governor, and an abhorrence of all his views. King William was duly ſenſible of his ſervices before and at the revolution. In that reign he attained to no higher a ſtation than being comptroller of the houſhold; which muſt be aſcribed to the unhappy influence of thoſe, who hated him, and his royal maſter. He received however the utmoſt proofs of confidence and reſpect, and had the king's moſt intimate deſigns communicated to him. His probity and good affection in what concerned the government was ſo well aſſured, that it gave him great and conſtant intereſt. Many important meaſures were aſcribed to his ſecret advice. His great vigour and happy addreſs in ſerving the good cauſe, which he had ever in view, cannot fully be deſcribed. His labours were infinite with men of all ranks, and on all proper occaſions. He knew how to accommodate himſelf to every temper and inclination. What to others would have been great pain and trouble, afforded him great pleaſure and ſatisfaction. The merit of his conduct in the country, at court, and in the ſenate, was equally admirable. His enemies, who were only ſo on the account of his public zeal and uſefulneſs, have greatly aggravated his immoralities, and loaded him with crimes, from which he was wholly free. But did he not learn the rudiments of vice under their favourite king Charles? Have not the private lives of moſt of their leaders been equally faulty? Are they excuſable for pretending to the name and noiſe of religion;

His character.

1715. religion? Lord Wharton's defects oblige us the more to admire his excellencies. In a life ſpent in a libertine manner, uſeful knowledge and learning were neglected. But an infinite fund of good ſenſe and great natural abilities ſupplied whatever was wanting. On every emergency he diſcovered what was proper, and was never at a loſs how to act. There was not only a readineſs, and propriety in his ſpeeches, but they were weighty and important. Nothing can be imagined more excellent than his ſkill and ſagacity in the management of a debate. In theſe public appearances he was greatly aſſiſted, by never engaging in the ſupport of what he did not believe to be truth and juſtice on its ſide. He lived to ſee the ſucceſs of a cauſe, for which he had laboured with zeal and intrepidity. But his enjoyment of the bleſſing of the ſucceſſion was very ſhort. A misfortune in his family is ſuppoſed to have produced the fatal effect. His ſon poſſeſſed ſome of his parts and abilities, but his very different uſe and application of them are well known.

The great eclipſe.

On the 22d of April was the famous eclipſe of the ſun, to obſerve which the chevalier de Louville and Monſieur de Montmaur, two French mathematicians, came from Paris, by the direction of the royal academy of ſciences, and were civilly entertained by the members of the royal ſociety, with whom they joined in making their obſervations.

Two miniſters in Scotland ſuſpended. Annals. Hiſt. Reg. Pol. St.

The general aſſembly of the church of Scotland met on the 4th of May, the earl of Rothes, lord high-admiral of that kingdom, being the king's commiſſioner; and the moſt remarkable of their acts was the confirming the ſuſpenſion of two miniſters, Mr. James Maitland of Innerkethie, and Mr. John Maitland, of Fergus, his brother, who had been ſuſpended by the ſynod of Aberdeen, for not obſerving the 20th of January, the thankſgiving-day for his majeſty's acceſſion to the crowns, and not praying for king George by name. Theſe miniſters refuſing to anſwer any queſtions for removing the ſuſpicion, which they lay under, of diſaffection to the king, the aſſembly, by another vote, depoſed them from the office of the miniſtry, and appointed their churches to be declared vacant.

The aſſembly had a difficult part to act in this nice juncture; for ſeveral of the preſbyterians had given injunctions to their deputies, to move for an addreſs to the king, that he would be pleaſed to uſe his endeavours, that the church of Scotland might be delivered from the hardſhips brought upon her in the late reign, by the unlimited toleration granted to the epiſcopal preachers, and the act for reſtoring

lay

lay patronages, which were both contrary to the treaty of union. They had alſo ſome difficulty to avoid remonſtrances againſt the union's being continued. But they managed their affairs with ſo much prudence, as to prevent any heats about thoſe matters in the aſſembly, and uſed their endeavours with ſucceſs to keep the honeſt part of the nation from puſhing thoſe things, ſo that they were willing to refer the redreſs of thoſe grievances to a more proper ſeaſon, when the king and the parliament might do it without interrupting the great affairs which then lay before them. Thus the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland ended quietly, and another was appointed to meet the firſt Thurſday of May, 1716, according to cuſtom. This was a great mortification to the jacobite party in both nations, who flattered themſelves with creating diviſions in the church of Scotland, by thoſe popular topics; but the preſbyterians refuſed to give into their meaſures. 1715.

The committee of the houſe taking the civil liſt into conſideration, ſeveral papers relating to former eſtabliſhments were read; and then the queſtion was offered, 'That it appears to this committee, that the ſum of '700,000 l. per Ann. was ſettled upon king William dur'ing his life, for the ſupport of his houſhold, and other his 'neceſſary occaſions; and at the time of his demiſe, after 'the deduction of 3700 l. a week, which was applied to the 'public uſes, was the produce of the civil liſt revenues, 'that were continued and ſettled upon queen Anne, during 'her life.' Thoſe, who propoſed this queſtion had two things principally in view; to vindicate the preſent miniſtry from the aſperſions caſt upon them, and induſtriouſly ſpread about, by the emiſſaries of the late managers, that the whigs deſigned to give the king a larger revenue than his predeceſſors had enjoyed: and to make good the branches of the civil liſt revenue, which had been alienated or abridged; ſo that the whole neat produce might amount to 700,000 l. per Ann. The leading men among the tories being ſenſible of the firſt, and pretending to be ignorant of the conſequence of this preliminary queſtion, inſiſted a long while, 'That it was inſnaring. That what had been done by 'former parliaments, ought not to be a ſtanding rule for 'the ſubſequent: that, ſuppoſing the parliament had 'given king William a revenue of 700,000 l. per Ann. for 'the civil liſt, they ought to conſider, that he was to pay out 'of it 50,000 l. per Ann. to the late queen, then princeſs 'of Denmark; 15 or 20,000 l. per Ann. for the late duke

Debate about the civil liſt, May 13. Pr. H. C.

of

1715. ‘ of Gloceſter; and 40,000 l. for the dowry of king
‘ James's queen. That, after the late queen's acceſſion
‘ to the throne, the parliament taking notice, that the pro-
‘ duce of the civil-liſt revenues exceeded what they had
‘ been given for, the ſum of 3700 l. per week (that is,
‘ 192,400 l. per annum) was taken out of them, and
‘ applied to other uſes; notwithſtanding which deduction,
‘ the late queen had honourably maintained her family,
‘ and ſupported the dignity of the crown: however, if
‘ the preſent revenues of the civil-liſt were not ſufficient,
‘ they were ready to conſent to an addition.’ It was an-
ſwered, ‘ That the queſtion before them was founded up-
‘ on facts, which, if denied, they were ready to prove
‘ by the records of the houſe.’ But Sir William Wynd-
ham ſtill urging, that the queſtion was inſnaring, Mr.
ſecretary Stanhope anſwered, ‘ That he would be very
‘ plain with them, and own, that, as it was notorious,
‘ that great endeavours had been uſed to alienate the af-
‘ fection of the people from the king and his government,
‘ by falſe ſuggeſtions, that they deſired to plunge the na-
‘ tion into extraordinary expences, they thought it highly
‘ neceſſary to clear his majeſty and his miniſters from that
‘ malicious aſperſion.’ To this lord Guernſey replied,
‘ That the diſaffection of the people, if any, did not
‘ proceed from his majeſty, but from the hardſhips his
‘ miniſters put on the tory party.’ To this it was returned,
‘ That, as ſoon as it would be made known to the world,
‘ how the late miniſtry had uſed, not only the whigs, but
‘ the whole nation, nothing, that could be done againſt
‘ them, would then be thought a hardſhip; but, how-
‘ ever, that neither that noble member, nor any of his
‘ family, had reaſon to complain of hardſhips.’ After
ſome other ſpeeches, the tories endeavoured to drop the
queſtion, by moving, that the ſpeaker might reſume the
chair; which being rejected, the queſtion was carried in
the affirmative, and a motion made that 700,000 l. clear
ſhould be granted yearly for the civil-liſt. The queſtion,
being put upon this motion, occaſioned another great de-
bate. Sir Thomas Hanmer, Mr. Bromley, Sir William
Wyndham, Mr. Cæſar, Mr. Hungerford, and ſome other
leading tories, did not at firſt directly oppoſe the queſtion,
but inſinuated, ‘ That, before they came to that reſolu-
‘ tion, it would be proper, that a particular of the king's
‘ expence ſhould be laid before the houſe.’ Mr. Wal-
pole, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope, Mr. Lechmere, and others,
having

having exploded that propoſal, as altogether inconſiſtent with the king's honour, to have all the private expences of his family and houſhold looked into, as if he had need of a guardian; the tories then moved, that the ſum of 600,000 l. per annum be given to his majeſty, and 100,000 l. per annum ſettled on the prince of Wales. The court-party perceiving, that the propoſal of giving the prince of Wales a ſeparate revenue was only a deſign to divide the royal family, by leſſening the dependance of the next heir, oppoſed it; and, the queſtion being put on that motion, it was carried in the negative by a great majority. The tories having loſt theſe two points, ſome of that party more openly oppoſed the main queſtion. Among the reſt, Sir William Wyndham ſaid, 'He 'had the honour to ſerve her late majeſty, and had 'the opportunity to look both into her revenue and 'her expence; and he could aſſure the houſe, that about '500,000 l. per annum was ſufficient for the ſupport of 'her family and civil-liſt; tho' ſhe reſerved about 50,000 l. 'a year for the late king James's conſort.' The court-party were glad of this confeſſion, and Mr. ſecretary Stanhope deſired the committee to take notice of what that gentleman had advanced, becauſe it would ſerve to confirm ſome matters, which the committee of ſecrecy had found in the papers, that were laid before them. The queſtion being put, it was carried without dividing, that 700,000 l. a year clear ſhould be granted for the civil-liſt during the king's life. 1715.

Debate about penſions. May 18.

There was another warm debate a few days after, upon a motion for an addreſs againſt penſions. The leading tories and others exclaimed againſt the penſions given by the crown to ſeveral perſons of quality (ſome of whom they named) who had no occaſion for them. Mr. Robert Walpole urged, 'That they ought not to ſtint the king's bene-'ficence, nor debar him from the exerciſe of the moſt glo-'rious branch of his prerogative, which is to beſtow his 'favours on ſuch, as diſtinguiſh themſelves in his ſervice.' He was ſeconded by Mr. Hampden, who obſerved, that all the penſions, about which ſo much noiſe was made, did not amount to above 25,000 l, and then moved, That the chairman ſhould leave the chair; which, being put to the vote, paſſed in the affirmative by three voices only, a hundred and ninety-one againſt a hundred and eighty-eight.

On

1715.

Debate on a bill to regulate the land-forces. Pr. H. L.

On the 30th of May, the houſe of peers, in a grand committee, conſidered of the bill for regulating the land-forces; when there aroſe a great debate about a clauſe, for confining the ſeveral regiments to thoſe parts of his majeſty's dominions, to which they were allotted; for inſtance, the twelve thouſand men, that were on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, to Ireland. The duke of Bucks, the lord Trevor, the lord North and Grey, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſome others of that party, ſpoke for the clauſe. But the duke of Marlborough and other lords ſhewed the fatal conſequences, with which it might be attended, in caſe of an invaſion from abroad, or an inſurrection at home, by a number of enemies, [illegible] domeſtic, ſuperior to the number of forces [illegible] on the ſpot, where either of them ſhould happen. [illegible] further urged, 'That his majeſty having 'truſted his perſon and family intirely in the hands of the 'nation, and at the opening of this ſeſſion told the parliament, That what they ſhould judge neceſſary for their 'ſafety, he ſhould think ſufficient for his own; the leaſt, 'they could do for him, was to leave to his wiſdom and 'diſcretion the diſpoſal of the few troops, that were kept 'on foot.' Some tory lords moved, that the foreign officers might be excluded from that number: But the duke of Marlborough ſpoke in their favour, and argued, 'That to 'exclude officers, who, like the French refugees, had, for 'above five and twenty years, ſerved England with diſtin-'guiſhed zeal and untainted fidelity, would be a piece of 'injuſtice unprecedented in the moſt barbarous nations.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the queſtion was put, whether the clauſe ſhould be inſerted; and it was carried in the negative by eighty-one voices againſt thirty-five. The next day, the lords read the bill the third time, which, with ſome amendments, was approved, and ſent down to the commons (z).

On

(z) About this time, there was a petition preſented to the lords by Mrs. Mary Forreſter, maid of honour to the late queen, and now to the princeſs of Wales, ſetting forth, that about thirteen years ago, when ſhe was but twelve years of age, ſhe had been married to Sir George Downing, then about fifteen. That, Sir George going then to travel, he did, upon his return, ſhew his diſlike to the match, which had prevented their cohabitation: and therefore they prayed, that they might be ſeparated, and at liberty to marry again. Several of the lords, and particularly the biſhops, ſpoke againſt allowing

On the 18th of May, Sir John Norris, with a ſquadron of twenty men of war, and a fleet of merchant-ſhips under his convoy, ſailed from the Nore to the Baltic, in order to protect the trade of his majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe ſeas. The violent proceedings of the king of Sweden in rejecting the treaty of neutrality concerted by England and Holland, and other members of the grand alliance, for preſerving the remains of his army under general Craſſau, and for the ſecurity of his German dominions, and in cauſing the ſhips of all nations whatſoever, without diſtinction, trading to the Baltic, to be ſeized and confiſcated, even ſome years before king George's acceſſion to the throne, obliged, at laſt, the king and the States-general, after having made proper inſtances for redreſs to no purpoſe, to uſe their fleets for the protection of their ſubjects in their navigation and commerce to thoſe parts. The Britiſh and Dutch miniſters had jointly, or ſeparately, made theſe inſtances in the moſt earneſt manner, by variety of memorials delivered yearly to the king or ſenate of Sweden, ſo long as from the year 1710, without being able to obtain the leaſt ſatisfaction. The laſt memorial of Mr. Jackſon, the Engliſh reſident at the court of Sweden, before the Engliſh ſquadron was ſent, was preſented to the ſenate at Stockholm, January 14, 1714-15, complaining, that the loſs of the Engliſh merchants from the Swediſh cruiſers amounted to 65, 449l. ſterling. The Swediſh regency returned an anſwer on the 8th of February N. S. by which they referred him to the king of Sweden himſelf, who was then at Stralſund. In ſhort, tho' the Dutch as well as the Britiſh miniſters made repeated complaints of thoſe ſeizures, the king of Sweden was ſo far from regarding them, that he iſſued out new orders to his men of war and privateers, to ſeize and confiſcate all ſhips, that traded with any place conquered by his enemies; and theſe orders were ſo very ſtrict, and clogged with ſuch terms on all merchant-ſhips, as in a manner rendered the trade of the Baltic impracticable, without a ſufficient force to convoy the merchant-ſhips, that traded thither (a).

1715.

Affairs at ſea, particularly in the Baltic.

See Intereſt of Great-Britain ſteadily purſued.

On

lowing a divorce; and, the matter being put off till the 3d of May, it was, upon debate, carried by fifty againſt forty-eight, to reject the petition, the biſhops being againſt the divorce, leſt it ſhould weaken the obligations of marriage.

(a) After Steinbock and his army (See p. 64.) were taken priſoners, count Welling concluded a treaty with the adminiſtrator

1715. On the 19th of May died Charles earl of Hallifax. He was deſcended from a younger branch of the Mancheſter family, and came into the world without any advantages of fortune. But uſeful parts, and ſeveral lucky opportunities of

Death and character of the earl of Hallifax.

[illegible] of Holſtein-Gottorp, by which it was agreed, that the towns of Stetin and Wiſmar ſhould be ſequeſtered into the hands of the king of Pruſſia, and the adminiſtrator to ſecure them as well as the reſt of the Swediſh Pomerania, from the northern allies, the Poles and Muſcovites. Count Meyerfeldt, governor of Pomerania, refuſing to comply with this treaty, the northern allies marched into Swediſh Pomerania, took the iſland of Rugen, and forced Stetin to capitulate; upon this, Meyerfeldt accepted the ſequeſtration, which the king of Pruſſia was prevailed upon to take upon himſelf. As the Muſcovites and Poles demanded the expences of the ſiege of Stetin, the king of Pruſſia paid them for the king of Sweden 400,000 rixdollars. The king of Sweden, after his return from Turkey, refuſed to comply with the treaty of ſequeſtration, and inſiſted, that Stetin ſhould be forthwith reſtored to him without the repayment of the 400,000 rixdollars, nor would he depart from his deſign of invading Poland and Saxony, but was reſolved (as he ſaid himſelf) to chaſtiſe his falſe friends as well as his open enemies. This was in effect a declaration of war againſt all who would not aſſiſt him in procuring a reſtitution of what he had loſt, or would not enter into a war againſt the States, then engaged in war againſt Sweden. King George, having certain information that the king of Sweden would not fail, upon the firſt opportunity, to invade his electorate of Brunſwick, reſolved to act in concert with the kings of Denmark and Pruſſia, for ſecuring the peace of the empire, and oppoſe the deſigns of the Swede. To this end a treaty was concluded between the kings of Great-Britain and Denmark, by the third article of which it was agreed, that the dutchies of Bremen and Verden ſhould be made over to his Britannic majeſty, his heirs and poſterity for ever, with this proviſo, that he ſhould, the moment he took poſſeſſion of them, declare war againſt Sweden. This treaty was ratified and exchanged the 17th of July, 1715, and the dutchies were delivered up the 15th of October following, on which day a declaration of war was publiſhed by king George, in his German dominions. Preſently after 6900 Hanoverians marched into Pomerania to join the Danes and Pruſſians, who, after having taken the iſles of Rugen and Uledon, were then attacking Wiſmar and Stralſund. The king of Sweden was himſelf at Stralſund, and, finding it impoſſible to hinder the town from being taken, embarked on board a veſſel, and arrived at Schonen, on the 26th of December, after having been almoſt

of producing them, ſoon gave him a figure in life. He had the reputation of a fine taſte, and of being maſter of polite literature. His projects and his poetry have been aſcribed to others, who ſubmiſſively beſtowed on him their thoughts and labours. It is not worth controverting, whether he was the author or the adopter of ſchemes for the ſervice of the government; ſince his merit, in the proper application of them, is undeniable. Recoining the money, and Exchequer bills, delivered the nation from diſtreſſes, which ſeemed to be attended with unavoidable ruin. Many, who envied a young man the natural reputation of ſuch performances, and many others, who were enemies to the government, incumbered him with all imaginable difficulties. 1715.

His ſkill as a ſpeaker and manager muſt be unqueſtionable, which inabled him to execute ſuch great deſigns. But, when his and the nation's enemies, aided by the perverſeneſs of the times, had gained the aſcendant, his vigour and ſpirit totally failed; and he implored in abject terms their mercy, whoſe rage and inſolence were confirmed by his applications.

When the ſtaff was taken from the duke of Shrewſbury, he was placed at the head of the treaſury, and had the garter, and an addition of title, but not the ſatisfaction, which might naturally have been expected from ſo many happy events. Not finding himſelf poſſeſſed of the fulneſs of power, and the poſt of high treaſurer, which he imagined to be his due, he entered into meaſures with the authors of the fatal ceſſation of arms, and the deſtructive peace. And though it would have confirmed the diſguſts of our allies, and been the higheſt indignity to the king's affectionate and ſincere friends, had he ſucceeded, yet he purſued his deſigns of removing thoſe, who had been fellow-labourers and fellow-ſufferers with him. The perpetual enmity of his new friends to king William, who had raiſed him from the loweſt to the higheſt ſtation in life, the ignominy of an impeachment, and the cenſures and re-

almoſt ſixteen years abſent from his antient dominions. Upon his arrival, he aſſembled what troops he could, in order to paſs the Sound over the ice, and attack Copenhagen, but was diſappointed by a ſudden thaw. Notwithſtanding the earneſt intreaties of his ſiſter and the ſenate of Sweden, he declined going to Stockholm, and remained at Carelſcroon, in order to haſten his fleet, and relieve Wiſmar. Thus ſtood affairs in Sweden, at the king's return out of Turkey.

1715. proaches, with which they had purſued him for many years, were all forgotten. Such are the effects of boundleſs pride and ambition! but a violent diſtemper ſoon put an end to his life, and all his devices.

He left behind him the fame of being an encourager of men of parts and learning; and is ſaid to have ſhewn himſelf ſuch in an agreeable and liberal manner. His performances in poetry have had their full praiſe. A poetical turn infected his proſe. Far from finding the purity and ſtrength of lord Somers's compoſitions, we have in many of his a perpetual affectation of figurative ornaments.

Addreſs about the fifty new churches. May 27. The commiſſioners appointed for building the fifty new churches, preſented an addreſs to the king, wherein they ſet forth, that the [illegible] chapels and churches being almoſt ready, they found themſelves under a difficulty how to provide for the due maintenance for the miniſters, without which no biſhop could regularly conſecrate a church, nor any patron be effectually treated with. The king told them he ſhould readily comply with their deſire, being reſolved to embrace all opportunities of encouraging a work in which the honour of the church of England was ſo much concerned.

Order of the juſtices againſt riots. Annals. This anſwer is one, among many other inſtances of the king's care for the church of England, though the danger of it under his adminiſtration was made a principal topic to excite the people to rebel, and to raiſe mobs and tumults almoſt on every public day; for the prevention of which, the juſtices of the peace of Weſtminſter and Middleſex publiſhed an excellent order, but with ſo little effect, that,

May 28. on the king's birth-day, the mob inſulted the citizens, who ſhewed their joy by bonfires, and illuminations. The care of the magiſtrates in both London and Weſtminſter, and the orders that had been given the horſe-guards, kept them in ſome awe on that day. But the next, being the anniverſary of the reſtoration of king Charles II, they made greater illuminations, and more bonfires, than were ſeen the day before, eſpecially in the city of London, where they broke the windows of ſuch houſes, as were not illuminated, and amongſt them thoſe of the lord-mayor. They inſulted four life-guards, who were pattrolling, and obliged them to cry out, as they did. High-church and Ormond. In Smithfield they burnt a print of king William. This riot being unexpected, there was not force enough at hand to ſuppreſs it immediately; but, at laſt, ſome citizens and conſtables diſperſed them, when they came

came to Cheapſide, and about thirty of the mutineers were ſecured and committed to priſon. The ſame evening one Bourrois, a French or Iriſh ſchool-maſter, was by Sir Charles Peers ſent to Newgate, for high-treaſon, having proclaimed in the ſtreet, that king George had no right to the crown. He was afterwards tried for it, and whipped through the city, according to ſentence; and, his conſtitution being deſtroyed by the venereal diſeaſe, he died in a few days after. It appeared, he was a popiſh prieſt, and taught French for a colour. 1715.

The clamour about the ſoldiers ſhirts.

During theſe commotions the following accident happened, which was made uſe of to increaſe the popular ferment. On the king's birth-day, new cloathing was delivered to the firſt regiment of foot-guards; but ſo particularly coarſe were the ſhirts, that the ſoldiers were much offended at it. There being a great number of Iriſh papiſts, and other diſaffected perſons, then in the guards, their diſcontent was eaſily improved by the enemies of the government; ſo that ſome of the ſoldiers had the inſolence to throw their ſhirts into the king's and duke of Marlborough's gardens at St. James's; as a detachment marched from Whitehall, through the city, to relieve the guard in the Tower, the ſoldiers pulled out their ſhirts, and ſhewed them to all ſhopkeepers and paſſengers, crying out, 'Theſe are the Hanover ſhirts, &c.' The court being informed of what had paſſed, and foreſeeing the conſequences, orders were immediately ſent to the guard at Whitehall, to burn thoſe new ſhirts; which was done that very evening (b). May 30.

About

(b) The duke of Marlborough's enemies laying hold of this occaſion to reflect on him, as if he were to bear the blame of the injuſtice done to the ſoldiers of his regiment, the following advertiſement was made public in the news-papers: 'His 'grace the duke of Marlborough being informed, that 'the undertakers for the firſt 'regiment of foot-guards had 'delivered to the ſeveral companies their cloathing, no way 'anſwerable to the pattern agreed for; his grace, therefore, ordered the ſaid cloathing to be viſited, who finding 'the ſoldiers very much abuſed 'in their ſhirting, his grace immediately directed the ſhirts 'to be burnt, as well to puniſh 'as to deter ſuch undertakers 'from committing the like abuſes for the future; which 'was done accordingly, and 'the reſt of the cloathing has 'been compared with the pattern, that the ſoldiers may 'have juſtice done in all the 'other

1715.

White's letter. Annals.

About the middle of May, there was an intercepted letter returned from Ireland, written by captain Wight, a reformed Officer of Windsor's regiment, to his friend in that country, and, by a mistake, carried to a person of the same name, in which were these expressions: 'The 'duke of Ormond has got the better of all his enemies; 'and I hope we shall be able, in a little time, to send 'George home to his country again.' A warrant was issued from the secretary's office for apprehending captain Wight, who absconding, a reward of 50 l. was offered by the government to any, who should discover him. Not many days after, Mr. George Jeffreys was seized at Dublin, upon his arrival there from England; and, being examined before the lords-justices, a packet was found about him, directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patrick's. This packet Jeffreys owned he had received from the duke of Ormond's chaplain; and, several treasonable papers being found in it, they were transmitted to England. Jeffreys was obliged to give bail for his appearance; of which Dr. Swift having notice, and that search was made after him, he thought fit to abscond.

A packet seized, directed to Dr. Swift.

Shippen's speech on the bill for regulating the forces, Pr. H. C.

The bill for regulating the forces having been sent down to the commons by the lords, the amendments made to it were, after a debate, agreed to. Mr. Shippen, for-

'other particulars. In the mean 'time, his grace ordered two 'shirts to be made of good linnen cloth for each soldier, in 'lieu of one, as likewise new 'waistcoats, instead of the waistcoats made by the undertakers of their old coats, and 'the old cloathing to remain 'to each soldier's own use.' And when the duke reviewed the first regiment of guards, on the 2d of June, he made them a speech, expressing his concern for their just complaints, and his being intirely innocent of the grievance: adding, 'I have 'had the honour to serve with 'you a great many campaigns, 'and believe you will do me 'the justice to tell the world, 'that I never willingly wronged any of you; and, if I can 'be serviceable to any of you, 'you may very readily command it, and shall be glad of 'an opportunity for that purpose. I hope I shall now 'leave you good subjects to 'the best of kings, and every 'way intirely satisfied.' Upon which, the soldiers, with great acclamation, expressed their satisfaction.

Mr. William Churchill, the contractor for the cloathing, laid the blame upon Mr. Brooksbank, the woollen draper, who threw it on Mr. Heron, the linnen-draper, by whom an advertisement was also published in his own defence.

merly

merly a commiſſioner of public accounts, having, on this occaſion, reflected on the miniſtry, as if they deſigned to ſet up a ſtanding army, and inſinuated, as if, after all the clamour that had been raiſed, their ſecret committee would end in ſmoke; Mr. Boſcawen, the late lord Falmouth, replied, 'That he could not forbear taking notice 'of the inſolence of a ſet of men, who, having commit- 'ted the blackeſt crimes, had yet the aſſurance to dare 'the juſtice of the nation: but he hoped thoſe crimes 'would not long remain unpuniſhed. That the commit- 'tee of ſecrecy were ready to make their report, and had 'directed their chairman to move the houſe, that a day 'might be appointed for receiving it; and, in the mean 'time, he might venture to aſſure the houſe, that they 'had found ſufficient matter to impeach of high-treaſon 'ſeveral lords, and ſome commons.' Mr. Robert Walpole likewiſe ſaid, 'That he wanted words to expreſs the 'villainy of the laſt frenchified miniſtry;' and Mr. ſecretary Stanhope added, 'He wondered, that men, who were 'guilty of ſuch enormous crimes, had ſtill the audaciouſneſs to appear in public. 1715. anſwered by Mr. Boſcawen.

The ſame day there was a debate in the houſe of lords about a bill for continuing the impriſonment of the conſpirators againſt the life of the late king William (c). A petition having been offered in their behalf, the lord North and Grey moved, that a day might be appointed to conſider of it; and was ſeconded by the lord Trevor. They were oppoſed by the lord Townſhend, who ſaid, 'he wondered any members 'of that auguſt aſſembly would ſpeak in favour of ſuch 'execrable wretches, who deſigned to have imbrued their 'hands in the blood of their ſovereign;' and moved, that their petition be rejected. The lord Delawar repreſented, 'That, after the death of king William, the par- 'liament left to the diſcretion of the late queen either 'the continuing in priſon, or inlarging of theſe criminals. 'That no body doubted her late majeſty's being a princeſs 'of great clemency; but, at the ſame time, ſhe had ſuch 'a reſpect for the memory of king William, ſuch a re- Debate about the conſpirators againſt king William Pr. H. L.

(c) Theſe were Blackburn, Caſſils, Bernardi, Meldrum, and Chambers, committed in 1696 for conſpiring againſt king William. Several acts had paſſed from time to time for continuing their impriſonment, but all of them expired at the queen's death.

1715. ‘ gard to the ſafety of crowned heads, and ſuch an abhorrence for the crimes, with which their priſoners ſtood charged, that ſhe did not think fit to releaſe them from their confinement. That all theſe reaſons and conſiderations were now inforced by the open diſaffection, which ſome people ſhewed to his majeſty's perſon and government; and that they ought to be ſo tender of the preſervation of ſo precious a life as his majeſty's, that, in his opinion, it were neceſſary to make the act in queſtion abſolute, and not leave the confinement of the criminals to his majeſty's diſcretion, leſt his natural clemency ſhould make him overlook his own ſecurity.’ He concluded with ſeconding the lord Townſhend's motion for rejecting the petition, which was carried without dividing.

The report of the committee of ſecrecy. Pr. H. C.

The committee of ſecrecy having finiſhed their report, which was drawn up with indefatigable pains by Mr. Walpole, that gentleman, as chairman, on the 9th of June, acquainted the houſe, ‘ That he had a report to preſent, ‘ according to their order, but was commanded by the ‘ commitee to make a motion before he read it, That ‘ there were in the report matters of the higheſt impor- ‘ tance. That, although the committee had power to ‘ ſend for perſons, papers, and records, they did not think ‘ fit to make uſe thereof, believing it to be neceſſary, in ‘ order to bring offenders to juſtice, that ſome perſons ‘ ſhould be ſecure, before it is poſſible they ſhould know ‘ what they are to be examined to; and leſt they ſhould ‘ have notice, from what ſhould be read, to make their ‘ eſcape. He was commanded, according to former pre- ‘ cedents, to move, that a warrant may be iſſued by Mr. ‘ Speaker to apprehend certain perſons, who ſhould be ‘ named to him by the chairman of the committee; ‘ and that no members may be permitted to go out ‘ of the houſe.’ The warrant being ordered, and the doors locked, ſeveral perſons were named to the ſpeake by Mr. Walpole; particularly Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who were taken into cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms. Then Mr. Walpole read the report, which laſted from one o'clock till about ſix in the afternoon, when, a motion being made by the friends of the late miniſtry, that the further conſideration of it ſhould be adjourned till the next morning, it was carried in the negative by two hundred and eighty-two voices againſt one hundred and ſeventy-one; and ordered, that the report be

Motion for apprehending ſuch perſons as ſhould be named by the chairman.

now

now read, upon which, the clerk of the houſe having read till half an hour paſt eight, the further conſideration of it was adjourned to the next day. The report conſiſted of, 1715.

Heads of the Report.

1. The clandeſtine negotiations with monſieur Meſnager, which produced two ſets of preliminary articles; the one private and ſpecial for Great-Britain only; the other general for all the allies.

2. The extraordinary meaſures purſued to form the congreſs at Utrecht.

3. The trifling, and amuſements of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, by the connivance of the Britiſh miniſters.

4. The negotiations about the renunciation of the Spaniſh monarchy.

5. The fatal ſuſpenſion of arms.

6. The ſeizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to diſtreſs the allies, and favour the French.

7. The duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general.

8. The lord Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negotiate a ſeparate peace.

9. Mr. Prior's and the duke of Shrewſbury's negotiations in France.

10. The precipitate concluſion of the peace at Utrecht.

The committee alſo offered to the houſe what they found material in the papers referred to them concerning the Catalans and the pretender, and a letter from the earl of Oxford to the queen, with an account of public affairs from Auguſt the 8th, 1710, to June the 9th, 1714; and they concluded with taking notice of ſeveral glaring inconſiſtencies, which are obvious by comparing the late queen's declarations with the meaſures, which her miniſters preſumed to take in carrying on thoſe important negotiations.

The reading of this report by the clerk of the houſe of commons took up the remainder of that day, and all the next, till about four in the afternoon, when Sir Thomas Hanmer moved, that the conſideration of it be adjourned till Monday ſe'nnight, and was ſeconded by the leading men among the tories, who moved alſo, that the report ſhould be printed, in order to be peruſed by all the members of the houſe. Upon which Mr. Walpole ſaid, 'He could 'not but wonder, that thoſe gentlemen, who had ſhewed ſo 'great impatience to have the report laid before the houſe, 'ſhould

1715.

'ſhould now preſs for adjourning the conſideration of it. 'As for the committee of ſecrecy, as they had not gone 'through all the branches of their inquiry, they could 'have wiſhed, that ſome longer time had been allowed 'them to peruſe and digeſt ſeveral important papers. In 'order to that, they would have deferred, three weeks or a 'month, the laying their report before the houſe, but, 'that ſome gentlemen having reflected on the pretended 'slowneſs of the committee, ſince the report was now be- 'fore them, they muſt e'en go through with it. Mr. Stanhope added, 'That, for his own part, he would rea- 'dily agree to give thoſe gentlemen all the time they could 'deſire to conſider of the report; but that, ſince them- 'ſelves had precipitated this affair, he was of opinion, 'they ought to proſecute it with vigour, leſt, by ſtopping 'on a ſudden, they ſhould fortify the notion, which the 'friends of the late miniſtry had, with great induſtry, 'propagated among the people, that the report of the 'committee of ſecrecy would vaniſh into ſmoke; the ra- 'ther, becauſe theſe malicious inſinuations had raiſed the 'ſpirits and inſolence of the diſaffected, and were the prin- 'cipal cauſe of the preſent ferment among the giddy multi- 'tude. That he agreed with the member, who had mov- 'ed the printing of the report, that not only the houſe, 'but the whole world might be convinced of the fairneſs 'and impartiality of their proceedings. But that the 'crimes of ſome perſons named in the report were ſo obvi- 'ous to every body, that they ought, in his opinion, im- 'mediately to proceed to the impeaching of them.' The tories ſtill endeavoured to put it off, and ſome propoſed the adjourning of the debate till that day ſe'nnight; and others would have been contented to defer it for three days only. But the whigs were firm againſt all delays; and, the queſtion being put about ſeven o'clock in the evening, on the motion made by Sir Thomas Hanmer, it was carried in the negative by two hundred and eighty againſt one hundred and ſixty. This point being gained, Mr. Walpole ſaid,

The lord Bolingbroke impeached.

'That he made no queſtion, that, after the report had 'been twice read, the whole houſe was fully convinced, 'that Henry lord viſcount Bolingbroke was guilty of high- 'treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanors. That 'therefore he impeached him of thoſe crimes. But, if 'any member had any thing to ſay in his behalf, he doubt- 'ed not but the houſe was ready to hear him.' After a

debate on it.

ſilence

silence of some minutes, Mr. Hungerford rose up and said, 1715.
'That in his opinion, nothing was mentioned in the re-
'port in relation to the lord Bolingbroke, that amounted
'to high-treason.' And general Ross added, 'He won-
'dered no body spoke in favour of my lord Bolingbroke:
'that, for his own part, he had nothing to say at present,
'but reserved to himself to speak in a proper time.' The
resolution for the impeachment then passed; and, candles
being brought in, according to order, the lord Coningsby
stood up, and said, 'The worthy chairman of this com- and also the
'mittee has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head: earl of Ox-
'he has impeached the clerk, and I the justice: he has im- ford.
'peached the scholar, and I the master. I impeach Robert
'earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer of high-treason, and
'other high crimes and misdemeanors.' Mr. Auditor Harley, brother to the earl, made a long speech, wherein he endeavoured to justify his brother, as having done nothing but by the immediate commands of the late queen; urging, that 'the peace was a good one, and approved as such by two parliaments; concluding, that the facts mentioned in the report, and which were charged on the earl, could not 'be construed to amount to high-treason, but only, in 'strict rigour, to misdemeanors.' He was supported by Mr. Auditor Foley, the earl's brother-in-law, who complained of the hardship put upon that nobleman, in charging him with high-treason, before they had examined the report. But what was yet more favourable for the earl, was spoke by Sir Joseph Jekyll, one of the committee of secrecy, who said, 'That as to the lord Bo-
'lingbroke, they had more than sufficient evidence to
'convict him of high-treason. But, as to the earl of
'Oxford, he doubted whether they had either suffi-
'cient matter or evidence to impeach him of treason.'
But another member of the committee of secrecy having assured the house, That, besides what had appeared before them, and was mentioned in the report, they had other evidence, viva voce, it was likewise resolved to impeach him without a division. After which the further consideration of the report was adjourned to that day sennight; and the report with the appendix were ordered to be printed, and copies to be sent to the Sheriffs and returning officers of every city and burrough.

The next morning the earl of Oxford went to the house of peers, and at first appeared undisturbed; but, finding that

1715. that moſt members avoided ſitting near him, and that even earl Powlet was ſhy of exchanging a few words with him, he retired out of the houſe.

Prior and Harley examined.

It was moved by Mr. Walpole, from the committee, that the perſons taken into cuſtody ſhould be examined in the moſt ſolemn manner. Accordingly, Mr. Prior and Mr. Harley were ordered to be examined by ſuch of the committee as were juſtices of the peace for Middleſex; and two days after, Mr. Walpole told the houſe, that, during a long examination, there appeared matters of ſuch importance, that he was directed to move the houſe for Mr. Prior's being cloſely confined, and no perſon ſuffered to come to him; which was agreed to.

This order occaſioned various reports: ſome affirmed, that the earl of Oxford, or ſome of his friends, had been in cloſe conference with Mr. Prior, and ſo effectually tampered with him, that he was more reſerved in anſwering queſtions than he had been before. However that be, it is certain, Mr. Prior did prevaricate.

Behaviour of the duke of Ormond.

After theſe impeachments, that of the duke of Ormond became the principle ſubject of diſcourſe. The high-church party made his name the ſignal for their tumults, threatening the government and parliament too, if they proceeded againſt him. His zeal for the church was their chief topic to excite the mobs to appear for him; and his noble birth, and the ſervices of his anceſtors, and of himſelf in Flanders during king William's reign, were inſiſted upon. Nor was his generoſity, or rather profuſe way of living, omitted, to prepoſſeſs the people in his favour; but all ſignified nothing; for though the king, at his firſt arrival, ſhewed more lenity and reſpect to him, than his conduct deſerved, and ſeemed willing to paſs by his miſcarriages, while general, as far as poſſible, the behaviour of the duke and his friends was ſuch, as made it impracticable; for inſtead of diſcouraging the mobs, who were taught to cry out, An Ormond, in oppoſition to king George, he plainly countenanced them, and took a great deal of pride to be the idol of the rabble. He affected to have people of quality appear at his levee, and frequent his houſe; and, inſtead of behaving himſelf ſubmiſſively, had the vanity to juſtify his conduct in a printed piece, which in reality expoſed him more to cenſure. About the middle of June, the following advertiſement was diſperſed with great induſtry: 'On 'Tueſday, the 7th of this month, her grace the ducheſs 'of Ormond, in her return from Richmond, was ſtopped

'in

'in her coach by three perſons, well-mounted, and well armed in diſguiſe, who inquired if the duke was in the coach, and ſeemed to have a deſign upon his life, if he had been there. It has been obſerved, that many perſons, armed and diſguiſed in like manner, have been watching by day and by night upon that road, on each ſide of the water, and it is not to be doubted, with a deſign to aſſaſſinate him.' 1715.

This being evidently calculated to excite the fury of the populace againſt the duke's ſuppoſed enemies, the reſt of his conduct could not but alarm the government, and perhaps provoked the houſe of commons to proceed againſt him ſooner, and with more vigour, than they would otherwiſe have done. On the 21ſt of June, the day appointed for the further conſideration of the report, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope ſtood up, and ſaid, 'He wiſhed he were not obliged 'to break ſilence on that occaſion; but, as a member of 'the ſecret committee, and of that great aſſembly, which 'ought to do the nation juſtice, he thought it his duty to 'impeach James duke of Ormond of high treaſon, and 'other high crimes and miſdemeanors.' He was ſeconded by Mr. Boſcawen, but Mr. Archibald Hutchinſon, one of the commiſſioners of trade, made a long ſpeech in behalf of the duke, wherein he ſet forth his noble birth and qualifications, and the great ſervices, which both he and his anceſtors had performed to the crown and nation; urged, that in the whole courſe of his late conduct, he had but obeyed the late queen's commands; and concluded, that, if all, that was alledged againſt him in the report, could be made out, it would, in the rigour of the law, amount to no more than high miſdemeanors. This ſpeech made a great impreſſion on the houſe; and Mr. Hutchinſon was ſeconded by general Lumley, who ſaid, among other things, 'That 'the Duke of Ormond had, on all occaſions, given ſignal proofs both of his affection and love for his country, 'and of his perſonal bravery and courage, particularly at 'the battle of Landen, where he was wounded and taken 'priſoner; and that the late king William was extremely 'ſatisfied with his gallant behaviour. That he had generouſly expended the beſt part of his eſtate in the wars, living in a moſt noble and ſplendid manner, for the honour 'of his country. That therefore, in conſideration both of 'his great ſervices, and his illuſtrious relations, if he had 'of late been ſo unfortunate, as to fail in any part of his 'conduct, they ought not to proceed againſt him with the 'ut-

He is impeached. Pr. H. C.

1715. 'utmoſt rigour of the law; the rather, becauſe he ever 'meant well, and was drawn into ill meaſures by crafty 'miniſters.' Sir Joſeph Jekyll ſpoke likewiſe in his favour; he ſaid, 'That, if there was room for mercy, he 'hoped it would be ſhewn to that noble, generous, and 'courageous peer, who, for many years, had exerted thoſe 'great accompliſhments for the good and honour of his 'country. That, if of late he had the misfortune to deviate from his former conduct, the blame ought not, in 'juſtice and equity to be laid to him, but to them principally, who, abuſing his affection, loyalty, and zeal for the 'ſervice of his royal miſtreſs, had drawn him into pernicious counſels. That therefore, as the ſtatute of 25 Edw. 'III. on which the charge of high-treaſon againſt him 'was to be grounded, had been mitigated by ſubſequent acts, the houſe ought not, in his opinion, to take advan'tage of that act againſt the duke, but only impeach him of 'high crimes and miſdemeanors.' Sir Joſeph added, in the courſe of this debate, 'That ſome perſons endeavoured to 'aggravate the duke of Ormond's faults, by charging upon 'him the riots and tumults, which the populace committed 'daily in many places: but that he durſt aver, that he did 'no ways countenance thoſe diſorders; and if the diſaffected made uſe of his name, unknown to him, he ought 'not to ſuffer for it.' General Roſs laid great ſtreſs upon Sir Joſeph Jekyll's opinion, and ſaid all he could in his commendation, and the duke's defence. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Onſlow, Mr. Ward, Mr. Hungerford, and ſome other members of both parties, ſpoke alſo on the ſame ſide. But Mr. Lyddal, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Thompſon, recorder of London, ſtrongly ſupported Mr. Stanhope's motion; anſwered all that had been ſaid in the duke's favour; and, among other things, repreſented, 'That his grace ever affected popularity: that he could 'not be ignorant of the tumults and riots, of which his 'name was the ſignal; and that ſince he did not publickly 'diſown them, who made uſe of his name, his ſilence was 'a tacit approbation of their proceedings, and ſeemed to 'ſummon the people to a general inſurrection.' Sir Edward Northey, attorney-general, did not diſown, but that in the report of the committee of ſecrecy there were ſome matters, on which an impeachment of high treaſon might be grounded againſt the duke of Ormond; but did not think it proper to explain himſelf further on that occaſion. Mr. Lechmere, ſollicitor-general, ſpoke plainer, and mentioned

oned a caſe parallel to the duke's, which had been adjudged treaſon. The debate laſted till about half an hour after ten, when the queſtion was put, and reſolved by a majority of two hundred and thirty-four voices againſt one hundred and eighty ſeven, 'That this houſe will impeach James duke 'of Ormond of high-treaſon, and other high crimes and 'miſdemeanors.' 1715.

It was the general opinion, that the raſh unadviſed behaviour of the duke's pretended friends, of whom biſhop Atterbury was chief, greatly promoted this vote. It was ſaid upon very good grounds, that a relation of the duke's had prevailed upon him at that time to write a ſubmiſſive letter to the king, deſiring a favourable interpretation of his former actions, and imploring his majeſty's clemency; which had ſo good an effect, that he was to have been privately admitted to the king in his cloſet, to confirm what he had written. But, before the time came, biſhop Atterbury had been with him, and the conſequence was, that he left England abruptly, and never returned to it more. The duke flies out of England.

The commons reſuming the conſideration of the report, Mr. Aiſlaby took notice 'of the general concern, that had 'appeared the day before in the houſe, for the noble per- 'ſon, who was impeach'd, becauſe they were perſuaded, 'it was rather through weakneſs than malice, that he had 'followed pernicious counſels. But that, in his opinion, 'few, if any, would ſpeak in favour of another lord, whom 'he was to impeach. That the perſon he meant was 'Thomas earl of Strafford, one of the plenipotentiaries of 'Great-Britain at the congreſs at Utrecht, whoſe conduct 'had been vaſtly different from that of his collegue, the 'preſent biſhop of London. That this good and pious 'prelate ſeemed to have been put at the head of that nego- 'tiation, only to palliate the iniquity of it under the ſacred- 'neſs of his character; but was little more than a cypher 'in the abſence of the earl of Strafford. That the biſhop, 'not being in the ſecret, had acted with reſerve and cauti- 'on, and would do nothing without the queen's ſpecial 'commands; whereas the earl of Strafford not only was 'forward to venture and undertake any thing (as he ex- 'preſſes himſelf in one of his letters) to be the tool of a 'Frenchified miniſtry, but in many inſtances had gone be- 'yond his inſtructions, and adviſed the moſt pernicious 'meaſures. That having impartially weighed the different 'conduct of theſe two miniſters, he was glad, that nothing 'could be charged upon the biſhop, which gave them an 'op- The earl of Strafford impeached, June 22. Pr. H. C.

1715. 'opportunity to convince the world, That the church is 'not in danger; but moved, that Thomas earl of Straf-'ford be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.' Mr. Aiſlaby inlarged upon this charge, which he reduced to three principal heads, '1. The earl of Strafford's ad-'viſing the fatal ſuſpenſion of arms; which was ſoon after 'attended with ſeveral misfortunes, that befel the allies, 'and at laſt forced them to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to 'the terms of an unſafe diſhonourable peace. 2. Adviſing 'the ſeizing of Ghent and Bruges, in order to diſtreſs the 'allies, and favour the enemy. And, 3. The inſolence 'and contempt, with which he had treated the moſt ſerene 'houſe of Hanover, and their generals and miniſters.' Mr. Baillie of Jerviſwood having ſeconded Mr. Aiſlaby, Sir William Wyndham endeavoured to juſtify the earl of Strafford, as to the firſt head, by ſaying, 'That the peace, 'which was but the ſequel and neceſſary conſequence of 'the ſuſpenſion of arms, had been approved as ſuch by two 'ſucceſſive parliaments, and declared advantageous, ſafe, 'and honourable.' Mr. Shippen, Mr. Ward, and Mr. Snell ſpoke alſo in favour of the earl of Strafford, as did likewiſe Mr. Hungerford, who, among other things, ſaid, 'That though the biſhop of London had an equal ſhare 'with the earl of Strafford in the negotiation of peace, he 'was, it ſeems, to have the benefit of the clergy.' General Roſs having likewiſe ſaid ſomething to excuſe the ſuſpenſion of arms, general Cadogan anſwered him, and ſhewed, 'That, conſidering the ſituation of both armies, the 'confederates loſt the faireſt opportunity they ever had in 'Flanders to deſtroy the enemy's army, and to penetrate 'into the very heart of France.' But added, 'That no-'thing leſs could be expected from a princeſs and a miniſtry, 'who had intirely delivered themſelves into the hands of 'France.' Sir James Campbel ſpoke alſo againſt the earl of Strafford; but the member, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt in this debate, was Sir James Dalrymple, who, with great clearneſs and ſolidity, ſummed up what had been ſaid on both ſides; and having illuſtrated the preſent caſe by parallel inſtances, and proper obſervations, ſhewed, that, both by the civil and ſtatute laws, the earl of Strafford was, at leaſt, guilty of high crimes and miſdemeanors. Upon this the queſtion was put, and by two hundred and ſixty-eight againſt a hundred, it was reſolved, 'That 'Thomas earl of Strafford be impeached of high crimes 'and miſdemeanors.'

The

The articles of impeachment againſt the earl of Oxford being prepared by the committee of ſecrecy, they were read, on the the 3th of July, before the houſe of commons, and the firſt ten were upon the queſtion ſeverally agreed to (d). The eleventh article, which was voted high-treaſon, was to this effect: 1715.

Articles of impeachment againſt the earl of Oxford.

Whereas Pr. H. C.

(d) The ſubſtance of the articles was: 1. He had entered into a negotiation with France without the allies, and agreed it ſhould be kept ſecret. 2. He had adviſed the queen to permit the coming of Meſnager, treated with him, and aſſumed, without authority, the royal power. 3. He had prepared preliminaries ſigned by Meſnager, and ſent them to Holland, when a private treaty was by his advice concluded with France. 4. He had not regarded the repreſentations of Buis, the Dutch miniſter, but declared the queen had made no ſuch treaty, nor would do ſo without the conſent of the States. 5. He had ordered the biſhop of London to inſiſt upon Spain, though, by the preliminaries, the duke of Anjou was acknowledged as king, and though he had perſuaded the queen not to inſiſt upon the reſtitution of Spain. 6. He had not procured ſatisfaction for the allies, but acted in concert with France. 7. He had adviſed the queen to accept the duke of Anjou's renunciation, though Torci had declared it to be null and void by the fundamental laws of France. 8. He had with others adviſed, that the duke of Ormond ſhould be ordered to ingage in no battle or ſiege to the ruin of the affairs of the allies, and afterwards ſent an order to the biſhop of London, to declare, that the queen looked upon herſelf to be then under no obligations whatſoever to the States. 9. He had adviſed that the duke of Ormond, with all the troops in the queen's pay, ſhould ſeparate themſelves from the army of the allies, and not to pay the arrears due to thoſe that refuſed. 10. He had adviſed the fatal ſuſpenſion of arms, and the ſending of lord Bolingbroke to France to ſettle the terms. 11. He had treacherouſly adviſed the enemy how to gain Tournay. 12. He had adviſed and aſſiſted in giving up Spain and the Weſt-Indies to the duke of Anjou. 13. He had treacherouſly adviſed the 9th article of the treaty of commerce with France, and the giving to the French the liberty of fiſhing, and drying fiſh on Newfoundland. 14 He had taken Sicily from the houſe of Auſtria, and given it the duke of Savoy, without any application from the duke. 15. He had cauſed the queen to make ſeveral ſpeeches and declarations to the parliament, wherein the terms of peace and commerce were falſely repreſented. 16. He had as far as in him lay deſtroyed the independency of the houſe of lords, by cauſing the queen to create twelve peers at once to ſerve his ends. To theſe were afterwards added the ſix

1715. Whereas the States-general were, in September or October 1712, in poſſeſſion of Tournay, and the French king had (during the private, ſeparate, and traiterous negotiation between the earl of Oxford and others, and the miniſters of France) ſignified his conſent that Tournay ſhould remain to the States as part of their barrier: and whereas the queen, in her inſtructions of Dec. 23, 1711, to her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, had expreſsly directed them to inſiſt with thoſe of France, that towards forming a ſufficient barrier, Tournay ſhall remain to the States, and did afterwards declare herſelf comformably thereto, in her ſpeech to both houſes on the 6th of June 1712: and whereas for ſeveral years before, and till the months of September and October, in 1711, there was open war between the late queen and the French king, the earl of Oxford, then high-treaſurer, did, during the war, falſely, maliciouſly, wickedly, and traiterouſly aſſiſt and adhere to the French king, and did counſel and adviſe him in what manner Tournay might be gained from the States, contrary to his allegiance, and the laws of the realm.

Debate on the 11th article.

A great debate aroſe upon the queſtion, Whether this article was high-treaſon? Sir Robert Raymond, formerly ſollicitor-general, Mr. Bromley, Sir William Wyndham, the auditors Harley and Foley, Mr. Ward, and Mr. Hungerford (who had already ſpoke in favour of the earl of Oxford) maintained the negative, and were ſtrongly ſupported by Sir Joſeph Jekyll. Sir Joſeph ſaid, among other things: 'That it was ever his principle to do juſtice to every body 'from the higheſt to the loweſt, being perſuaded, that it 'was the duty of an honeſt man never to act by a ſpirit of 'party. That he hoped he might pretend to have ſome 'knowledge of the laws of the kingdom; and as, in the 'committee of ſecrecy, he had taken the liberty to differ 'from his collegues, he would not ſcruple to declare now

following articles: 17. He had not (as prime miniſter) adviſed the queen againſt the deſtructive expedition to Canada. 18. He had procured a warrant for 13000 l. for his own uſe. 19. He had procured a warrant for 5560 l. to his relation Thomas Harley. 20. He had paid a large ſum of money to king James's queen. 21. He had received Patrick Lileſh (alias) Lawleſs, an Iriſh papiſt as a foreign miniſter, and cauſed ſeveral ſums of money to be paid him. 22. He had with others cauſed the Catalans to be expoſed to the fury of an inraged, revengeful prince, againſt whom the late queen had engaged them to take arms.

'to

'to the whole houſe, that, in his judgment, the charge in 1715.
'queſtion did not amount to high-treaſon.' Moſt of the other members of the committee of ſecrecy were offended at this ſpeech, which both revealed and cenſured their proceedings; and Mr. Walpole anſwered with ſome warmth, 'That there were both in and out of the committee of ſecrecy 'ſeveral perſons, who did not in the leaſt yield to the 'member, that ſpoke laſt, in point of honeſty; and who, 'without derogating from his merit, were ſuperior to him 'in the knowledge of the laws; but who, at the ſame 'time, were ſatisfied, that the charge ſpecified in the eleventh article amounted to treaſon.' Mr. Walpole was ſeconded by Mr. Stanhope, the lord Coningſby, General Cadogan, Mr. Boſcawen, and Mr. Aiſlaby: and, the article being amended, was agreed to by a majority of two hundred and forty-ſeven votes againſt one hundred and twenty-ſeven. Mr. auditor Harley endeavoured to juſtify his brother, firſt, by urging, that he ever acted by the late queen's poſitive commands; to prove which he offered to produce two letters from her: and ſecondly, the neceſſity of making a peace; and he having upon this occaſion advanced, that the Dutch prolonged the war, and that their deputies in the army had often prevented the giving the enemy a deciſive blow; general Cadogan anſwered him with great force, and ſhewed, 'that the Dutch were more concerned than any 'prince or ſtate in the grand alliance to put an end to the 'war; and undertook to prove, that there had not been 'any campaign in Flanders, except that, in which the 'duke of Ormond commanded, that was not marked and 'famous to all poſterity for ſome ſignal and glorious event, 'to the advantage of the common cauſe.' The reſt of the articles being agreed to, the lord Coningſby, attended by moſt of the members who voted for the impeachment, went up to the lords, and at the bar of the houſe impeached the earl of Oxford of high-treaſon, &c. The commons, at the end of the articles, prayed and demanded, that he might be ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to ſafe cuſtody.

As ſoon as lord Coningſby and the members were withdrawn, a tory lord moved for adjourning the conſideration of the articles, and was ſeconded by ſeveral of the peers of that party, particularly by the biſhop of Rocheſter, who urged, 'That this accuſation was of ſo extraordinary a na'ture, and ſo very important, both in itſelf, and its con'ſequences, that the houſe ought to proceed on it with the

1715. 'utmoſt caution and deliberation.' But he was anſwered by the duke of Argyle, who, among other things, ſaid, 'It was well known, that the prelate, who ſpoke laſt, had 'of late ſtudied politics more than divinity, and was tho- 'roughly acquainted with the ſubject matter of the articles, 'that lay before them; and therefore he did not doubt, 'but his lordſhip was now as ready to ſpeak to them, as he 'could ever be, if he had more time to conſider of them.' After a debate of about an hour and a half, the articles were voted to be read by a majority of eighty-ſix againſt fifty-four; which being done, a motion was made for conſulting the judges, whether the charge amounted to high-treaſon. The lords Trevor and Harcourt, the dukes of Shrewſbury and Leeds, earl Powlet, the lord North and Grey, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſome other peers of the ſame ſide, were for conſulting the judges; but the lord-chancellor, the dukes of Argyle and Montroſe, the earls of Nottingham, Sunderland, Dorſet, and Ilay; the lord viſcount Townſhend, and ſome other lords ſpoke againſt it. The lord Trevor having gone ſo far, as to declare his opinion, That none of the articles amounted to high-treaſon, he was anſwered by the lord Cowper, who ſhewed the contrary, and challenged all the lawyers in England to diſprove his arguments. The other ſide ſtill inſiſting on conſulting the judges, the earl of Nottingham repreſented to them, 'That inſtead of favouring thereby the noble per- 'ſon, who had the misfortune to be impeached, as un- 'doubtedly they meant it, they might, on the contrary, 'do him a great prejudice. For if, upon conſulting the 'judges, they declared the charge to amount to treaſon, 'he would ſtand prejudged, before he was brought to his 'trial.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the negative was carried by eighty-four voices againſt fifty-two. And then it was moved, that the earl of Oxford ſhould be committed to ſafe cuſtody; which occaſioned another debate; and the earl himſelf made a ſpeech, wherein he took notice of 'his 'having had the honour to be placed at the head of the late 'miniſtry; and muſt now, it ſeems, be made accountable 'for all the meaſures, that were then purſued. But that 'it was a very great comfort to him under this misfortune, 'that he had the honour to be a member of that auguſt aſ- 'ſembly, which always ſquares their proceedings and judg- 'ments by the rules of honour, juſtice, and equity, and is 'not to be biaſſed by a ſpirit of party. That the whole 'accuſation might be reduced to the negotiation and con- 'cluſion

The biſhop of Rocheſter reproved.

The earl of Oxford's ſpeech in his defence.

'cluſion of the peace. That the nation wanted a peace 1715.
'(ſays he) nobody will deny; and, I hope, it will be as eaſily
'made out, that the conditions of this peace are as good, as
'could be expected, conſidering the circumſtances, where-
'in it was made, and the backwardneſs and reluctancy,
'which ſome of the allies ſhewed to come into the queen's
'meaſures. This is certain, that this peace, as bad as it
'is now repreſented, was approved by two ſucceſſive par-
'liaments. It is indeed ſuggeſted againſt this peace, that
'it was a ſeparate one. But I hope, my lords, it will be
'made appear, that it was general; and that it was France,
'and not Great-Britain, that made the firſt ſteps towards
'a negotiation. And, my lords, I will be bold to ſay,
'that, during my whole adminiſtration, the ſovereign upon
'the throne was loved at home, and feared abroad. As
'to the buſineſs of Tournay, which is made a capital
'charge, I can ſafely aver, that I had no manner of ſhare
'in it; and that the ſame was wholly tranſacted by that
'unfortunate nobleman, who thought fit to ſtep aſide.
'But I dare ſay in his behalf, that, if this charge could be
'proved, it would not amount to treaſon. For my own
'part, as I always acted by the immediate directions and
'commands of the late queen, and never offended againſt
'any known law, I am juſtified in my own conſcience,
'and unconcerned for the life of an inſignificant old man.
'But I cannot, without the higheſt ingratitude, be uncon-
'cerned for the beſt of queens; a queen, who heaped upon
'me honours and preferments, though I never aſked for
'them; and therefore I think myſelf under an obligation
'to vindicate her memory, and the meaſures ſhe purſued,
'to my dying breath. My lords, if miniſters of ſtate, act-
'ing by the immediate commands of their ſovereign, are
'afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings,
'it may one day or other be the caſe of all the members
'of this auguſt aſſembly. I do not doubt, therefore, that,
'out of regard to yourſelves, your lordſhips will give me
'an equitable hearing; and I hope, that, in the proſecu-
'tion of this inquiry, it will appear, that I have merited,
'not only the indulgence, but likewiſe the favour of this
'government. My lords, I am now to take my leave of
'your lordſhips, and of this honourable houſe, perhaps for
'ever! I ſhall lay down my life with pleaſure, in a cauſe
'favoured by my late dear royal miſtreſs. And, when I
'conſider, that I am to be judged by the juſtice, honour,

'and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with 'great content. And, my lords, God's will be done.'

He is committed to custody.

Before the question for committing him was put, the duke of Shrewsbury acquainted the house, that the earl was at present very much indisposed with the gravel; and therefore he hoped they would not immediately send him to the tower, but suffer him to be two or three days in custody of the black rod, at his own house; which met with no opposition.

When the earl of Oxford went home, he was attended by a mob, that cried out, 'High-church, Ormond and 'Oxford for ever.' However of twenty bishops, who were in the house that day, six only were for him (e).

July

'The earl of Oxford being brought the next day to the bar of the house, and having received a copy of the articles, he represented, 'That the ablest men in the nation 'had been many weeks in drawing up those long articles 'against him; and therefore he hoped the house would al- 'low him a proportionable time to answer them.' He took that occasion, 'to thank them for their great hu- 'nity in not sending him to the tower, and, as he still la- 'boured under the same indisposition, he humbly desired 'them to permit him to continue some few days more at 'his own house, under the custody of the black rod.' The earl being withdrawn, the lords resolved to allow him a month to answer the articles of impeachment; and Dr. Mead one of his physicians, being consulted, and having made a kind of affidavit, 'That, if the earl were sent to the tower, his 'life would be in danger; a motion was made, 'That he 'might continue in his house till the Monday following.' But this was opposed, and after a warm debate it was carried by eighty-one against fifty-five, that he should be sent to the tower on Saturday the 16th of July.

During the course of this debate, the earl of Anglesey having said, 'That it was to be feared, these violent mea- 'sures would make the sceptre shake in the king's hands;' most of the lords were offended at this suggestion, and some

(e) Sir William Dawes, archbishop of York,
Dr. John Robinson, bishop of London,
Dr. Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester.
Dr. George Smalridge, bishop of Bristol,
Dr. Francis Gastrel, bishop of Chester,
Dr. Nathaniel Crew, bishop of Durham.

cried,

cried, to the Tower, and others only to order. The earl of Sutherland ſtanding up ſaid, 'He trembled with indig-
'nation to hear ſuch words pronounced in that noble aſ-
'ſembly. That, if they had been ſpoke any where elſe, he
'would call the perſon, that ſpoke them, to an account.
'But all he could do there was to move, that he might
'explain himſelf.' The earl of Sutherland was ſeconded by the duke of Roxburgh, who, among other things, ſaid, 'That the ſcepter was ſo well riveted in the king's hand,
'that, inſtead of ſhaking, it would cruſh all his majeſty's
'enemies.' Upon theſe, and ſome other ſpeeches, the earl of Angleſey ſaid, 'It was but too manifeſt by the
'riots, that were daily committed in ſeveral parts of the
'kingdom, that the nation in general was againſt theſe
'impeachments: for his own part, he was ſo far from ap-
'proving thoſe tumultuous aſſemblies, and diſorders, that
'he rather wiſhed a ſtop might be put to them by exem-
'plary puniſhments. He had, on ſeveral occaſions, given ſufficient proofs of his zeal and affection for the revo-
'lution and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. What he had now
'advanced, was the reſult of the ſame zeal for the peace
'and proſperity of his majeſty's reign. However, if he had
'been ſo unhappy, as by any unguarded or paſſionate ex-
'preſſion to give offence to that auguſt aſſembly, he was
'very ſorry for it.' Notwithſtanding this apology, ſome members were inclined to have him ſent to the Tower; but, the very words, he had ſpoken, not having been taken down in writing, his explanation was admitted. It is obſervable, that on this occaſion, beſides the ſix biſhops, before mentioned, thoſe of Bath and Wells, and St. David's voted for the earl of Oxford; and that the earl was by many blamed for putting off his going to the Tower; which, they ſaid, did not correſpond with that firmneſs he had hitherto ſhewn. It is certain, as he came in his own coach to the houſe of lords, he might with as much eaſe have been carried to the Tower, either by water, or in a ſedan, and have had there the ſame attendance of his friends and phyſicians. The houſe having met on Friday, the 15th of July, they adjourned to the Monday following, to avoid, as it was generally ſurmiſed, any freſh motion, which the earl of Oxford's friends might make for deferring his being ſent to the Tower, where he was carried by the black-rod on the day appointed about eight o'clock in the evening in his chariot, attended by two hackney-coaches, in which were his lady, his ſon the lord Harley, and

1715.

The earl of Oxford carried to the Tower. July 16.

1715. and some other of the earl's relations and servants. Though these three coaches went from his house near St. James's-palace up St. James's-street, and then through Piccadilly, Gerard-street, Monmouth-street, and Holbourn, with design to avoid a crowd, yet were they attended by a great many of the common people, whose numbers being much increased in their return from the Tower, they raised a tumult in the streets, with their cry of high-church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever, upon which three or four of the mutineers were by the constables carried to the round-house.

Address of the commons about tumults. Pr. H. C.

These riots and tumults were not confined to London, but were spread through the kingdom. The day before the earl of Oxford was sent to the Tower, the house of commons received information of their tumultuous proceedings in Staffordshire, where several meeting-houses had been pulled down by the mob. Upon this the commons unanimously resolved to address the king, that the laws might be put in a speedy and most vigorous execution against the rioters, and an account be taken of such justices, as failed in the discharge of their duty; and that the sufferers, by these riots, may have a full compensation for their damages, which they would inable his majesty to make good, out of the next aids granted by parliament. The king, in his answer, promised an immediate compliance with their request, and hoped, by their seasonable assistance, to suppress the spirit of rebellion, and establish peace and prosperity.

The proclamation-act passed. July 20.

For the more effectual prevention of riots, the king came to the house of peers on the 20th of July, and, among others, gave the royal assent to the proclamation-act, as it is commonly called, by which act, if any persons, to the number of twelve, being unlawfully assembled, to the disturbance of the peace, and being required by a justice of peace or other officer, by proclamation in the king's name, to disperse themselves, shall riotously continue together one hour after the proclamation, it shall be felony without benefit of the clergy (f). After passing this and

(f) The proclamation must be in these words:

Our sovereign lord the king chargeth and commandeth all persons, being assembled, immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably depart to their habitations, or to their lawful business, upon the pains contained in the act made in the first year

and the reſt of the acts, the chancellor read the following ſpeech, delivered into his hands by the king: 1715.

My lords and gentlemen,

The king's ſpeech to both houſes. Pr. H. C.

"THE zeal you have ſhewn for preſerving the peace "of my kingdoms, and your wiſdom in providing ſo "good a law to prevent all riotous and tumultuous pro- "ceedings, give me great ſatisfaction. But I am ſorry to "find, that ſuch a ſpirit of rebellion has diſcovered itſelf "as leaves no room to doubt, but theſe diſorders are ſet "on foot and encouraged by perſons diſaffected to my "government, in expectation of being ſupported from "abroad.

"The preſervation of our excellent conſtitution, and "the ſecurity of our holy religion, has been, and always "ſhall be my chief care; and I cannot queſtion but your "concern for theſe invaluable bleſſings is ſo great, as "not to let them be expoſed to ſuch attempts, as I have "certain advice are preparing by the pretender from "abroad, and carrying on at home by a reſtleſs party in his "favour.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"In theſe circumſtances I think it proper to aſk your "aſſiſtance, and make no doubt but you will ſo far con- "ſult your own ſecurity, as not to leave the nation under "a rebellion actually begun at home, and threatened "with an invaſion from abroad, in a defenceleſs condition. "And I ſhall look upon the proviſion you ſhall make for "the ſafety of my people, as the beſt mark of your af- "fection to me."

The king, as appears by this ſpeech, had received ſome intelligence of the rebellion forming againſt him. Though

year of king George, for preventing tumults and riotous aſſemblies.

This act is to be read at every ſeſſions and leet.

Other acts paſſed at this time 1. For continuing the impriſonment of the conſpirators againſt king William. 2. For the quakers affirmation inſtead of their oath. 3. An act for regulating the forces. 4. The malt-tax. Laſtly, An act to explain the act of 12 Will. III. for the further limitation of the crown, &c.

the

1715. the diſaffected in England vented their fury in riots, and tumults, in breaking windows, and demoliſhing meeting-houſes, the caſe was very different in Scotland, where the deſigns of the jacobites were carried on with more ſecrecy and order, and very probably would have ſucceeded, had they been ſupported by their friends in England, as will hereafter appear.

The commons in their addreſs of thanks aſſure the king, that they will, with their lives and fortunes, ſtand by and ſupport him againſt all his open and ſecret enemies; and deſire him immediately to give directions for fitting out ſuch a number of ſhips, as may effectually guard the coaſts, and to iſſue out commiſſions for augmenting his forces by land; promiſing, without loſs of time, effectually to enable him to raiſe and maintain ſuch a number of forces, both by ſea and land, as ſhall be neceſſary for the defence of his ſacred perſon, and for the ſecurity of his kingdoms (g).

Addreſſes from the lords and convocation.

An addreſs with the offer of their lives and fortunes was alſo preſented by the lords. The ſame day the convocation waited on the king with an addreſs, wherein, having thanked him for his meſſage to the commons, about the maintenance for the miniſters of the fifty new churches, they proceed: 'After all the declarations your majeſty has been 'pleaſed to make in favour of our eſtabliſhed church, and 'the real proofs you have given for the concern of its intereſt; we hope, that none will be found ſo unjuſt, as to 'doubt of your affection to it. And we do moſt humbly 'aſſure your majeſty, that we will take all opportunities to 'inſtil into thoſe, who are under our care, the ſame grate-'ful ſenſe, that we ourſelves have of your majeſty's good-'neſs; and that at this time more eſpecially, when the 'quiet of your realms is diſturbed by inſurrections at home, 'and the nation threatened with an invaſion from abroad, 'we will put them in mind of thoſe ſtrict obligations of 'conſcience, whereby they are engaged to defend and ſup-

(g) When the motion was made for this addreſs, the lord Guernſey, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Ayleſbury, ſaid, 'It was 'well known he had, on ſeve-'ral occaſions, differed from 'ſome members in that houſe; 'but being now convinced, 'that our liberty, religion, and 'all that is dear to Engliſhmen, 'were aimed at, he would (lay-'ing his hand on his ſword) 'rather die with his ſword in 'his hand, than ſurvive the 'pretender's coming in, tho' 'he were to enjoy the greateſt 'honours and preferments un-'der him.'

'port

'port your majeſty's government; and will earneſtly ex- 1715.
'hort them to exemplify, by a ſuitable practice, thoſe prin-
'ciples of obedience and loyalty, which the church of
'England has always thought it her duty to profeſs.' All theſe addreſſes met with a very gracious reception.

The parliament paſſed an act to impower the king to ſecure ſuſpected perſons, and to ſuſpend the Habeas Corpus act in that time of danger. A clauſe was added to a money-bill for the reward of 100,000l. to ſuch as ſhould ſeize the pretender dead or alive. Upon a motion of Mr. Walpole, the commons ordered an addreſs for giving full pay to ſuch half-pay officers as were not provided for. Sir George Byng ſet out for the Downs to take upon him the command of the fleet, and general Erle went to his government of Portſmouth to put that place in a poſture of defence. General Cadogan marked out a camp in Hyde-park for the foot-guards. Lord Irwin was made governor of Hull, in the room of brigadier Sutton, who with the generals Roſs, Webb, and Stewart, the lord Windſor, colonel Deſcanay, and other officers were either diſmiſſed the ſervice or ordered to ſell. Precautions againſt the rebellion.

Purſuant to the commons addreſs, the king ordered thirteen regiments of dragoons, conſiſting of three thouſand men, and eight of foot, conſiſting of four thouſand, to be raiſed. He left the nomination of the officers to the dukes of Marlborough and Argyle, and the generals Stanhope and Cadogan (h). The trained-bands were alſo ordered to be in a readineſs to ſuppreſs riots and tumults. Upon this, the ſeveral bodies concerned in theſe orders came to the court with addreſſes, expreſſing their abhorrence of all ſeditious and tumultuous aſſemblies, and their reſolution to do their duty in preſerving the public peace, and to ſtand by Twenty-one regiments raiſed.

(h) The thirteen colonels of the dragoons were:
Wynne,
Pepper,
Gore,
Honeywood,
Bowles,
Munden,
Dormer,
Newton,
Churchill,
Tyrrel,
Rich,
Moleſworth,
Stanhope.

The eight colonels of the foot were:
Stanwix,
Hotham,
Grant,
Dubourgay,
Pocock,
Lucas,
Chudley,
Handaſyde,

and

1715. and assist his majesty with their persons and estates. These addresses were from the common-council of the city of London (i), from the lieutenancy of the same city, and from the earl of Clare, who was lord-lieutenant of the county of Middlesex, with the deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace. These were followed by several others, particularly from the bishop of London and his clergy; the university of Cambridge, the dissenting ministers of London and Westminster, the commission of the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland, and the university of Oxford; but the members of that university, when they presented their address, were told, 'That, as they had shewn an open 'disrespect to his majesty's person and government in their 'late conduct, his majesty expected they should satisfy him 'better of their loyalty by their future behaviour, before 'they attempted it by words.' Nor was it a small part of the reason of the public displeasure, and of the repulse, which the university of Oxford met with on that occasion, that, at the very time it was to be presented, an account came to court by express, that some of the king's officers, who were beating up for volunteers for a new regiment of dragoons, were attacked by some of the scholars, and hardly escaped being killed.

Additional articles against the lord Oxford, July 30.

Whilst these things passed, the commons added six articles more against the earl of Oxford; and, two days after, the articles of impeachment against the lord Bolingbroke were agreed to, and delivered by Mr. Walpole at the bar of the house of lords, where he impeached him.

The lord Bolingbroke impeached, Aug. 4.

The next day, the articles against the duke of Ormond being read, there arose a warm debate, in which several remarkable speeches were made.

Debate on the articles against the duke of Ormond. Aug. 5.

Among the rest, a member of a considerable estate, and who had all along voted with the tories, said, 'That the report of the committee of secrecy had begun to open his eyes; and that the duke of Ormond's flight had fully convinced him, that the heads of the tory party were a set of knaves and villains, who designed to have ruined their country, and made it a province to France.' The lord Stanhope, the eldest son of the earl of Chesterfield, who spoke for the first time on this occasion, said, 'He never wished to spill the blood of any of

(i) The common council in their address tell the king, 'They fear the intended invasion has been too much encouraged by persons of anti-monarchical and republican principles.'

'his

'his countrymen, much leſs of any nobleman; but that 1715.
'he was perſuaded, that the ſafety of his country required,
'that examples ſhould be made of thoſe, who betrayed it
'in ſo infamous a manner.' The lord Finch, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Nottingham, ſpoke alſo on the ſame ſide; and, after ſome other ſpeeches, the firſt article was agreed to by a majority of a hundred and ſeventy-ſeven voices againſt ſeventy-eight; and then the other articles alſo were ſeverally agreed to by the houſe. The firſt article charged the duke with correſponding with marſhal Villars, the French general, while he commanded the Britiſh army in Flanders. The ſecond, that he wickedly promiſed and engaged, that he would not attack the French army, nor engage in any ſiege againſt France. The third, that he did falſly, maliciouſly, wickedly, and traiterouſly adhere to the French king; and, in purſuance of a wicked promiſe he had ſecretly made with the marſhal de Villars, he endeavoured to perſuade the generals of the confederate army to raiſe the ſiege of Queſnoy; and, when he could not prevail, marched off with the queen's troops, and gave the enemy's general advice of it. The other articles are in effect his conduct in Flanders reduced into a charge. And, both he and the lord Bolingbroke having fled from juſtice, bills were brought in to ſummon them to render themſelves by the 10th of September, and, in default thereof, to attaint them of high-treaſon; which paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

On the 8th of Auguſt, the houſe of commons was called over, and among ſeveral abſent members, who were not excuſed, Sir Michael Wharton, Mr. Corbet Kynaſton, and Mr. Lewis Pryſe were ordered into cuſtody. The two former were immediately diſcharged; but Mr. Pryſe declining to take the oaths, and having never attended the houſe, for that and other reaſons, and being not found by the meſſengers, was afterwards expelled.

On the 31ſt of Auguſt the articles againſt the earl of Strafford were agreed to by the commons, and carried by Mr. Aiſlabie to the lords. The articles being read in the houſe of lords, the earl of Strafford made a long ſpeech, wherein, among other things, he complained of the hardſhips which had been put upon him by ſeizing his papers in an unprecedented manner: that he deſigned to have drawn up and printed an account of all his negotiations; whereby he did not doubt he ſhould have made it appear to all the world, that he had done nothing but in diſcharge of his duty, Articles againſt the earl of Strafford.

1715. duty, and of the truſt repoſed in him. That if, either in his letters or diſcourſes, while he had the honour to repreſent the crown of Great-Britain, he had dropped any unguarded expreſſions againſt ſome foreign miniſters, he hoped the ſame would not be accounted a crime by a Britiſh houſe of peers. He concluded with deſiring, that a competent time might be allowed him to anſwer the articles now brought againſt him; and that he might have duplicates of all the papers, that either had been laid before the committee of ſecrecy, or were ſtill in the hands of the government, which might be for his juſtification. The lord Townſhend ſaid, 'That his complaint about the 'taking his papers from him was altogether groundleſs and 'unjuſt: that infinite inſtances of the like proceedings 'might be produced: that no ſtate could be ſafe without 'it; and, in ſhort, that extraordinary caſes juſtify extra-'ordinary methods.' As to the earl's demand to have duplicates of all the papers, that had been laid before the commons, he (the lord Townſhend) 'thought it unreaſonable, and made with no other deſign than to gain 'time, and make the commons loſe the opportunity of 'bringing him to his trial. That thoſe papers were ſo vo-'luminous (conſiſting of thirteen or fourteen volumes in 'folio) that they could not be copied out in many weeks; 'and as the earl might have had acceſs to them, ever 'ſince they were laid before the parliament, ſo he was ſtill 'at liberty to peruſe them, and extract out of them what 'he thought proper for his own defence.' The duke of Devonſhire and the lord-chancellor Cowper ſeconded the lord Townſhend; on the other hand, the late lord-chancellor Harcourt and the biſhop of Rocheſter ſpoke for the earl of Strafford; but what availed the latter moſt, was ſaid by the earl of Ilay, who repreſented, 'That, in all civi-'lized nations, all courts of judicature, except the inqui-'ſition, allowed the perſons arraigned all that was neceſ-'ſary for their juſtification; and that the houſe of peers of 'Great-Britain ought not, in this caſe, to do any thing 'contrary to that honour and equity, for which they are ſo 'juſtly renowned throughout all Europe.' Upon this it was reſolved, 'That the earl of Strafford ſhould have co-'pies of all ſuch papers, as were in the ſecretary's and 'other offices, which he ſhould think proper for his de-'fence: that he ſhould have free acceſs to the papers, 'that had been laid before the commons: and that a

'month's

'month's time be allowed him, to anſwer the articles of 1715.
'impeachment againſt him.'

On the 3d of September the earl of Oxford cauſed his anſwer to the commons impeachment to be delivered to the Houſe of lords, who tranſmitted it to the commons, where it occaſioned a ſmall debate. Mr. Walpole, among other things, ſaid, 'He had not yet had time to examine that anſwer; but he now heard it read with a great deal of attention, and, in his opinion, it contained little more than what had been ſuggeſted in vindication of the late meaſures, in a pamphlet intitled, The conduct of the allies, and repeated over and over in the papers called the Examiner. That the main drift of this anſwer ſeemed to prove theſe two aſſertions: Firſt, that the earl of Oxford had no ſhare in the adviſing and managing the matters mentioned in the articles againſt him; but that the late queen did every thing: and, ſecondly, that the late queen was a wiſe, good, and pious princeſs. That, if the ſecond propoſition were not better grounded than the firſt, the reputation of that excellent princeſs would be very precarious; but as every body muſt own her to have been a good and pious queen; ſo it was notorious, that the earl of Oxford, as prime miniſter, was the chief adviſer, promoter, and manager of the matters charged upon him in the articles. And therefore his anſwer was a falſe and malicious libel, laying upon his royal miſtreſs the blame of all the pernicious meaſures he had led her into, againſt her own honour, and the good of his country. That he hoped the earl's endeavouring to ſcreen himſelf behind the queen's name would avail him nothing: that it is indeed a fundamental maxim of our conſtitution, 'That kings can do no wrong;' but, at the ſame time, it is no leſs certain, That miniſters of ſtate are accountable for their actions: Otherwiſe a parliament would be but an empty name; the commons would have no buſineſs in that place; and the government would be abſolute and arbitrary. That though the earl had the aſſurance to aver, that he had no ſhare in the management of affairs, that were tranſacted, while he was at the helm, yet he pretended to juſtify the late meaſures. And therefore, in that reſpect, his anſwer ought to be looked upon as a libel on the proceedings of the commons, ſince he endeavoured to clear thoſe perſons, who had already confeſſed their guilt by flight.'

Debate on the earl of Oxford's anſwer. Pr. H. C.

Mr.

1715. Mr. Shippen, a creature of the earl of Oxford, ſaid, 'It 'would not become him to defend the earl's anſwer, ſince, 'as a member of that honourable aſſembly, he was be- 'come one of his accuſers; but he could not forbear 'wiſhing, this proſecution might be dropped, and that the 'houſe would be ſatisfied with the two late acts of attain- 'der. That this wiſh of his was the ſtronger, becauſe 'one of the principal reaſons, that induced the commons 'to impeach the earl of Oxford, ſubſiſted no longer, the 'affairs of Europe having received a ſudden turn from the 'death of the French king, whereby the renunciation of 'king Philip began to take place in the advancement of 'the duke of Orleans to the abſolute regency of France.' Mr. Aiſlabie anſwered, 'He hoped it was to little pur- 'poſe, that the gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, endeavoured 'to move the pity and compaſſion of the houſe, and per- 'ſuade them to drop this proſecution. That this was not 'a proper time to examine and reply to the earl of Ox- 'ford's anſwer; and therefore he would content himſelf 'with ſaying in general, that it was a contexture of the 'ſhifts, evaſions, and falſe repreſentations contained in 'the three parts of the hiſtory of the white ſtaff. As to 'what had been ſuggeſted concerning the event, which 'ſeemed to have ſtrengthened the renunciation, he did 'not deny, there might be ſomething in it, which was 'manifeſt from the great joy the well-affected to the go- 'vernment had ſhewn on this occaſion, and from the 'mortification and deſpair, that appeared in the faces of 'a certain party. But, after all, it could not yet be aſ- 'certained, that the renunciation was in force: that there 'was a vaſt difference between the regency and the crown; 'that time only could decide that matter; but even ſup- 'poſing, that, by the concurrence of unforeſeen events, 'king Philip's renunciation ſhould at laſt take place, yet 'the ſame would not juſtify the miniſters, who propoſed 'and laid it as the foundation of the late peace, ſince they, 'with whom they treated, were ſo frank and ſo ſincere as 'to tell them, that it could never be valid by the funda- 'mental laws of France.' After ſome other ſpeeches, it was ordered, 1. That the anſwer of Robert earl of Oxford be referred to the committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence againſt the impeached lords. 2. That the committee prepare a replication to the anſwer. Accordingly a replication was prepared, and being agreed to was ſent to the lords.

The

The next day, a report from the ſame committee, concerning the ſtate and circumſtances of Mr. Prior's commitment, was made to the houſe in the following manner: 1715. Report about Mr. Prior. Sept. 20.

'That, in the peruſal and examination of the ſeveral 'books and papers referred to the committee of ſecrecy, 'Mr. Prior appeared, through the whole progreſs of the 'ſeparate and pernicious negotiations, carried on be'tween the miniſters of Great-Britain and France, to 'have been principally concerned as an agent and inſtru'ment of thoſe evil and traiterous counſellors, ſome of 'which are already attainted, and others ſtand impeached 'of high-treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemea'nors: and the committee conceiving there were matters 'contained in the firſt general report, from which crimes 'of a very high nature ought to be juſtly charged and im'puted to Mr. Prior, whenever the houſe ſhould think 'proper to enter into that conſideration; as likewiſe that 'Mr. Prior was able to give great lights into all thoſe 'dark and ſecret tranſactions, when he ſhould be called 'upon by the great council of the nation, or any com'mittee appointed by them, to give an account of the 'negotiations, in which he was concerned as a public 'miniſter; the houſe, upon a motion from the committee 'for that purpoſe, was pleaſed to order, before the re'port was made, that Mr. Prior ſhould be taken into 'cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, to prevent his making 'his eſcape, upon notice of what was contained in the 'report.

'That this method of confining Mr. Prior is not only 'agreeable to former precedents upon the like occaſions, 'but neceſſary and eſſential to that great duty and privi'lege of the houſe of commons, of redreſſing grievances, 'and bringing great offenders to juſtice.

'That the committee did, ſome time after, purſuant 'to the powers given them by the houſe, proceed to exa'mine Mr. Prior concerning ſeveral matters, of which 'there can be no doubt but he was fully apprized and ac'quainted with; in which examination Mr. Prior did be'have himſelf with ſuch contempt of the authority of 'parliament, and prevaricate in ſo groſs a manner, as 'moſt juſtly to deſerve the higheſt diſpleaſure of the 'houſe.

'But finding at laſt, after an examination of ſeveral 'hours, that it was impoſſible for him to diſguiſe or con-

1715.

'ceal ſome facts, that were before the committee, he 'was induced to declare upon oath ſome truths, which will 'be very material evidence upon the trials of the im-'peached lords.

'And the committee having notice, that Mr. Prior 'had, during his firſt confinement, met and conferred with 'the earl of Oxford, and his neareſt relations and depen-'dants, which Mr. Prior confeſſed to be true, thought it 'their duty to move the houſe, that Mr. Prior might be 'committed to cloſer cuſtody.

'From this ſhort ſtate of the proceedings relating to 'Mr. Prior, the committee ſubmits it to the wiſdom of 'the houſe, Whether his behaviour has ſo far merited the 'favour and mercy of the houſe, as to make that con-'finement more eaſy to him, which his contempt of the 'commons of Great-Britain, and his notorious prevarica-'tion, moſt juſtly brought him into. And it ſeems wor-'thy of conſideration, how far it may be thought ad-'viſeable for the houſe of commons to ſet at liberty a 'perſon in their cuſtody, and committed according to the 'antient methods and practice of parliament; who is a 'material evidence againſt high offenders, under proſe-'cution of the commons of Great-Britain, and who, 'there is reaſon to apprehend, would immediately with-'draw himſelf, and, as far as in him lay, defeat the juſtice 'of the nation.'

After the reading of this report, the commons ordered, 'That the committee be impowered to ſit, notwithſtand-'ing any adjournment of the houſe.'

The names and coats of arms of the lord Bolingbroke and duke of Ormond razed.

The time for the duke of Ormond and the lord viſcount Bolingbroke to render themſelves being expired, the houſe of lords ordered the earl marſhal to raze out of the liſt of peers their names and coats of arms. Inventories were likewiſe directed to be taken of their perſonal eſtates; and the atchievement of the duke, as knight of the garter, to be taken down from St. George's chapel at Windſor.

An act paſſed to encourage loyalty in Scotland.

On the 30th of Auguſt, an act received the royal aſſent, for encouraging loyalty in Scotland. By this act every vaſſal that holds lands of any ſuperior guilty of high-treaſon, by abetting the pretender, and continues peaceable, ſhall be inveſted with the ſaid lands in fee and heritage for ever. In like manner, if any ſubject of Great-Britain, holding lands of a ſuperior in Scotland, ſhall be guilty of ſuch high-treaſon, his lands ſhall return into the

the hands of the ſuperior, and be conſolidated with the ſuperiority. All entails and ſettlements of eſtates, ſince the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1714, in favour of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the puniſhment of the law due to the offence of high-treaſon, by abetting the pretender, ſhall be null and void. Beſides theſe, and other particulars, this act had a clauſe in it, for ſummoning any ſuſpected perſon in Scotland to appear at Edinburgh, or where it ſhould be judged expedient, to find bail for his good behaviour, with certification, that, if they did not appear at the time appointed, they would be denounced rebels. Purſuant to this clauſe, all the heads of the jacobite clans, and other ſuſpected perſons, were ſoon after ſummoned to appear at Edinburgh, and not obeying the ſummons, they were declared rebels. 1715.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XXX. PART II.

From the Year 1715. to the Year 1716.

CHAP. II.

The rebellion in Scotland breaks out.—The duke of Argyle ſets out for Scotland.—A conſpiracy in England.—Six members order'd to be arreſted.—Parliament adjourn'd.—Inſurrections.—The heads of the diſaffected ſummoned to Edingburgh.—Progreſs of the earl of Mar.—James Murray comes over as ſecretary to the pretender.—Mar's letter to the earl of Broadalbine.—Dutch troops ſent for.—Aſſociations.—Proceedings of the rebels.—Of the king's forces.—Of the battle of Preſton.—Battle of Dunblain.—A remarkable incident.—Inverneſs taken.

30. GEORGE I.

BY this time the court had received certain information, that an open rebellion was broke out in Scotland, under the direction of the earl of Mar, which was to be ſupported by a great conſpiracy in England. The earl of Mar, at the death of queen Anne, was ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, and had been one of the firſt

The rebellion in Scotland breaks out.

1715. who made profeſſions of their loyalty and affection to king George, as appears by a letter he wrote the king before his arrival (k). The earl had alſo taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. But, not meeting the encouragement he expected,

(k) The earl of Mar's letter was as follows:

SIR,

'Having the happineſs to be 'your majeſty's ſubject, and 'alſo the honour of being one 'of your ſervants, as one of 'your ſecretaries of ſtate, I beg 'by this to kiſs your majeſty's 'hand, and congratulate your 'happy acceſſion to the throne; 'which I would have done my'ſelf the honour of doing ſoon'er, had I not hoped to have 'had the honour of doing it 'perſonally ere now. I am 'afraid I may have had the 'misfortune of being miſrepre'ſented to your majeſty; and 'my reaſon for thinking ſo is, 'becauſe I was, I believe, the 'only one of the late queen's 'ſervants, whom your miniſ'ters did not viſit, which I 'mentioned to Mr. Harley, 'and the earl of Clarendon, 'when they went from hence 'to wait on your majeſty: and 'your miniſters carrying ſo to 'me, was the occaſion of my 'receiving ſuch orders, as de'prived me of the honour and 'ſatisfaction of waiting on 'them, and being known to 'them. I ſuppoſe, I had been 'miſrepreſented to them by 'ſome here upon account of 'party, or to ingratiate them'ſelves by aſperſing others, as 'our parties here too often oc'caſion; but I hope your ma'jeſty will be ſo juſt, as not to 'give credit to ſuch miſrepre'ſentations. The part I acted 'in the bringing about and 'making the union, when the 'ſucceſſion of the crown was 'ſettled for Scotland on your 'majeſty's family, where I had 'the honour to ſerve as ſecre'tary of ſtate for that kingdom, 'doth, I hope, put my ſincerity 'and faithfulneſs to your ma'jeſty out of diſpute. My fa'mily hath had the honour, 'for a great tract of year, to 'be faithful ſervants to the 'crown, and have had the care 'of the king's children (when 'kings of Scotland) intruſted to 'them. A predeceſſor of mine 'was honoured with the care of 'your majeſty's grandmother, 'when young, and ſhe was 'pleaſed afterwards to expreſs 'ſome concern for our family in 'letters, which I ſtill have un'der her own hand. I have 'had the honour to ſerve her 'late majeſty, in one capacity 'or other, ever ſince her ac'ceſſion to the crown. I was 'happy in a good miſtreſs, and 'ſhe was pleaſed to have ſome 'confidence in me, and regard 'for my ſervices. And ſince 'your majeſty's happy acceſ'ſion to the crown I hope, 'you will find, that I have not 'been wanting in my duty, in 'being inſtrumental in keeping 'things quiet and peaceable in 'the country, to which I be'long, and have ſome intereſt

in

expected, the earl, about the 8th of Auguſt 1715, imbarked with major general Hamilton, colonel Hay, and two ſervants, at Graveſend, on board a collier, and, arriving at Newcaſtle, hired a veſſel belonging to one Spence of Leith, which in eight days landed them at Elie in Fife. They immediately went to the houſe of John Bethune of Balfour, where they ſtaid all night, and from thence rode to the lord Kinnoul's. The next day they proceeded to Craigie-hall; and colonel Hay conveyed the earl of Mar about three miles, and went to the lord Nairn's; and the earl and general Hamilton proceeded to the laird of Invercald's at the brae of Mar. Colonel Hay, the lord John Drummond, the marquis of Tullibardine, Strowen Robertſon, and ſeveral other highland gentlemen, and particularly the lairds of Glenbucket, Glenderule, Abergeldy, Dalmere, Auchindain, and John Paterſon, who had been a clerk in the ſecretary's office, came to the earl of Mar; who, having ſtaid at Invercald's houſe about eight days, went to Glenbucket's, and from thence to Aboyne, where he held a conſultation with the marquiſſes of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls of Sothel and mareſchal, the lairds of Glenderule, Glengary, Glenbucket, tutor of Aboyne, general Hamilton, and general Gordon; but Invercald and Abergeldy, who were at Aboyne, were not admitted to the conſultation. The earl of Mar, the marquis of Tullibardine, general Hamilton, and Mr. Paterſon returned to Invercald, where they ſtaid about eight days; during which the earl ſent ſeveral letters, and received others; and in that time there were gathered

1715. The earl of Mar ſets out for Scotland.

'in. Your majeſty ſhall ever 'find me as faithful and dutiful 'a ſubject and ſervant, as ever 'any of my family have been 'to the crown, or as I have 'been to my late miſtreſs, the 'queen. And I beg your ma'jeſty may be ſo good not to 'believe any miſrepreſentation 'of me, which nothing but 'party hatred, and my zeal for 'the intereſt of the crown doth 'occaſion, and I hope I may 'preſume to lay claim to your 'royal favour and protection. 'As your acceſſion to the crown 'hath been quiet and peace'able, may your majeſty's 'reign be long and proſperous, 'and that your people may 'ſoon have the happineſs and 'ſatisfaction of your preſence 'among them, is the earneſt 'and fervent wiſhes of him, 'who is, with the humbleſt 'duty and reſpect,

'SIR,

'Your majeſty's moſt faithful,

'Moſt dutiful, and moſt obedient,

'Subject and ſervant.

'Whitehall, Aug. '30, 1714. MAR.'

1715. together about five hundred of his own men, three hundred of whom, being well-armed, went to Caſtletoun with him and general Hamilton; and Innerey (who came to Invercald the day before) and the remaining two hundred went away, till they ſhould be provided with better arms, and then were to follow under the command of Innerey. At Caſtletoun they proclaimed the pretender; whoſe ſtandard was ſet up by the earl of Mar at Brae-Mar, on the 6th of September.

The pretender's ſtandard ſet up, Sept. 6.

Upon the news of the earl's being in the highlands, and the report of his having drawn together a body of men, orders were immediately diſpatched to Edinburgh, for apprehending ſeveral ſuſpected perſons; purſuant to which, the earls of Hume, Wigtoun, and Kinnoul, and the lord Deſkford, Mr. Le[illegible]art of Carnwath, and Mr. Hume of Whitfield, were committed priſoners to the caſtle. Orders were alſo ſent to major-general Whetham, commander in chief in Scotland, forthwith to march with all the regular troops, that could be ſpared, to form a camp near Sterling, to ſecure the bridge over the Forth, and to quarter the half-pay officers in ſuch a manner, that they might be in a readineſs to command the militia. About this time, the court received intelligence of ſeveral veſſels ready to ſail for Scotland from the port of Havre de Grace, laden with arms and ammunition for the uſe of the pretender: and, notwithſtanding all the precautions uſed by the government, on the 29th of Auguſt, the lord juſtice clerk had advice from Montroſe, that one of thoſe ſhips was arrived at Arboth in the north, where ſhe was immediately unladen by the highlanders, ſent thither for that purpoſe, who carried the arms and ammunition to the country of Brae-Mar. A few days after, another ſhip landed ſeveral officers, who went to join the earl of Mar, and gave him, and the lords with him, aſſurances, that the pretender would ſoon be in perſon amongſt them. But the news of the death of Lewis XIV. of France, on the firſt of September, N. S. ſo alarmed the rebels, and ſtruck ſuch a general damp upon their ſpirits, that their chiefs held a conſultation, whether they ſhould ſtand out any longer, in expectation of the pretender's coming according to his promiſe, or whether they ſhould give over their enterprize. They divided upon the queſtion; ſome were for going home, and not ſtirring till the pretender landed; but the majority, depending upon a general inſurrection in England, were for perſiſting, at leaſt, till they had news from the pretender; to whom they all agreed to ſend

Several perſons taken. Com. hiſt. of the repub. Patten.

ſend meſſengers immediately, to preſs his coming over. Purſuant to this reſolution, the earl of Mar aſſumed the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, and as ſuch publiſhed a declaration, which he ſent with a letter, to the baillie of Kildrummie, to exhort the people to take arms (l). A few days after, a manifeſto was alſo publiſhed, 1715.

(l) The declaration ran thus:

'Our rightful and natural king James VIII. by the grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our oppreſſions, having been pleaſed to intruſt me with the direction of his affairs, and the command of his forces in this his antient kingdom of Scotland; and ſome of his faithful ſubjects and ſervants met at Aboyne, viz. The lord Huntley; the lord Tullibardine, the earl Mariſhal, the earl of Southeſk, Glengary from the clans, Glanderule from the earl of Broadalbin, and gentlemen of Argyleſhire, Mr. Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouſe, the laird of Auldbair, lieutenant general George Hamilton, major-general Gordon, and myſelf, having taken into our conſideration his majeſty's laſt and late orders to us, that as this is now the time, that he ordered us to appear openly in arms for him; ſo it ſeems to us abſolutely neceſſary for his majeſty's ſervice, and the relieving of our native country from all its hardſhips, that all his faithful and loving ſubjects, and lovers of their country, ſhould, with all poſſible ſpeed, put themſelves into arms.

'Theſe are therefore, in his majeſty's name and authority, and by virtue of the power aforeſaid, and by the king's ſpecial order to me thereunto, to require and impower you forthwith to raiſe your fencible men, with their beſt arms; and you are immediately to march them to join me, and ſome other of the king's forces at the Inver of Brae-Mar, on Monday next, in order to proceed in our march to attend the king's ſtandard, with his other forces.

'The king intending, that his forces ſhall be paid from the time of their ſetting out, he expects, as he poſitively orders, that they behave themſelves civilly, and commit no plundering, nor other diſorders, upon the higheſt penalties, and his diſpleaſure; which it is expected you will ſee obſerved.

'Now is the time for all good men to ſhew their zeal for his majeſty's ſervice, whoſe cauſe is ſo deeply concerned, and the relief of our native country from oppreſſion, and a foreign yoke too heavy for us and our poſterity to bear; and to endeavour the reſtoring, not only of our rightful and native king, but alſo our country to its antient, free, and independent conſtitution under him; whoſe anceſtors

'have

1715. ed, ſetting forth the reaſons of their proceedings, the grievan-

'have reigned over us for ſo 'many generations.

'In ſo honourable, good, 'and juſt a cauſe, we cannot 'doubt of the aſſiſtance, direc- 'tion, and bleſſing of almighty 'God, who has ſo often re- 'ſcued the royal family of 'Stuart, and our country, from 'ſinking under oppreſſion.

'Your punctual obſervance 'of theſe orders is expected: 'for the doing of all which 'this ſhall be to you, and all 'you employ in the execution 'of them, a ſufficient warrant.' Given at Brae-Mar the 9th of September 1715.

To the baillie and the reſt of the gentlemen of the lordſhip of Kildrummie.

MAR.

The earl's letter to the baillie was in theſe terms.

Invercald, Sept. 9, at night, 1715.

Jockie,

'Ye was in the right not to 'come with the hundred men 'ye ſent up to night, when I 'expected four times the num- 'ber. It is a pretty thing, 'when all the highlands of 'Scotland are now riſing upon 'their king and country's ac- 'count, as I have accounts from 'them ſince they were with me, 'and the gentlemen in moſt of 'our neighbouring lowlands ex- 'pecting us down to join them, 'that my men ſhould be only 'refractory. Is not this the 'thing we are now about, 'which they have been wiſhing 'theſe ſix and twenty years? 'And now when it is come, and 'the king and country's cauſe 'at ſtake, will they for ever ſit 'ſtill, and ſee all periſh? I have 'uſed gentle means too long, 'and ſo I ſhall be forced to put 'other orders I have in executi- 'on. I have ſent you incloſed 'an order for the lordſhip of 'Kildrummie, which you are 'immediately to intimate to all 'my vaſſals. If they give rea- 'dy obedience, it will make 'ſome amends; and if not, ye 'may tell them from me, that 'it will not be in my power to 'ſave them (were I willing) 'from being treated as enemies 'by thoſe, who are ready upon 'to join me: and they may de- 'pend on it, that I will be the 'firſt to propoſe and order their 'being ſo. Particularly, let 'my own tenants in Kildrum- 'mie know, that, if they come 'not forth with their beſt arms, 'I will ſend a party immediate- 'ly to burn what they ſhall 'miſs taking from them: and 'they may believe this not only 'a threat, but by all that is ſa- 'cred I will put it in execution, 'let my loſs be what it will, 'that it may be an example to 'others. You are to tell the 'gentlemen, that I will expect 'them in their beſt accoutre- 'ments on horſe-back, and no 'excuſe to be accepted of. Go 'about this with all diligence, 'and come yourſelf, and let me 'know your having done ſo. 'All this is not only as you will

'be

ances the nation lay under, with aſſurances of redreſſing them (m). 1715.

Attempt upon Edinburgh.

Beſides theſe meaſures, a conſpiracy was formed at Edinburgh to ſurprize the caſtle on the 8th of September, between

' be anſwerable to me, but to ' your king and country.'

Your aſſured friend and ſervant,

To John Forbes of Increrau, baillie of Kildrummie. M A R.

(m) ' Manifeſto and declaration by the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this time in aſſerting the undoubted right of their lawful ſovereign James the VIIIth, by the grace of God, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. and for relieving this his antient kingdom of Scotland from the oppreſſion and grievances it lies under.' ' His majeſty's right of blood to the crown of theſe realms is undoubted, and has never been diſputed nor arraigned by the leaſt circumſtance of authority whatſoever.

' By the laws of God, by the antient conſtitution of theſe nations, and by the poſitive unrepealed laws of the land, we are bound to pay his majeſty the duty of faithful ſubjects. Nothing can abſolve us from this our duty of ſubjection and obedience. The laws of God require our allegiance to our rightful king: the laws of the land ſecure our religion, and other intereſts, and his majeſty giving up himſelf to the ſupport of his proteſtant ſubjects, puts the means of ſecuring to us our concerns religious and civil into our own hands.

' Our fundamental conſtitution has been intirely altered and ſunk amidſt the various ſhocks of unſtable faction, which, in ſearching out new experiments pretended for our ſecurity, had produced nothing but daily diſappointments, and has brought us and our poſterity under a precarious dependence upon foreign counſels and intereſts, and the power of foreign troops.

' The late unhappy Union, which was brought about by the miſtaken notions of ſome, and by the ruinous and ſelfiſh deſigns of others, has proved ſo far from leſſening and healing the differences betwixt his majeſty's ſubjects of Scotland and England, that it has widened and increaſed them; and appears by experience ſo inconſiſtent with the rights, intereſts, and privileges of us, and our good neighbours and fellow ſubjects of England, that the continuance of it muſt inevitably ruin us, and hurt them: nor can any way be found to relieve us, and reſtore our antient independent conſtitution, but by reſtoring our rightful and natural king, who has the only undoubted right to reign over us. Neither can we hope, that that party,

' who

1715. tween eleven and twelve at night; which, by the care and vigilance of Sir Adam Cockburn, the lord juſtice clerk, who had early notice of it, was prevented. The deſign was to mount the wall by the weſt-ſide of the caſtle, by rope-

'who chiefly contributed to 'bring us into bondage, will at 'any time endeavour to work 'our relief, ſince it is known 'how ſtrenuouſly they oppoſed 'in two late inſtances the ef-'forts, that were made by all 'Scotſmen but themſelves, and 'ſupported by the beſt and wiſ-'eſt of the Engliſh, towards ſo 'deſirable an end, as they will 'not adventure openly to diſ-'own a diſſolution of the union 'to be.

'Our ſubſtance has been waſt-'ed in the late ruinous wars; 'and we ſee an unavoidable 'proſpect of having wars con-'tinued on us and our poſterity, 'ſo long as the poſſeſſion of 'the crown is not in the right 'line.

'The hereditary rights of 'the ſubjects, though confirmed 'by conventions and parlia-'ments, are now treated as of 'no value nor force; and paſt 'ſervices to the crown and 'royal family are now look-'ed upon as grounds of ſuſpi-'cion.

'A packed aſſembly, who 'call themſelves a Britiſh parli-'ament, have, ſo far as in them 'lies, inhumanly murdered their 'own and our ſovereign, by 'promiſing a great ſum of mo-'ney as the reward of ſo exe-'crable a crime. They have 'proſcribed, by unaccountable 'and groundleſs impeachments 'and attainders, the worthieſt 'patriots of England; for their 'honourable and ſucceſsful en-'deavours to reſtore trade, plen-'ty, and peace to theſe nations. 'They have broke in upon the 'ſacred laws of both countries, 'by which the liberties of our 'perſons were ſecured. They 'have impowered a foreign 'prince, (who, notwithſtanding 'his expectations of the crown 'for fifteen years, is ſtill unac-'quainted with our manners, 'cuſtoms, and language) to 'make an abſolute conqueſt if 'not timely prevented, of the 'three kingdoms, by inveſting 'him with an unlimited power, 'not only of raiſing unneceſſa-'ry forces at home, but alſo of 'calling in foreign troops, rea-'dy to promote his uncontroul-'able deſigns. Nor can we be 'very hopeful of its being 'otherwiſe, in the way it is in 'at preſent, for ſome genera-'tions to come; and the con-'ſequences of theſe unexampled 'proceedings has been already 'ſo fatal to great numbers of 'our kinſmen, friends, and fel-'low-ſubjects of both king-'doms, that they have been 'conſtrained to abandon their 'country, houſes, wives, and 'children, or to give themſelves 'up priſoners, and perhaps, vic-'tims to be ſacrificed at the 'pleaſure of foreigners, and a 'few hot headed men of a reſt-'leſs faction, whom they em-'ploy. Our troops abroad, 'notwithſtanding their long and 'remarkable good ſervices, have

'been

rope-ladders provided for that purpoſe, which were to be pulled up by lines let down from within by ſome ſoldiers belonging to the garriſon, who had been corrupted. The conſpirators came to the caſtle-wall at the time appointed; and 1715.

'been treated ſince the peace 'with neglect and contempt; as 'particularly in Holland: and 'it is not now the officers long 'ſervice, merit, and blood they 'have loſt, but money and fa-'vour, by which they can ob-'tain juſtice in their prefer-'ments.

'So that it is evident, that 'the ſafety of his majeſty's per-'ſon and loyal ſubjects, the 'rights of his people, and inde-'pendency of his kingdoms, 'calls loudly for immediate re-'lief and defence.

'The conſideration of theſe 'unhappy circumſtances, with 'due regard we have to 'common juſtice, the piece and 'quiet of us and our poſterity, 'our duty to his majeſty and 'his commands, are the power-'ful motives, which have en-'gaged us in our preſent under-'taking, which we are firmly 'and heartily reſolved to puſh 'to the utmoſt, and ſtand by one 'another to the laſt extremity, 'as the only ſolid and effectual 'means of putting an end to ſo 'dreadful a proſpect, as by our 'preſent ſituation we have be-'fore our eyes, and with faith-'ful hearts, true to our only 'rightful king, our country, 'and our neighbours. We 'earneſtly beſeech and expect '(as his majeſty commands) 'the aſſiſtance of all our true 'fellow-ſubjects to ſecond theſe 'our juſt attempts, declaring 'hereby our ſincere intenti-'ons:

'That we will promote and 'concur in all lawful means for 'ſettling a laſting peace to theſe 'lands under the auſpicious go-'vernment of our native-born 'rightful ſovereign, the direc-'tion of our own domeſtic coun-'ſels, and the protection of our 'own native force and troops.'

'That we will in the ſame 'manner concur and endeavour 'to have our laws, liberties, 'and properties ſecured by free 'parliaments of both king-'doms.

'That, by the wiſdom of 'ſuch parliaments, we will en-'deavour to have ſuch laws en-'acted, as ſhall give an abſo-'lute ſecurity to us, and future 'ages, for the true proteſtant 'religion, againſt all efforts of 'arbitrary power, popery, and 'all its other enemies. Nor 'have we any reaſon to be diſ-'truſtful of the goodneſs of God, 'the ſolidity of our holy religi-'on, or the known excellency 'of his majeſty's judgment, as 'not to hope, that in due time, 'good example and converſation 'with our learned divines, will 'remove theſe prejudices, which 'we know that his education in 'a popiſh country has not in-'verted in his royal diſcerning 'mind: and we are ſure, that, 'as juſtice is a virtue of all re-'ligious profeſſions, the doing

'of

1715. and a rope was let down and fixed to one of the ladders. But, the lord juſtice clerk having ſent intimation of this deſign to colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of the caſtle, he ordered the officers under him to double their guards, and to make diligent rounds. As lieutenant Lindſey was going the round in obedience to theſe orders, he found one of the ſoldiers, who had been corrupted, drawing up the ladder, in order to fix it to the top of the wall; and commanded the centinel next him to fire, which giving the alarm, the conſpirators diſperſed. But a party of the town guard, which, at the requeſt of the lord juſtice clerk, the provoſt had ſent out to patrol, with ſome reſolute volunteers,

'of it to him will not leſſen his 'good opinion of ours.

'That, as the king is willing 'to give his royal indemnity 'for all that is paſt, ſo we will 'chearfully concur in paſſing 'general acts of oblivion, that 'our fellow-ſubjects, who have 'been miſled, may have a fair 'opportunity of living with us 'in the ſame friendly manner 'we deſign to live with them.

'That we will uſe our endeavours for redreſſing the bad 'uſage of our troops abroad, 'and bringing the troops at 'home to be on the ſame foot 'and eſtabliſhment of pay as 'thoſe in England.

'The peace of theſe nations 'being thus ſettled, and we thus 'freed from foreign dangers, 'we will uſe our endeavours to 'have the army reduced to the 'uſual number of guards and 'garriſons, and will concur in 'ſuch laws and methods; as 'ſhall relieve us of the heavy 'taxes and debts now lying 'upon us, and, at the ſame time 'will ſupport the public credit 'in all its parts.

'And we hereby faithfully 'promiſe and engage, that ev'ry officer, who joins with us 'in our king and country's 'cauſe, ſhall not only enjoy the 'ſame poſt he now does, but 'ſhall be advanced and prefer'red according to his rank and 'ſtation, and the number of 'men he brings off with him to 'us: and each foot-ſoldier ſo 'joining us, ſhall have twenty 'ſhillings ſterling gratuity, be'ſides his pay; and each trooper or dragoon, who brings his 'horſe and accoutrements along 'with him, the ſum of twelve 'pounds ſterling.

'And, in general, we will 'concur with all our fellow-ſub'jects, in ſuch meaſures, as ſhall 'make us flouriſh at home, and 'be formidable abroad, under 'our rightful ſovereign, and the 'peaceable harmony of our an'tient fundamental conſtitution, 'undiſturbed by pretenders in'tereſts, counſels from abroad, 'or by reſtleſs factions at 'home.

'In ſo honourable, good, and 'juſt a cauſe, we doubt not of 'the aſſiſtance, direction, and 'bleſſing of almighty God, who 'has ſo often reſcued the royal 'family of Stuart and our 'country from ſinking under 'oppreſſion.'

coming

coming up, found captain Maclean, formerly an officer under the lord Dundee, lying on the ground, bruiſed with a fall from the wall, whom they ſecured, with three others of his accomplices. They likewiſe found the ladders, and about a dozen of firelocks and carbines, which the conſpirators had left behind. One ſerjeant, one corporal, and two private ſoldiers of the garriſon were alſo ſecured; and, by the confeſſions of the perſons ſeized, it appeared, that the numbers engaged in this attempt were about eighty, of whom one half were highlanders: that one Mr. Arthur, formerly an enſign in the caſtle, engaged the ſoldiers in this conſpiracy, by promiſing the ſerjeant a lieutenant's commiſſion; the corporal an enſign's; and by giving one of the ſoldiers eight guineas, and the other four: that the lord Drummond was to be governor of the caſtle, as being the contriver of the deſign: and that, upon the ſucceſs of it, the conſpirators were to fire three rounds of the artillery in the caſtle; which, by the communication of fires to be kindled at convenient diſtances, was to be a ſignal to the earl of Mar, immediately to march towards Edinburgh with his forces, to improve the conſternation, and heighten the terror, which ſuch an accident would have cauſed in the city. 1715.

The duke of Argyle, being appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, ſet out on the 9th of September for that kingdom; and, about the ſame time, the earl of Sutherland offered his ſervice to go and raiſe the highland clans in the moſt northern counties of Scotland, which was readily accepted; and the Queenborough man of war was appointed to tranſport him thither. Several other Scots peers, particularly the duke of Roxburgh, the marquiſſes of Annandale and Tweedale, the earls of Selkirk Loudoun, Rothes, Haddington, and Forfar, the lords Torpichen and Belhaven, &c. readily embraced this opportunity to ſhew their loyalty to king George, and their zeal for their country. The duke of Argyle ſets out for Scotland.

By this time a dangerous conſpiracy was diſcovered and prevented in England. On the 2d of September, lieutenant-colonel Paul, who had a company in the firſt regiment of foot-guards, was ſecured, and the next day committed priſoner to the Gate-houſe, being charged with inliſting men for the pretender's ſervice, and other treaſonable practices. The titular duke of Powis, a roman catholic, was committed to the Tower for high-treaſon; and the lords Lanſdown and Duplin were alſo taken into cuſtody; and a war- A conſpiracy in England diſcovered.

1715. warrant iſſued out to apprehend the earl of Jerſey. At the ſame time, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope acquainted the commons, 'That he was commanded by the king to communicate to them, that his majeſty, having juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey, ſenr. of Combe, Mr. Thomas Forſter, Junr. Mr. John Anſtis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaſton, were engaged in a deſign to ſupport the intended invaſion of this kingdom, had given orders for apprehending them: and deſired the conſent of the houſe, to his cauſing them to be committed and detained, if he ſhould judge it neceſſary ſo to do;' which was unanimouſly agreed to by an addreſs to that purpoſe.

Six members ordered to be apprehended.

Upon this, warrants were iſſued out for apprehending the ſix members, two of whom, Harvey and Anſtis, happening to be in town, were immediately ſecured. Mr. Harvey ſtabbed himſelf ſome few days after with a knife, in two or three places of his breaſt; but the wounds proved not mortal. As to the reſt, Mr. Forſter ſtood out in defiance of juſtice, and with two romiſh lords raiſed a rebellion in Northumberland. Sir John Packington was brought up to London from his houſe in Worceſterſhire, and being examined before the council, and nothing appearing againſt him, was honourably diſcharged. Mr. Kynaſton made his eſcape; and colonel Huſke, a captain in the foot-guards, was ſent down with a meſſenger to apprehend Sir William Wyndham, at his houſe in Somerſetſhire, where they arrived between four and five in the morning. The door being opened, they appeared to be in haſte to ſee Sir William; but the porter told them, he was in bed, and could not yet be ſpoke with. The colonel told him, he came expreſs, and the perſon with him had a packet of letters of ſuch conſequence, that his maſter muſt needs be immediately informed of it. This convinced the man, and Sir William preſently leaped out of bed, and came in his gown to the colonel, who told him, he was his priſoner, the meſſenger, at the ſame time, ſhewing the badge of his office. Sir William ſaid, he readily ſubmitted, but deſired no noiſe might be made to frighten his lady, who was with child. Then they entered a chamber, where the colonel ſeeing Sir William's coat and waiſtcoat lie, told him, he had orders to ſeize all his papers; and that he muſt take leave to ſearch his pockets, wherein he found a bundle of papers, which he ſecured. Sir William would have diverted him, by offering him very frankly the keys of his eſcrutore, to

ſearch

ſearch; but the colonel happened to ſecure the moſt important papers, as he had reaſon to gueſs, by the great diſorder and confuſion in Sir William's looks, when he took the bundle out of his waiſtcoat pocket. Sir William deſired the colonel to ſtay till ſeven o'clock, and he would order his own coach and ſix horſes to be ready, which would carry them all; telling the colonel, he would only go in, and put on his cloaths, and take leave of his lady, and then would wait on him. Out of deference to that lady's noble relations, who, beſides their high rank, had deſerved it by their zeal and affection for the preſent government, the colonel had particular directions to uſe him with decorum, and readily complied with his requeſt, looking on it as his parole to return: but he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken in the perſon, whoſe honour he had truſted to; for, tho' the colonel had cauſed two doors of Sir William's bed-chamber to be ſecured, yet, there being a third, he made his eſcape through it. The colonel, having directed the meſſenger to ſtay at the houſe till further orders, returned with ſpeed to London, to acquaint the government with what had paſſed; whereupon the king in council thought fit to ſign a proclamation, with a reward of a thouſand pounds, for apprehending Sir William. 1715.

One of the papers found in Sir William's pocket was ſaid to be a liſt of the principal perſons, who had joined in an aſſociation to favour an invaſion, and to advance the pretender to the throne; which aſſociation was tranſmitted to him by the lord Lanſdown. Be that as it will, it is certain a great many notorious jacobites, who by this time had got together at Bath, in order to head the intended inſurrection in Somerſetſhire, were extremely alarmed at the coming down of the king's meſſengers, and left that place with great precipitation, in a very ſtormy night. Sir William Wyndham, being purſued by the proclamation, and ſeveral meſſengers, thought a clergyman's habit the beſt diſguiſe, and ordered one of his ſervants to write a letter to a gentleman in Surrey, deſiring him to give his maſter refuge in his houſe; or, if he would not venture ſo far, to get him a lodging in the miniſter's houſe, where he would come in a habit, that would beſpeak him reſpect from a clergyman. This letter being brought to the gentleman's houſe while he was abroad, his lady opened it; and being frightened with the thought of the danger, which her huſband might incur in harbouring a perſon charged with treaſon, ſhe thought fit to ſend it to the earl of Aylesford, who

 failed

1725. failed not immediately to communicate it to the government. Sir William rightly judging, by the miſcarriage of the letter, that he could hardly eſcape, thought it prudent to ſurrender himſelf. In order to which, having croſſed the Thames near Thiſtleworth, he went firſt to Sion-houſe, belonging to the duke of Somerſet, his father-in-law, and, coming from thence to London the 3d of October, he put himſelf into the hands of the earl of Hertford, his brother-in-law, captain of one of the troops of life-guards; who having given notice of it to Mr. ſecretary Stanhope, a meſſenger was ſent to take Sir William into cuſtody. Three days after, he was examined at the council board, where he flatly denied he knew any thing of a plot. However, an order was made for his commitment to the Tower. It was then ſtrongly reported, the duke of Somerſet offered to be his bail; which the council did not think fit to accept. But whether the duke bore this denial impatiently, and expreſſed ſome reſentment upon it too warmly, it is certain, he was removed from his place of maſter of the horſe.

The parliament is adjourned.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the king came, on the 21ſt of September, to the houſe of lords, and, having paſſed the bills that were ready, ordered the lord-chancellor to deliver the following ſpeech to both houſes (n):

My

(n) When the ſpeaker preſented the three bills for ſettling a revenue on the princeſs of Wales, for inlarging the capital ſtock of the South-ſea company, and for making proviſion for the miniſters of the fifty new churches, he made a ſpeech with great ſpirit and eloquence, wherein, among others, were the following paſſages:

'Your commons could not 'ſee, without the utmoſt in-'dignation, the glories of her 'late majeſty's reign tarniſhed 'by a treacherous ceſſation of 'arms; the faith of treaties vi-'olated; that antient probity, 'for which the Engliſh nation 'had been juſtly renowned 'throughout all ages, expoſed 'to ſcorn and contempt, and 'the trade of the kingdom 'given up by inſidious and pre-'carious treaties of commerce, 'whilſt the people, amuſed 'with new worlds explored, 'were contented to ſee the moſt 'advantageous branches of their 'commerce in Europe loſt or 'betrayed.

'Such was the condition of 'this kingdom, when it pleaſed 'the divine providence to call 'your majeſty to the throne of 'your anceſtors, under whoſe 'auſpicious reign, your com-'mons, with pleaſure, behold 'the glory of the Plantage-'nets, your majeſty's royal an-'ceſtors, revive, and have an

un-

1715.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I AM perſuaded you are all by this time very deſirous of ſome receſs, and that it cannot be deferred longer, without great inconvenience to your private affairs. The king's ſpeech.

" But, before I can part with you, I muſt return you my moſt ſincere thanks, for your having finiſhed, with ſo much wiſdom and unanimity, what I recommended to your care; and particularly I thank you, gentlemen of the houſe of commons, for the proviſion you have made, as well for the ſupport of the honour and dignity of the crown, as for the other neceſſary occaſions of the public; eſpecially for your having done it by means ſo little burdenſome to my people; which, I aſſure you, recommends the ſupplies to me above any other circumſtance whatſoever.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The open and declared rebellion, which is now actually begun in Scotland, muſt convince all, who do not wiſh to ſee us given up into the hands of a popiſh pretender, of the dangers to which we have been and are ſtill expoſed.

" I thought it incumbent on me to give you the earlieſt notice of the deſigns of our enemies; and I cannot ſufficiently commend the zeal and diſpatch, with which you impowered me, at a time when the nation was in ſo naked and defenceleſs a condition, to make ſuch preparations, as I ſhould think neceſſary for our ſecurity. You ſhall have no reaſon to repent of the truſt

' unbounded proſpect of the continuance of this happineſs even to the lateſt poſterity, in a race of princes lineally deſcended from your majeſty.

' And that nothing may be wanting on the part of your commons, to eſtabliſh your majeſty's throne on ſolid and laſting foundations, they have applied themſelves with unwearied diligence, to vindicate the honour of the Britiſh nation, and to reſtore a mutual confidence between this kingdom and its antient and faithful allies, by detecting the authors of thoſe pernicious counſels, and the actors in thoſe treacherous deſigns, in order to bring them to juſtice, by the judgment of their peers, according to the law of the land, and the uſage of parliament, &c.'

1715. " and confidence you repoſe in me, which I ſhall never uſe " to any other end, than for the protection and welfare of " my people.

" It was ſcarce to be imagined, that any of my proteſ- " tant ſubjects, who have known and enjoyed the bene- " fits of our excellent conſtitution, and have heard of the " great dangers they were wonderfully delivered from by " the happy revolution, ſhould by any arts and manage- " ment be drawn into meaſures, that muſt at once deſtroy " their religion and liberties, and ſubject them to popery " and arbitrary power. But ſuch has been our misfor- " tune, that too many of my people have been deluded, " and made inſtrumental to the pretender's deſigns, who " had never dared to think of invading us, or raiſing a " rebellion, had he not been encouraged by the ſucceſs " his emiſſaries and adherents have already had in ſtirring " up riots and tumults, and by the further hopes they en- " tertain of raiſing inſurrections in many parts of my king- " doms.

" The endeavouring to perſuade my people that the " church of England is in danger under my govern- " ment, has been the main artifice employed in car- " rying on this wicked and traiterous deſign. This inſi- " nuation, after the ſolemn aſſurances I have given, and " my having laid hold on all opportunities to do every " thing, that may tend to the advantage of the church " of England, is both unjuſt and ungrateful. Nor can I " believe ſo groundleſs and malicious a calumny can make " any impreſſion upon the minds of my faithful ſubjects, " or that they can be ſo far miſled, as to think the church " of England is to be ſecured, by ſetting a popiſh preten- " der on the throne.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The proofs this parliament has given of their unſha- " ken duty and affection to me, and of their love and " zeal for the intereſt of their country, will recommend " you to the good opinion and eſteem of all, who have " their religion and liberty truly at heart, and has laid " a laſting obligation upon me; and I queſtion not, " but by your further aſſiſtance in the ſeveral countries, " to which you are going, with the bleſſing of almighty " God, who has ſo frequently interpoſed in favour of this " nation,

"nation, I shall be able to disappoint and defeat the de- 1715.
"sign of our enemies.

"Our meeting again to do business, early in the next "winter will be useful on many accounts, particularly, "that the sitting of parliaments may be again brought into "that season of the year, which is most convenient; and "that as little delay may be given as is possible to your "judicial proceedings; and I shall at present give such "orders to my lord chancellor, as may not put it long "out of my power to meet you on any sudden occa-"sion."

When the king's speech was ended, the parliament adjourned to the 6th of October, and afterwards by several adjournments, to the 9th of January.

Pursuant to the king's speech, orders from the privy-council, with a letter from the secretary of state, were sent to all the lords-lieutenants of the counties in England, to cause the militia to be put in such a posture, as to be ready to march when required; and also to give the necessary directions to the proper officers, to seize the persons and arms of all papists, nonjurors, and others, whom they should have reason to suspect.

A design to seize Bristol prevented.

The designed insurrection in the western counties was so deeply concerted, and the conspirators so potent and numerous, that the jacobites at Bath, depending on their majority, openly talked, that the affair of Scotland was only a diversion to draw the king's troops that way; but that the effectual attempt would be made in the West very speedily. But the government, having received information of the secret proceedings of the disaffected, took such measures, as defeated all their designs. And first, to prevent the intended surprizal of Bristol, in order to make it a place of arms, the earl of Berkley, lord-lieutenant of the county, and governor of that city, repaired thither with all speed, and took all necessary precautions to secure that important place. Several persons were apprehended, and, amongst the rest, Mr. Hart, a merchant, who was charged with having collected great quantities of warlike stores for the use of the conspirators. Besides part of Lumley's regiment of horse, and the two battalions of Stanwix and Pocock, who were already in Bristol, colonel Chudleigh's regiment of foot marched thither, about the beginning of October. At the same time the lord Windsor's regiment of horse, and Rich's dragoons, under the com-

1715. command of major-general Wade, marched to Bath, which place was both the rendezvous, and one of the arſenals of the conſpirators. Upon ſtrict ſearch, the kings officers found and ſeized there eleven cheſts of fire-arms, a hogſhead full of baſket-hilt ſwords, and another of cartouches, and three pieces of cannon, one mortar, and moulds to caſt cannon, which had been buried under ground. There were about two hundred horſes ſeized; and the following perſons were apprehended, captain Lanſdon, captain Doyle, captain Sinclair, Sir George Brown, Mr. Mackarty, Mr. Dun, Mr. Macdonnel, and William Hibbort. They were all brought to London by a party of brigadier Bowles's regiment, on the 18th of October.

The univerſity of Oxford ſuſpected.

The behaviour of the univerſity of Oxford gave likewiſe reaſon to ſuſpect them. They had lately choſe the earl of Arran their chancellor, in the room of his brother the duke of Ormond, by a great majority over the earl of Pembroke, who was put up in competition with him. On the 26th of September, the earl of Arran was ſworn and inſtalled into that office with the uſual ſolemnity; and the vice-chancellor made a long ſpeech, 'wherein 'he enumerated and extolled the eminent virtues of the 'family of Butler, and took notice of the great obliga-'tions they had at different times laid on that ſeminary 'of learning; ſuggeſting withal, that, the duke of Or-'mond having, before his withdrawing beyond ſea, 'thought fit to reſign the place of chancellor of that 'univerſity, they could not better expreſs their gratitude, 'both to his grace and his noble anceſtors, than by 'chuſing his brother the earl of Arran, in his grace's 'room.' The univerſity concluded this demonſtration of their diſaffection, by conferring the degrees of doctor of laws on Sir John Everard, a nonjuror, and on Sir William Gifford, late governor of Greenwich hoſpital. Not many days after, a letter from a young gentleman at Oxford to his friend in London, falling into other hands, by reaſon of a ſimilitude of names, the following particulars were found in it: 'I think myſelf very happy in being 'ſettled in this ſo loyal a place, and only want your good 'company to compleat it; for here we fear nothing, but 'drink James's health every day. The prince thought to 'have been made chancellor, and by that to have been a 'biſhop, but, thank God, he was diſappointed.'

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The government being informed of all that paſſed at Oxford, and in particular, that colonel Owen, with ſome other broken officers, Iriſh papiſts, and ſeveral notorious jacobites, having taken ſanctuary in that place, fomented the ſpirit of rebellion, drinking publicly and uncontrolled the pretender's health; and it being juſtly ſuſpected, that they deſigned an inſurrection, in order to act in conjunction with the diſaffected at Briſtol and Bath, with whom they held intelligence, it was reſolved to ſecure their perſons. Major-general Pepper being charged with this commiſſion, ſent one of his officers, diſguiſed in a country-man's habit, to Oxford, to get intelligence, and view the avenues and principal poſts in the town; and then began to move himſelf, with his own regiment of dragoons, and a detachment of Tyrrel's, bending his march towards Bath and Briſtol. But, on the 5th of October, being come within ſeven or eight miles of Oxford, inſtead of reſting, he marched all night, and entered the city very early in the morning. Having cauſed his men to alight, and fix their bayonets in the muzzles of their fuzees, he immediately ſecured all the avenues and the gates of every inn and public houſe; and then ſent one of his officers to the vice-chancellor and the mayor of the town, to deſire to ſpeak with them. They having readily obeyed the ſummons, general Pepper delivered to them a letter from Mr. ſecretary Stanhope, and, in a few words, acquainted them with his orders to ſeize ſixteen or eighteen ſuſpected perſons; adding, 'That their concurring aſſiſtance would be very 'acceptable to the government; otherwiſe, that he muſt 'be obliged to proceed to ſuch methods, as ſhould beſt 'execute his orders.' The vice-chancellor and the mayor, ſurprized at this unexpected ſight of ſoldiers, readily promiſed the general all the aſſiſtance in their power, and offered to provide him quarters for his men; which was not accepted, becauſe their ſtay was to be very ſhort. The vice-chancellor in particular, who ſome days before had boldly delivered a long oration in praiſe of a nobleman attainted by act of parliament, now trembling, and in the utmoſt confuſion, made large profeſſions of loyalty and affection to his majeſty. General Pepper told him, the only proof of thoſe profeſſions, which he deſired at preſent, was, that he ſhould keep the fellows and ſcholars quiet in their colleges; declaring to him, at the ſame time, that if any diſturbance happened, or if any perſons aſſembled in the ſtreets, above the number allowed by the act of parliament 1715.

1715. againſt riots, he would cauſe his men to fire upon them. The vice-chancellor promiſed all, and even more than was deſired; ſo the officers appointed by general Pepper began to ſearch for the men, whom they had orders to apprehend. But the chief of them, colonel Owen, who lay that night at the Grayhound-inn, having timely notice from the oſtler of the arrival of the king's troops, leaped over a wall in his night-gown, and got into Magdalen-college, where general Pepper did not think proper to ſearch for him, rightly judging it would be in vain. Of the other ſuſpected perſons, ten or eleven were taken; the principal of whom were Mr. Gordon, Mr. Ker, Mr. Dorrel, Mr. Wilſon, captain Halſtead, Mr. Spelman of Norfolk, Lloyd, the famous jacobite coffee-man at Charing-Croſs (who had formerly followed the ſame employment at Dublin) and one who pretended to be a poſtman, in the lining of whoſe coat were found letters, which he was bringing from the conſpirators at Bath to their correſpondents at Oxford. They alſo ſeized two horſes with fine furniture, belonging to colonel Owen, which were ſaid to have formerly been the duke of Ormond's; as likewiſe the horſes and warlike accoutrements of ſeveral others. As ſoon as the officers had made what ſearch they thought proper, and refreſhed their men, general Pepper cauſed them to mount, and marched out of town with his priſoners towards Abingdon. It might have been expected, that the univerſity and city of Oxford would have taken warning from this ſhort military viſit; but upon information, that the diſaffected there perſiſted in their diſreſpectful behaviour towards the king's perſon and government, and even that a traiterous deſign was carrying on to ſeize that city for the pretender, for which purpoſe a regiment was to be formed of the young ſtudents, under proper officers, who ſecretly reſorted to Oxford; the court thought fit to order Handaſyde's regiment of foot to be quartered there. Accordingly, they marched thither on the 28th of October; and their arrival was the more ſeaſonable, as, the very night before, the rabble had the inſolence to proclaim the pretender, and to commit ſeveral outrages againſt the well-affected.

A deſign on Plymouth prevented.

The deſign upon Briſtol having miſcarried, a project was laid to ſeize on Plymouth. But this was alſo prevented by timely ſecuring ſeveral ſuſpected perſons, particularly Sir Richard Vivian, who was brought to London the 8th of October in cuſtody of a meſſenger.

The

The common people in Cornwal were at this time ſo ripe for rebellion, that ſix or ſeven of them ventured to proclaim the pretender at St. Colombe, two of whom were ſeized, and a reward of 100 l. each was offered by the government for apprehending the reſt. However, by the great care and vigilance of Mr. Boſcawen, comptroller of the houſhold, all things were kept quiet in thoſe parts. 1715. The pretender proclaimed in Cornwal.

The diſaffected in the North of England were more ſucceſsful than their brethren in the Weſt. There had been meaſures concerted at London by the pretender's friends ſome time before the inſurrection in Northumberland broke out; which received great aſſiſtance from captain John Shaftoe, an half-pay officer, afterwards executed at Preſton, and captain John Hunter, of North Tyne in Northumberland, who had a commiſſion from queen Anne to raiſe an independent company, but did not. Beſides theſe, there was one captain Robert Talbot, an Iriſhman, and a papiſt, formerly in the French ſervice, who, being acquainted with the deſign in Auguſt, 1715, took ſhipping at London, and went to Newcaſtle. By Talbot the reſolutions, taken at London, were firſt communicated to their friends in the North of England, and means uſed to perſuade and prepare thoſe, who had been engaged by them, to be ready to riſe upon warning given. Inſurrection in Northumberland. Patten.

A correſpondence and intelligence were now ſettled with all the conſpirators in the ſeveral parts of Britain. But, as this was a correſpondence of too much importance to be carried on by the ordinary conveyance of letters, there were ſeveral gentlemen from ſundry parts in the kingdom riding from place to place as travellers, under pretence of ſeeing the country, and thereby carrying intelligence, diſcourſing with perſons, and ſettling and appointing their buſineſs. The principal men intruſted with theſe negotiations were colonel Oxburgh, Mr. Nicholas Wogan, Mr. Charles Wogan, and Mr. James Talbot, all Iriſh papiſts. A ſecond claſs of agents conſiſted of Mr. Cliſton, brother of Sir Gervaſe Cliſton, and Mr Beaumont, both gentlemen of Nottinghamſhire, and Mr. Buxton, a clergyman of Derbyſhire. All theſe rid like gentlemen, with ſervants and attendants, and were armed with ſwords and piſtols. They kept always moving, and travelled from place to place, till things ripened for action. The firſt ſtep towards their appearing in arms was, when about the latter end of September, the earl of Derwentwater had notice, that there was a warrant out from the ſecretary of ſtate to apprehend

1715. hend him, and that the meſſengers were come to Durham, who were to take him. The earl went to the houſe of one Mr. B—n in his neighbourhood, a juſtice of the peace, who, if he had been well affected to the government, or had regarded that lord's real intereſt, might have honourably enough taken him, or at leaſt perſuaded him to ſurrender; which, it is preſumed, would not have been a difficult matter. Hence the earl is ſuppoſed to have gone to the houſe of one Richard Lambert, which was thought more private, and leſs ſuſpected. Mr. Thomas Forſter junior, knight of the ſhire for Northumberland, againſt whom a warrant was likewiſe iſſued out, having notice of it, went from place to place, till at laſt he came to the houſe of Mr. Fenwick of Bywell. The meſſenger in purſuit of him was come within half a mile of that place; but ſtaying to call for a conſtable to his aid, Mr. Forſter found time to eſcape. Upon this there was a full meeting of the parties concerned in Northumberland; where conſidering all the circumſtances of their friends, and of the intereſt they were imbarked in, they judged that, as there was no longer any ſafety in ſhifting from place to place, in a few days they ſhould all be ſecured and confined in priſons, or conveyed to London; that, as they ſhould be ſeparately confined, ſo they ſhould be ſeparately examined, and none could ſay what the other ſhould anſwer; ſo that, for fear of betraying one another, they ſhould be really brought to do it; that now was the time to ſhew their loyalty to their king, ſince, if this opportunity were loſt, they had no room to hope for another; and therefore they boldly reſolved immediately to appear in
Oct. 6. arms. Purſuant to this reſolution an appointment was made, and notice of it ſent to all their friends, to meet the next morning, at a place called Green-rig. Accordingly Mr. Forſter, with ſeveral gentlemen, in number at firſt about twenty, met at the rendezvous, but made no ſtay, thinking the place inconvenient, but rode immediately to the top of a hill called the Waterfalls; from whence they might diſcover any, that came either to join or oppoſe, them. They quickly diſcovered the earl of Derwentwater, who came that morning from his ſeat at Dilſton, with ſome friends, and all his ſervants, mounted upon his coach horſes, and all very well armed. In coming from Dilſton Hall, they all drew their ſwords as they marched along Corbridge. They halted at the ſeat of Mr. Errington, where ſeveral other gentlemen according to appointment

came

came to the lord Derwentwater. When they had joined Mr. Forſter and his company, they were in all about ſixty horſe, moſt gentlemen and their attendants. They called a ſhort council, and it was concluded to march towards the river Coquett, to a place called Plainfield. Here they were joined by others, and having made ſome ſtay, they reſolved to go that night to Rothbury, a ſmall market-town. They ſtaid there all night; and next morning, being the 7th of October, their number ſtill increaſing, they marched to Warkworth, another market-town upon the ſea-coaſt, of a ſtrong ſituation. Here they continued till Monday, during which time nothing material happened, except that on Sunday morning Mr. Forſter, who now ſtiled himſelf general, ſent Mr. Buxton their chaplain to Mr. Ion, the miniſter of the pariſh, with orders for him, 'to pray for 'the pretender as king, and in the litany, for Mary queen-'mother, and all the dutiful branches of the royal family;' which Mr. Ion declining, Mr. Buxton took poſſeſſion of the church, read prayers, and preached. In the mean while Mr. Ion went to Newcaſtle to conſult his own ſafety, and acquaint the government with what had happened. The next thing they did, was openly to proclaim the pretender as king of Great-Britain, &c. It was done by Mr. Forſter in diſguiſe, and by ſound of trumpet, and all the formality, that the circumſtances and place would admit. On Monday the 10th of October they marched to Morpeth, having been joined at Felton-Bridge by ſeventy Scots horſe, or rather gentlemen from the borders. They had been conſiderably increaſed before, in their march from Warkworth, at Alnwick, and other places, ſo that, at their entering Morpeth, they were three hundred ſtrong, all horſe, for they would entertain no foot; otherwiſe their number would have been very large: but, as they neither had nor could provide arms for thoſe they had mounted, they gave the common people good words, and told them, they ſhould ſoon be furniſhed with arms and ammunition, and then they would liſt regiments to form an army. This was upon the expectation of ſurprizing Newcaſtle, in which caſe they did not queſtion to have as many foot as they pleaſed. Here Mr. Forſter received an account, that Mr. Lancelot Errington and ſome others had ſurprized the caſtle in Holy Iſland, which is a ſmall fort guarded by a few ſoldiers ſent weekly from the garriſon at Berwick. Errington undiſcovered took boat and went to ſea, and with his companions landed under the cover of the wall, and got into the fort by ſurprize; 1715.

1715. ſurprize; though he kept the poſſeſſion but a very ſhort time, for the governor of Berwick, having an immediate account of the action, and reſolving, if poſſible, to recover the place before Errington could be ſupplied with men and proviſions, detached a party of thirty men of his garriſon, with about fifty voluntiers of the inhabitants, who marching over the ſands at low-water-mark, attacked the fort, and took it ſword in hand: Errington himſelf attempting to make his eſcape was wounded and taken priſoner, with ſeveral others; but he with his brother afterwards eſcaped out of Berwick in diſguiſe. The deſign of taking this fort, was to give ſignals to any ſhips, that ſeemed to make to the coaſt to land ſoldiers; for, by the aſſurances they had from their friends beyond ſea, they expected them to land on that coaſt with ſupplies of arms and officers; but they came not till they were gone for Scotland; and then two ſhips appeared off at ſea, and made their ſignal, but, having no anſwer from the ſhore, they ſailed northward.

The rebellion was now formed, and they were all in a body at Morpeth, promiſing themſelves great things at Newcaſtle. Several gentlemen joined them, and ſome of the country people offered to liſt; but they ſtill refuſed them, and prepared to march to Newcaſtle. Before they went on, Mr. Buxton the clergyman, taking on himſelf the office of a herald, proclaimed the pretender. Having ſent a party to ſeize Felton-bridge, they marched towards Newcaſtle, and to their great diſappointment found the gates ſhut againſt them. Upon this, they turned to the weſtward, and marched to Hexham, where they were joined by ſome more Scots horſe. From Hexham they all went three miles diſtant, to a heath or moor adjoining to Dilſton, the earl of Derwentwater's ſeat, and there made an halt, with deſign, as it was thought, to go and ſurpriſe Newcaſtle; but they ſoon returned to their former quarters, having certain intelligence from their friends in Newcaſtle, that, even before any regular forces entered the town, the magiſtrates and deputy-lieutenants, having had firſt ſome ſuſpicion, and ſoon after poſitive intelligence of the deſign of the rebels, had effectually prevented a ſurprize, and taken all imaginable precaution for their ſecurity, raiſing immediately what men they could, ſeizing all papiſts and ſuſpected perſons, arming the inhabitants for their own defence; and taking into the town the militia, who about that time, were ordered to muſter at Killingworth. The earl of Scarborough, lord-lieutenant of Northumberland,

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repaired likewiſe with his friends to Newcaſtle; and the gentry of thoſe parts, after his example, mounted their neighbours and tenants; ſo that the town was full of horſes and men, both townſmen and country-men unanimouſly declaring for king George. However, the chiefs of the rebels having great intereſt in that place, the inhabitants were not altogether without fear; nor were the high-party in the town without the folly of diſcovering their affection for the rebels at Hexham, and even uſing ſome threatening expreſſions. This was, perhaps, partly the occaſion of laying aſide the former diviſions and prejudices between the well-affected inhabitants as churchmen and diſſenters. The latter chearfully offering, and the former freely accepting the offer, an aſſociation was entered into by both, for the mutual defence of their lives and eſtates; and a body of ſeven hundred volunteers were armed by the town for their immediate guard without diſtinction. The keelmen, being moſtly diſſenters, offered a body of ſeven hundred more, to be always ready at half an hour's warning; which was alſo accepted. In the midſt of this hurry, a battalion of foot, and part of a regiment of dragoons, having been ordered out of Yorkſhire for the ſecurity of the town, came to Newcaſtle; and then all the fears of the inhabitants vaniſhed. A few days after, lieutenant-general Carpenter having been ſent by the government in purſuit of the rebels with Hotham's regiment of foot, and Cobham's, Moleſworth's, and Churchill's dragoons, arrived alſo at Newcaſtle the 18th of October, and began to prepare for attacking the rebels at Hexham. In the mean time the rebels, who ſtaid but three days at Hexham, ſeized all the arms and horſes they could meet with, and the night before they left the town, they all drew up round the croſs in the market-place, and proclaimed the pretender. They had received advice, that the lord viſcount Kenmure, the earls of Nithiſdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun, who had taken arms in Nithiſdale, Dumfries-ſhire, and other places in the weſt of Scotland, were entered England to join them, and were come to Rothbury. The lord Kenmure, the only nobleman in that part of Scotland capable of commanding, was ſollicited by the earl of Mar to take up arms for the pretender, and to command ſuch forces, as would join him on that ſide the Forth. He at firſt refuſed this offer, but, being importuned by the jacobites in that country, was at laſt prevailed with to ſet up the pretender's ſtandard at Moffat in Annandale on the 12th of October. 1715.

1715. October. The next day the body, who joined him, marched towards Dumfries, with deſign to ſurprize that town; but the marquis of Annandale, whom they had followed the day before, having none but his ſervants with him, entered the town, and concerted ſuch meaſures, as diſappointed their deſign. This obliged the rebels to alter their route, and after great diſputes they agreed at laſt to march to Loughmaben, where they ſet up their ſtandard, and proclaimed the pretender. On the 14th they marched to Achelfechen, and on their march, being in all near two hundred horſe, they were formed into a regiment, divided into two ſquadrons, the chief command remaining with the lord Kenmure, and each ſquadron under the earls of Wintoun and Carnwath. Hence they marched regularly, and ſent their quarter-maſter-general Mr. Calderwood to take up quarters for them. Next day they came to Langholm, and ſo on to Hawick, their numbers increaſing in the way. At this place they were alarmed, which raiſed ſome diſputes, whether they ſhould proceed. They agreed at laſt to return; but receiving an expreſs from Mr. Forſter about two miles from Hawick towards Langholm, inviting the lord Kenmure and his followers to meet him at Rothbury, they faced about, and marched that night to Jedburgh. Here they received intelligence of Mackintoſh's croſſing the Forth, and the duke of Argyle's reſolution to attack them. In their march to Jedburgh, they were extremely alarmed; for, being late, their advanced guard was ſurprized by the ſhouts of one, who called out, that the grey horſe were ready to fall upon them, and had cut the quarter-maſter, and thoſe with him, to pieces. They, who were acquainted with the quarter-maſter, aſſuring the lord Kenmure, he would by no means be ſo eaſily inſnared, they continued their march, and entered the town without oppoſition. Here, as in moſt other towns, they proclaimed the pretender; and the next day proceeded to Rothbury; and from thence diſpatched Mr. Burnet of Carlips to Hexham to Mr. Forſter, to know, whether he would come towards them, or they ſhould advance? Forſter returned an expreſs, that he would join them. Upon this, and the news that general Carpenter was preparing to attack them, the Northumberland rebels marched out of Hexham on the 19th of October, and making a long march joined the Scots that night, and all of them next day marched to Wooller. Being informed there by Mr. Errington, that the highlanders, who had croſſed the Forth under

under Mackintoſh, were coming to join them, they marched to Kelſo in Scotland. 1715.

During theſe proceedings of the Engliſh rebels, the principal perſons, who were either in rebellion with the earl of Mar, or juſtly ſuſpected of being diſaffected to the government, were, purſuant to the late act, ordered, as has been ſaid, to appear at Edinburgh, and ſurrender themſelves (o). Of all that were ſummoned, only two ſurrendered themſelves; Sir Alexander Erſkine and Sir Patrick Murray, who were both ſecured in the caſtle of Edinburgh. The reſt not appearing were denounced rebels. The duke of Argyle arrived at Edinburgh the 14th of September. He went the next day and viewed the caſtle, and appointed Brigadier Grant to command it, till the arrival of brigadier Preſton the deputy governor. The heads of the diſaffected ſummoned to Edinburgh.

The earl of Mar and his party, after having proclaimed the pretender at Kirk-Michael, on the 9th of September, continued there four or five days, and then proceeded to Moulin, another ſmall market-town in Perthſhire, where they likewiſe proclaimed the pretender, and reſted fourteen Progreſs of the earl of Mar.

(o) The perſons ſummoned were:

The marquis of Huntley, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Gordon; the earls of Seaforth, Wintoun, Carnwath, Southeſk, Nithſdale, Linlithgow, Mar, Kinnoul, Panmure, Mariſchal, Broadalbin; the viſcounts of Kenmure, Stormount, Kilſyth, Kingſton, Strathallan; the lords Ogilvie, Rollo, Drummond, Nairn, Glenorchy; Sir James Campbel of Auchenbrech, Sir Duncan Campbel of Lochnel, Sir Donald Macdonald, Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, Sir Hugh Paterſon of Bonnokburn, Sir Alexander Erſkine, lord Lyon, Sir John Maclean; lieutenant-general George Hamilton; the maſter of Stormount, the maſter of Nairn, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie of Fraſerdale, James Stirling of Keir, Robert Stuart of Appin, John Campbel of Aſtrabalder, William Murray, junr. of Auchtertyre, Alexander Robinſon of Strowan; the lairds of Mackinnan, Clanronold, Glenghary, Keppoch, William Drummond, ſervant to the lord Drummond, Mr. Seaton of Touch, lieutenant Allen Cameron, Rob Roy, alias Mac Gregor, Mr. Stuart of Ard, Mr. Francis Stuart, brother to the earl of Murray, John Cameron of Lochiell, Mr. John Fullerton of Greenhall, Mackintoſh, junr. of Borlam, James Malcom, Mr. Henry Maul, brother to the earl of Panmure, John Walkingthaw of Barrowfield, Colin Campbel of Glenderule, —— Graham of Buckliv[illegible], George Hume of Whitfield, Mr. John Drummond, brother to the lord Drummond, Lyon of Auchterhouſe, colonel Balfour, the maſter of Balfour, and Bethune of Balfour.

days,

1715. days, conſiderably increaſing their numbers. From hence they marched to Logaret, another market-town, where they were reckoned to be a thouſand men well armed. From Logaret they marched to Dunkeld, which they made their head-quarters; and here their numbers greatly increaſed again, for they were joined by two thouſand men from the highlands, by the marquis of Tullibardine, by the earl of Broadalbin's men, and ſeveral others. Finding themſelves thus ſtrengthened, they reſolved to extend their quarters; and the earl of Mar having intelligence, that the earl of Rothes and the gentlemen of Fife (who were up in arms for the king) were advancing to poſſeſs themſelves of Perth, which commands the paſſage over the Tay, reſolved to prevent them; and detached Mr. John Hay, brother to the earl of Kinnoul, with a ſtrong party, with orders to poſſeſs himſelf of that place, which he performed effectually. As this was a great diſappointment to the king's troops, ſo it was a very great advantage to the earl of Mar, as it gave him the command of all Fife, the moſt fruitful, rich, and, for the convenience of the ſea-coaſt, the moſt commodious to him of any ſhire in that part of Scotland; and as it gave a conſiderable reputation both to his conduct and to his party, who, upon this ſucceſs, made preparations in all parts to join him. And now they began to have the face of a formidable army, making this city their chief garriſon and head-quarters. A great many lords, chiefs of clans, and other gentlemen from all quarters flocked to them, with their followers, and ſome of them in very good order, and well armed, particularly the marquis of Huntley, the earl of Seaforth, the Mackintoſhes, the earl Mariſchal, and with them ſo many, that their number was ſaid to be about twelve thouſand men, very well appointed, both horſe and foot.

From thence extending their quarters, they performed an exploit at Brunt-Iſland, which ſtill added to their reputation. They not only ſurprized the town, being ſtrong by ſituation, and a ſea-port on the firth of Forth, in a view of the city of Edinburgh; but, manning out ſome boats in the harbour, they ſeized a ſhip loaden with arms, ammunition, and other warlike ſtores, which lay in the firth, bound to the north, for the uſe of the earl of Sutherland.

After this, they made themſelves maſters of all the towns upon the coaſt, even to the mouth of the firth, the earl of

of Rothes, and the gentlemen with him, being obliged to separate, or retire to Stirling, to the king's army. 1715.

The rebellion being come to this height, the earl of Mar reſolved, in concert with his confederates (who began by this time to appear likewiſe in other places) to make an attempt upon the ſouth parts of Scotland, by a method, which at that time was thought almoſt impracticable. He ſent a ſtrong detachment to croſs the firth of Forth, and land on the Lothian ſide, in order to be joined by their friends, whom they expected to raiſe about Haddington, and on the boarders of England. On their march to the ſea-coaſt they were covered by ſome horſe under the command of Sir John Aerſkine of Alva, the maſter of Sinclar, and Sir James Sharp, grandſon to archbiſhop Sharp, who was murdered in his coach by the old Cameronians. This body was commanded by the laird of Barlum, better known by the name of brigadier Mackintoſh, and conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred men well armed. Orders had been given for all the boats on that ſide to be ready to carry them over. The king's ſhips in the firth either ſeeing them, or having notice of the deſign, prepared to intercept them, if they ſhould attempt the paſſage; but the rebels made ſeveral countermarches to amuſe them till night came on; when, drawing down to the ſhore, ſeveral imbarked that night, and others the next, making directly over to the ſouth ſhore, the men of war not being able to prevent them. However one boat was taken with fifty men. Others were forced back to Fife again; among whom lord Strathmore, and his lieutenant-colonel Walkinſhaw of Barrowfield, and many were driven into the iſle of May. Of the two thouſand five hundred deſigned for this deſcent upon the Lothians, only one thouſand five hundred of them landed; for the men of war being come down made it impracticable for the reſt to paſs; ſo they were obliged to ſtay till the next night, and then to return to Criel on the ſhore of Fife. The others landed at North Berwick, Aberlady, and other places on that coaſt, and quartered at Haddington and Tranent the firſt night. This was certainly a bold attempt, for men in open boats to croſs an arm of the ſea ſixteen or ſeventeen miles broad, in ſight, and in defiance of three men of war, among whom they fell, but received no damage from them, but rather an advantage; for the lights of the ſhips ſhewed them how to row to the ſhore. On the other hand, the government omitted nothing, that might prevent this attempt;

1715. time no care was wanting to diſappoint them of veſſels for that undertaking: the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, and of the other towns on the Edith, having had notice from the duke of Argyle of this deſign, had cauſed all the boats, that could be got, to be brought to Leith; and beſides the king's ſhips of war, that lay in the road, ordered three cuſtom-houſe ſmacks, either to burn or bring over from Fife all the boats and veſſels they could find, to prevent the rebels coming over. But all theſe precautions proved ineffectual: the rebels being maſters of all the ſea-ſhore from Cromarty to the forth of Edinburgh, eaſily found means to get boats for their purpoſe; nor did they fail of all neceſſary policy in the management of the deſign; for, whilſt ſome of them amuſed the king's ſhips about Brunt-Iſland, as if they would paſs above Leith-road, their main body imbarked on the other ſide, under the conduct of brigadier Mackintoſh, quite out of ſight of the ſhips; and by that means came ſafe aſhore.

While this deſign was executing, the earl of Mar made a feigned march from Perth towards Dumblain, as if he intended to croſs the Forth at Stirling-bridge, in order to divert the duke of Argyle from falling upon thoſe, who had croſſed the Firth. Nor did this prove ineffectual; for it obliged the duke of Argyle to return to Stirling with the utmoſt expedition.

The highlanders, who had thus croſſed the firth, having refreſhed themſelves but one night at Haddington, marched directly towards Edinburgh, where they cauſed more terror than there was real danger; for, unleſs their number had been greater, it was impoſſible for them to force that city. It was indeed ſuppoſed, they expected to be joined by the rabble, and ſome tumult would be raiſed in their favour. In the mean time the duke of Argyle received letters from all hands, that, if he did not ſend a detachment of troops to Edinburgh, the town would certainly fall into the enemies hands. And therefore, though it had always been intirely againſt his opinion to divide the ſmall number of troops he had with him, he was obliged to comply, and went himſelf with a detachment of three hundred dragoons, and two hundred foot, mounted on
Oct. 14. country horſes for expedition, and arrived at Edinburgh in the night. The rebels, who were then within four miles of the city, hearing of the arrival of this detachment, altered their reſolution of going directly to Edinburgh (which they would have infallibly taken) and marched into the

citadel

citadel of Leith (p). The next morning the duke of Argyle inveſted the town with the cavalry, and marched his two hundred foot with three hundred and fifty volunteers from Edinburgh, and the like number of lord Polwarth's militia, down to the ſea-ſhore, where, at a large breach in the old rampart, he judged it eaſy to enter; but, taking a near view of the place, he found, that, to come at the breach, the men muſt march at leaſt five hundred paces under a flank-fire; that the rebels had made a barricade along the breach; and that a garden-wall on the inſide flanked it. Theſe things made the duke unwilling to expoſe his few regular troops, though they ſhewed a great eagerneſs to aſſault. The rebels in the citadel were about one thouſand two hundred; and the reſt, that paſſed the river, being in Eaſt Lothian, the duke thought fit to delay any attempt, and conſider of ſome proper method to diſlodge them. But in the middle of the night they abandoned the place, and retired into Seaton-houſe, a large old and ſtrong caſtle, ſeven miles from Edinburgh, leaving behind them ſome baggage and ammunition. Thirty-ſix of their men and two officers, were taken by a detachment under colonel Dubourgay. 1715.

Whilſt the rebels were in Seaton-houſe, ſeveral of the king's forces, joined by the well affected gentlemen of the country, came from Edinburgh, and appeared near Preſton-Pans; which gave an alarm to the highlanders; upon which a party marched out, and formed themſelves in order to receive thoſe, who appeared againſt them. But thoſe from Edinburgh, having made a halt, retired; and the rebels returned into their garriſon at Seaton-houſe. The next day, the earl of Rothes, with three hundred gentlemen volunteers, and the lord Torpichen with two hundred dragoons, left by the duke of Argyle, marched to Seaton-houſe; but found the rebels ſo ſtrongly poſted, that it was impoſſible to diſlodge them without artillery. This animated the rebels; and a good body of them advancing, ſome ſhot were exchanged, but at too great a diſtance to do any harm on either ſide; and the king's troops, ſeeing nothing could be done, retired. Oct. 16. Oct. 17.

The duke of Argyle having received intelligence from Stirling, that the earl of Mar, and the rebels under his

(p) This citadel is a ſquare fort, with four demi-baſtions, built in Oliver Cromwel's time, with a large dry ditch about it, never entirely demoliſhed.

command, were marching from Perth, he returned to Stirling to observe their motions, leaving a party to protect the people of Edinburgh from the insults of the rabble. It was a feigned march of the earl of Mar, to draw the duke of Argyle from attempting any thing upon the highlanders, who had crossed the Firth. He gave out, that he would pass the Forth with his whole army, either at Stirling, or at the bridge of Down. They began their march in the night of October the 17th, and advanced in three bodies; but upon notice, that the duke of Argyle was returned from pursuing the enemy, he marched back to Perth. All this was an amusement, which indeed succeeded; for he broke the measures of the duke, who had resolved to attack Seaton-house. But the earl was determined not to cross the Forth till he had drawn all the clans together, and reduced the earl of Sutherland, whom if he should leave in his rear, it might prove fatal to his designs, and expose all he had gained without opposition to be recovered by that lord.

The highlanders still continued at Seaton-house, and sent out parties to bring in provisions, of which they procured great plenty, as cows, sheep, meal, &c. They gave out, they resolved to fortify themselves, and make the house a magazine, while they raised an army, as well from the adjacent country, and from Edinburgh, and from other friends to their design in the West part of Scotland, who were preparing to join them, as from the borders of England, where by this time numbers were risen in Northumberland.

While they staid here, they discovered a boat at sea, making towards the shore from the Fife-side of the Firth. The men of war fired very briskly at her; but, the boat keeping to the windward at a distance, she got safe to shore. This boat had been sent by the rebels from Leith to the earl of Mar, and now brought back news concerning the proceedings of their friends at Perth, and orders to march towards England, to join the Northumbrians. Immediately after the receiving of these orders, two gentlemen brought them an account of the insurrection in Northumberland under the command of Mr. Forster, and of the southern Scots gentlemen under the lord Kenmure. Upon this they altered their resolution of continuing at Seaton-house; and having also received an express from Mr. Forster, inviting them to meet him at Kelso on the borders, they resolved to march the next day towards him. Accordingly

Octob. 18.

Octob. 19.

ingly they ſet out in the morning for Lonformachus, a ſmall town ſeventeen miles from Seaton-houſe. During this day's march, ſeveral highlanders deſerted. As ſoon as major-general Wightman received intelligence of their motion, he marched from Edinburgh with eighty dragoons, fifty of the militia, and ſome volunteers, to attack their rear; but returned in the evening without ſucceſs, having only taken ſome of the deſerters, whom he made priſoners, and left fifty foot in Seaton-houſe, where they had left a great deal of their ſpoil. Mackintoſh and his men marched from Lonformachus, towards another ſmall town in the Mers called Dunſe, where they drew up in order of battle, whilſt the pretender was proclaimed, retiring afterwards to their quarters in that town. The next morning, they marched towards Kelſo, where the Engliſh and Scots horſe from Northumberland and Nithiſdale entered the ſame evening. The next day they proclaimed the pretender, and continued there till the 27th of October (q). It will now

1715. Octob. 22.

(q) Mr. Patten gives the following account of the ſtate of the rebels, at their junction at Kelſo:

The lord viſcount Kenmure had the chief command whilſt in Scotland. He was a grave, full-aged gentleman, of a very antient family, and of great experience in political buſineſs, but of little or none in military affairs. He was of a ſingular good temper, but too mild and calm for ſuch a poſt. He had a troop of gentlemen with him, which, as he was general, was called the firſt troop, the command of which he gave to the honourable Bazil Hamilton of Beldoun, ſon to the lord Bazil Hamilton, brother to the late duke Hamilton, a very promiſing youth, and who behaved himſelf with a great deal of courage in the action at Preſton, tho' but very young.

The ſecond troop was called the Merſe troop, commanded by the honourable James Hume, Eſq; brother to the earl of Hume, who, at that time, was priſoner in Edinburgh caſtle. This youth is of a good temper, but not very capable of having the command of a troop, as well on account of his age, as other incapacities. He was tried at the Marſhalſea, and found guilty.

The third troop, called the earl of Wintoun's troop, and commanded by himſelf. This earl is of a very antient family, wants no courage, and has more capacity than his friends find it for his intereſt to ſuggeſt, as appears by the counſel he gave. He oppoſed the ſcheme of the Northumbrian gentlemen to march into England, and preſſed them to leave Edinburgh and Stirling to their fate, and go and join the weſtern clans, attacking in their way the towns of Dumfries and Glaſgow, and then to open a communication with

proper to ſee what was doing in other parts of Scotland.

The ſynods of Glaſgow, Air, Perth, Stirling, Merſe, and Teviotdale had very early publiſhed earneſt admonitions to

the earl of Mar. Had this advice been followed, it would, very probably, have proved very advantageous. The command of his troop he aſſigned, under himſelf, to captain James Dalziel, brother to the earl of Carnwarth, who had been in king George's ſervice formerly, and continued an half-pay officer for ſome time; but, upon engaging in the rebellion, he threw up his commiſſion; which piece of policy was the ſaving of his life, and prevented his being ſhot to death at Preſton, by ſentence of the court-martial, among the half-pay officers. He was a very bold and brave young gentleman, and ſhewed it upon all occaſions.

The fourth troop belonged to Robert Dalziel, earl of Carnwarth: this nobleman was brought up under the tuition of one, who made it his ſtudied care to inſtil the principles of hereditary right, paſſive-obedience, and non-reſiſtance into his mind. He ſtudied ſome time at Cambridge, and there ſucked in an entire affection for the liturgy and worſhip in uſe in the church of England, of which he was a ſincere devotee. He is ſingularly good in his temper, and of an agreeable affability, and delivers himſelf very handſomely in his diſcourſe. The command of this troop he gave over to his uncle James Dalziel, Eſq. This gentleman had a very good character, and gave ſufficient demonſtrations of his affections to the pretender's intereſts, by his courage and conduct.

The fifth troop was under the command of captain Lockhart, brother to Mr. Lockhart of Carnwarth: he was a half-pay officer in the lord Mark Ker's regiment, and as ſuch tried at Preſton, by a court-martial; by which being found guilty of deſertion, he, with three more, were ſhot to death there.

Theſe troops were well manned, and indifferently armed; but many of their horſes ſmall: beſides theſe, there were many volunteers, who were not formed into any regular troop.

The ſix regiments deſigned to croſs the Forth were:

Firſt, the earl Strathmore's; but he, and his lieutenant-colonel Walkinſhaw of Barrowfield, were forced back in their paſſage by the king's men of war, with ſeveral others, and obliged to go on ſhore in the iſle of May. This regiment was not in highland-dreſs, as the others were. This lord was a hearty friend of the pretender's, and had, ſome time before this rebellion broke out, given it under his hand, that he would be ready, the firſt opportunity, to riſe and aſſiſt to eſtabliſh him upon the throne. This paper, which was ſigned by ſeveral others, was lodged in

to perſons of all ranks, to animate them to the defence of king George and the conſtitution. 1715.

On the 28th of September, Mr. James Murray, ſecond ſon of the lord viſcount Stourmont, arrived incognito at Edinburgh James Murray comes over as ſecretary to the pretender.

in the hands of colonel Hookes, to be by him tranſported into France.

The ſecond regiment was the earl of Mar's, which came not entire over the Forth; for only major Forbes, with three captains and three lieutenants, were taken at Preſton, the reſt were driven back by the men of war.

The third, Logie Drummond's. This regiment came not entire over the Forth, being driven back on the Fife ſide, with many more: for, of the two thouſand five hundred deſigned to croſs the Firth, the better half were prevented. He that had the command of this regiment was one of thoſe that ſigned an anſwer to monſieur de Torcy's queſtions, which gave a diſtinct reſolution to each query, containing a full account of the ſtate of affairs; particularly an account of the inclinations of the people, to venture all for the chevalier's ſervice: this was when the people of Scotland were diſſatisfied about the union, in the year 1707. This paper was likewiſe lodged in the hands of colonel Hookes, to be by him tranſported into France.

The fourth, the lord Nairn's, brother to the duke of Athol; but by marrying an heireſs, according to the cuſtom of Scotland, changed his own name for hers: he came over the Firth with a good many of his men. He is a gentleman well beloved in his country, and by all that had the advantage to be acquainted with him: he had formerly been at ſea, and gave ſignal inſtances of his bravery: he was a mighty ſtickler againſt the union. His ſon, who was lieutenant-colonel to lord Charles, took a great deal of pains to encourage the highlanders by his own experience, in their hard marches, and always went with them on foot thro' the worſt and deepeſt ways, and in highland-dreſs.

The fifth regiment was commanded by lord Charles Murray, a younger ſon of the duke of Athol: he had been a cornet of horſe beyond ſea, and had gained a mighty good character for his bravery, even temper, and graceful deportment. Upon all the marches, he could never be prevailed with to ride, but kept at the head of his regiment on foot, in his highland dreſs, without breeches: he would ſcarce accept of a horſe to croſs the rivers, which his men, in that ſeaſon of the year, forded above mid-thigh deep in water. When the rebels ſurrendered at Preſton, he was tried for a deſerter, being a half-pay officer, and ſhot.

The ſixth regiment was called Mackintoſh's battalion, a relation of the brigadier's, who is chief of that clan. He is of an antient family, deſcended

Edinburgh from France, by way of England, croſſing the Firth at Newhaven above Leith, got undiſcovered into Fife, and ſo to the earl of Mar at Perth. He gave the rebels large promiſes of aſſiſtance both from France and England, and

[illegible] from the old Thanes of Fife. His name, in the Iriſh, or highland language, diſcovers his deſcent; for Toſh ſignifies Thane, and Mac, ſon. His motto to his coat of arms is comical as well as remarkable, 'Touch not the cat without 'your glove;' which coat of arms is ſupported by two wild cats, and has a cat for the creſt. The earl of Weems is deſcended from the ſame Thane of Fife; and it is diſputed whether he or Mackintoſh are elder, though certain it is, that the earl of Weems retains a conſiderable part of Thane's eſtate. Whether Mackintoſh be elder or younger, he left Fife, and made a purchaſe in the north, where his ſucceſſors have lived for ſeveral hundreds of years in a handſome and ſplendid manner, and married the heireſs of Clancattau, whereof Mackintoſh became the head and chief; which has a great many tribes or followers. viz. the Macpherſon's, the Farquarſon's of Brae-Mar, the Macgilroy's, the Shaw's, Macbeans, Macqueen's, Smith's, and Clark's, &c. which, joined together, make a numerous clan. The Macpherſon's would not on this occaſion follow their chief, but formed a ſeparate body for the pretender. This regiment came entire over the Firth. Mackintoſh is a gentleman that few people expected in the rebellion, having always appeared on the other ſide; but the perſuaſions of the brigadier prevailed with him. He is a handſome brave young gentleman, of a very conſiderable intereſt in his own country; for he can bring into the field upon any occaſion one thouſand ſtout, hardy, and well armed men.

The Engliſh were not ſo well regulated, or ſo well armed as the Scots. The troops were: Firſt, the earl of Derwentwater's, commanded by his brother Charles Radcliffe, Eſq; and captain John Shaftoe. That earl being a papiſt, and a relation of the pretender's, having it ſeems had the opportunity of being perſonally acquainted with him, all theſe circumſtances unhappily concurred to draw him into this ſnare, to his deſtruction, and the utter ruin of the moſt flouriſhing family in that part of Britain.

It was thought, however, that this lord did not join either ſo heartily or ſo premeditately in this affair as was expected; for there is no doubt but he might have brought far greater numbers of men into the field than he did; the great eſtate he poſſeſſed, the money he could command, his intereſt among the gentlemen, and, which is above all, his being ſo well beloved as he was, could not have failed to have procured him many hundreds of followers more than he had, if he had thought

and came with the character of ſecretary of ſtate to the pretender for Scotland. 1715.

About this time a ſtrong party of the Macdonalds, Macleans, and Camerons, attempted to ſurprize the fortreſs of Inver-

thought fit; for his concerns in the lead-mines in Alſtone-Moor are very conſiderable, where ſeveral hundreds of men are employed under him, and get their bread from him, whom, there is no doubt, he might eaſily have engaged: beſides this, the ſweetneſs of his temper and diſpoſition, in which he had few equals, had ſo ſecured him the affection of all his tenants, neighbours, and dependants, that multitudes would have lived and died with him: the truth is, he was a man formed by nature to be generally beloved; for he was of ſo univerſal a beneficence, that he ſeemed to live for others. As he lived among his own people, there he ſpent his eſtate, and continually did offices of kindneſs and good neighbourhood to every body, as opportunity offered. He kept a houſe of generous hoſpitality and noble entertainment, which few in that country do, and none come up to. He was very charitable to poor and diſtreſſed families on all occaſions, whether known to him or not, and whether papiſt or proteſtant. His fate will be ſenſibly felt by a great many, who had no kindneſs for the cauſe he died in, and who heartily wiſh he had not forwarded his ruin, and their loſs, by his indiſcretion in joining in this mad as well as wicked undertaking. If the warrant from the ſecretary's office for apprehending him had been made a greater ſecret than it was, he might have been taken, and ſo his ruin have been prevented. His brother is young and bold, but too forward: he has a great deal of courage, which wants a few more years, and a better cauſe to improve it; there is room to hope he will never employ it in ſuch an adventure again.

The ſecond troop was the lord Widdrington's, commanded by Mr. Thomas Errington of Beaufront. This Errington is a gentleman of a very antient family in Northumberland, a younger brother of the family of Errington: he has very good natural parts, and had been formerly an officer in the French ſervice, where he had got the reputation of a good ſoldier. It is believed he would not have engaged in this rebellion, had not the many obligations he lay under to the earl of Derwentwater prevailed with him.

The third troop was commanded by captain John Hunter, born upon the river North-Tyne in the county of Northumberland: he had obtained a commiſſion in the latter end of queen Anne's reign to raiſe an independent company, but never received any pay, nor liſted any men, but when he made uſe of that commiſſion now in the rebellion. He was famous for running uncuſtomed goods out of Scotland into England.

Inverlochy, and ſucceeded ſo far, as to take three redoubts at ſome diſtance from it; in one of which there was an officer with twenty men, and in another a ſerjeant with five; but, the main garriſon being on their guard, the rebels were diſappointed, and marched towards Argyleſhire.

On the 20th of October, an account was brought from the North to Edinburgh, that the earl of Sutherland, with the lord Rea and Mr. Monzoe of Foulis, having drawn together about eighteen hundred men, advanced, on the 18th, to Alneſs, in order to attack the earl of Seaforth, who had aſſembled the clans of the Mackenzies, Macleods, and others; but that, upon a near view of the rebels, they appeared to be much ſuperior in number; and therefore it was

land. He behaved with great vigour and obſtinacy in the action at Preſton, where he took poſſeſſion of ſome houſes during the attack, and galled that brave regiment of brigadier Preſton's, making a great ſlaughter out of the windows: he has ſince mnde his eſcape out of Cheſter-caſtle, and, as is ſaid, got over into Ireland, and from thence to France.

The ſouth troop was commanded by Robert Douglaſs, brother to the laird of Finland in Scotland: he ſignalized himſelf upon ſeveral accounts; for going ſo often, ſo privately, and expeditiouſly between England and the earl of Mar. He was the man who brought Mr. Forſter his commiſſion, and the manifeſtoes and declarations of the pretender. He was indefatigable in ſearching for arms and horſes, a trade, ſome were pleaſed to ſay, he had followed out of the rebellion as well as in it. He was alſo very vigorous in the action at Preſton; where he with his men were poſſeſſed of ſeveral houſes, and did a great deal of harm to his majeſty's forces from the windows. He alſo made his eſcape when a priſoner, either at Liverpool or Cheſter.

The fifth troop was commanded by captain Nicholas Wogan, an Iriſh gentleman, but deſcended from an antient family of that name in Wales; he joined the rebels at their firſt meeting. He is a gentleman of a moſt generous mind, and a great deal of bravery, unwearied to forward the good of his cauſe: his bravery was made known by ſeveral inſtances in the action at Preſton: his generoſity, as well as courage, was moſt remarkable in bringing off priſoner captain Preſton, of Preſton's regiment of foot, who was mortally wounded through the body by a bullet from the rebels, and juſt at the point of being cut in pieces; he hazarded his life among his own men, if poſſible, to ſave that gentleman, though an enemy, and was wounded in doing it. Beſides theſe there were many volunteers not formed into any troop, and the whole amounted to about two thouſand horſe and foot.

judged

judged proper for the earl of Sutherland to retire, which he did in good order, and without any loſs, to his own ſhire, where he was augmenting his forces, and preparing to come forward again, being aſſured of aſſiſtance from the Grants and Roſſes of Culraick, and other parts, and from ſome of the Frafers. 1715.

Theſe motions of the earl of Sutherland kept the earl of Seaforth from joining the earl of Mar; the rebels under whom committed great ravages and diſorders in Fife. A party coming to Leſley, the chief ſeat of the earl of Rothes, after ſearching the houſe for arms, they forced open the church-doors, and, finding no arms there, broke into the burial-place of the family of Rothes, and, digging up the ground, tore open the coffins in a moſt ſhocking manner. Diſorders by the earl of Mar's men.

On the 20th of October a body of weſtern highlanders, conſiſting of two thouſand three hundred men, commanded by general Gordon, came before Inverary, the chief town in Argyleſhire; and, having that night viewed the place, marched back to a mill about half a mile from the town. Next day being reinforced by three hundred of the earl of Broadalbin's men, they viewed the town a ſecond time, and again returned to their former quarters. On the 22d they drew up a third time, and ſent detachments to cut faſcines, as if they deſigned to attack the town; but finding, that the earl of Ilay, who commanded in it, was ready to receive them, they thought fit once more to retreat to their quarters; and on the 24th left the place, and marched through Glenorches, in their way to join the earl of Mar. This preſervation of the town of Inverary was, at that juncture, a very conſiderable ſervice; for, had the rebels been maſters of that paſs, they might have poured in their men, either towards Glaſgow, or into the ſhire of Air, and ſo have joined the rebels in the North of England.

On the 23d of October the duke of Argyle received advice, that a party of rebels, conſiſting of two hundred foot, and one hundred horſe, were marching by Caſtle Campbel towards Dumferling; upon which he ſent away a detachment of dragoons under the command of colonel Cathcart, who came up with the rebels on the 24th at five in the morning; and, after having killed and wounded ſeveral of them, took ſeventeen priſoners, and amongſt them the following gentlemen, Mr. Murray, brother to the laird of Aberkernie; Mr. Hay, ſon to Arbuth; Mr. Patrick Gordon, Aberlour's eldeſt ſon; Alexander Forbes, ſon to the

his

lie; William Robertſon, brother to Donſhils; Mr. Kenlock, a phyſician; Alexander Smith; Mr. Alexander Gordon; Francis Gordon, of Craig; Mr. Hamilton, of Gibſtown in Strabogie; and George Gordon, of the mill of Knearding. The ſame evening colonel Cathcart returned to the camp at Stirling with his priſoners, having had only one of his dragoons wounded.

Letters intercepted from England.

About this time the earl of Mar received three letters, which had been intercepted by Mr. Forſter, one from lord Townſhend to the duke of Argyle; one from the earl of Nottingham to the duke of Roxburgh; and one from the prince of Wales to the duke of Argyle; of which we have an account in the following letter of the earl of Mar to the earl of Broadalbine, which gives a view of the ſtate of the rebels affairs at that time:

My dear lord,

The earl of Mar's letter about them.

'I had the pleaſure of your lordſhip's of the 13th laſt 'night. I have now ſent one hundred bolls of meal, and 'what quantity of ammunition we could ſpare, for the uſe 'of the army under general Gordon; all which is ſent un-'der an eſcort of forty men to Taymouth, and from thence 'your lordſhip will take care to tranſport it to your army.

'You aſk for news, and I can tell you a good deal pretty 'agreeable. Moſt of our Fife detachment are got over to 'the other ſide, and proclaimed the king yeſterday at Had-'dington. I have now a letter from Mr. Forſter, with 'three letters they had intercepted; one from lord Townſ-'hend to duke of Argyle; one from lord Nottingham to 'duke of Roxburgh, and one from prince Hopeful to duke 'of Argyle, of which I ſend your lordſhip a copy, and by 'that you will judge pretty well of the ſituation of our ene-'mies. By Hopeful's letter it will ſeem, that the duke of 'Ormond is in England by this time. Mr. Forſter's letter 'is three days after his laſt to me. He was then three hun-'dred horſe, and was to be joined next day by all the bor-'der, and go ſtraight to Newcaſtle, which they were ſure 'of, and of getting good numbers of the beſt foot in the 'North of England to join them. By them and our men 'on the South-ſide, all correſpondence betwixt London 'and the duke of Argyle will be ſtopped. I have heard 'nothing yet of theſe four battalions, and if Evans's dra-'goons from Ireland to duke of Argyle be come: But, if 'the news we had of the commotions in that country be not

'true,

'true, they will certainly be with him ſoon; and by that 1715.
'your lordſhip will eaſily ſee the neceſſity of Gordon's finiſh-
'ing his buſineſs in Argyleſhire without delay, and march-
'ing Weſt. Tom. Forſter thinks and preſſes my attack-
'ing duke of Argyle before that enforcement join him;
'which I wiſh heartily to do; but that muſt be as things
'happen. The affair of Argyleſhire being finiſhed by your
'lordſhip and Gordon, is of great conſequence to this, as
'well as other things. Therefore I am ſure your lordſhip
'and he will loſe no time in it.

'By lord Nottingham's to duke of Roxburgh, I perceive
'your lordſhip has had the honour of a letter from his grace;
'to which I have no doubt of your giving a ſuitable anſwer.
'The paragraph of the letter is this: Not having time to
'ſend you the whole; and beſide, it ſignifies little. Though
'what you writ to my lord Broadalbin was in itſelf very
'proper; yet, I doubt it will have little effect upon him,
'unleſs he were convinced of the folly of this attempt, from
'ſome aſſurance, that not only the preparations againſt
'them would be ſufficient to ſuppreſs them; and that all
'their expectation of aſſiſtance from abroad, or by an in-
'ſurrection in England, would certainly fail them. Theſe
'are the words of the letter; and it is dated the 3d of this
'month. That of Hopeful to duke of Argyle is of the
'7th, by which they then knew of duke Ormond's leav-
'ing Paris, which they had not when Nottingham wrote
'his letter. And, now that they muſt know of the in-
'ſurrection in England being far from failing us, I leave
'your lordſhip to judge what they are not thinking at
'London of their condition. I have read moſt of Hope-
'ful's letter to the company here: what I have not read is
'the firſt paragraph; and that I think your lordſhip had beſt
'not ſhew to any body, ſave to general Gordon.

'I juſt now hear from Monteith, that the earls Ilay and
'Bute are certainly in Argyleſhire; and that there are two
'men of war come into Clyde, who were ſending their
'long-boats to retake the boats on Lochlomond, which
'Glingyll has ſeized. I wiſh, with all my heart, this
'could be prevented, and that theſe folks were driven from
'Inverary, which I am ſure your lordſhip and general
'Gordon will loſe no time in doing. I am ſorry for more
'in that country's following Lawer's example; and par-
'ticularly, I am ſurprized exceedingly with Lochnell's be-
'haviour, which I knew ſome days ago; but I hear they
'have uſed him as he deſerves. One near Stirling wrote

to

me two days ago, that the duke of Argyle had ſent
him priſoner to Edinburgh, which, I wiſh, may be true.
I hope it will not be in the power of thoſe rogues to do us
much hurt, eſpecially when your lordſhip's being heartily
in the cauſe of your king and country is known to them:
and I aſſure your lordſhip, thoſe vaſſals of yours, who
miſbehave, ſhall be uſed as you deſire.'

'I have ſent to Aberdeen for the printing preſs, and we
have lawyers here, with whom I adviſe as your lordſhip
recommends.

'Theſe men of Glenlyon's, you mentioned, were in
Fife, and are gone over: ſo I have ſent a party of Mac-
pherſon's with the meal and ammunition to Taymouth,
who are to return from that; and your lordſhip will take
care of it from thence. I have recommended it to your
doers there, in caſe of your abſence; and I ſend this by
an expreſs, that you may have it ſooner than that party
can march.

'I'll long to hear from your lordſhip, and that you will
ſend me ſome good news from your parts in return for all
this.

'The thing I am moſt in pain about is our friends, who
are gone over to the other ſide, becauſe of Mr. Forſter's
marching towards Newcaſtle; and nothing could ſo much
prevent the duke of Argyle's ſending a detachment that
way, as your clearing Argyleſhire ſoon, and marching
weſtwards, as Gordon has orders.'

'I am, my dear lord,

'Your lordſhip's moſt obedient,

'From the camp of
'Perth, Oct. 14,
'1715.

'and moſt humble ſervant,

'MAR.'

Soon after, two letters from the earl of Mar were intercepted, and the pretender cauſed a declaration to be drawn up (r).

The

(r) The letters and declaration were as follow:

To the lord viſcount Kenmure.

My lord,

I long extreamly to hear from you, you may be ſure, ſince I have not had the leaſt accounts almoſt of your motions, ſince I ſent the detachment over. I hope all is pretty right again; but it was an unlucky

The rebellion being thus kindled as well in England as Scotland, it was thought proper to demand in form of the ſtates-general, the ſix thouſand men, which by the treaty of guarantee they were engaged to ſend over when required. The 1715. Dutch troops are ſent for. Oct. 16.

lucky miſtake of brigadier Mackintoſh in marching from Haddington to Leith. I cannot but ſay though, that it was odd your lordſhip ſent no orders or intelligence to him, when you had reaſon to expect that party's coming over every day. His retreat he made from Leith, and now from Seaton, with the help of the movement I made from this, makes ſome amends for that miſtake; and I hope that party of men with him will be of great uſe to you, and the cauſe. I wiſh you may find a way of ſending the incloſed to Mr. Forſter, which I leave open for your lordſhip to read; and I have little further to ſay to you, than what you will find in it. I know ſo little of the ſituation of your affairs, that I muſt leave to yourſelf what is fit for you to do, as will moſt conduce to the ſervice; and I know you will take good advice.

My humble ſervice to all friends, particularly brigadier Mackintoſh, lord Nairn, lord Charles Murray, and Mackintoſh, who, I hope, are joined you long e're now; and indeed they all deſerve praiſe for their gallant behaviour. I muſt not forget Kinackin, who I hear ſpoke ſo reſolutely to the duke of Argyle from the citadel; and I hope Innereal and all my men with him are well; and their countrymen long to be at them, which I hope they and we ſhall ſoon. I have ſent another copy of the incloſed to Mr. Forſter by ſea; ſo it will be hard, if none of them come to his hands.

I know your lordſhip will endeavour to let me hear from you as ſoon as poſſible, which I long impatiently for; and I hope you will find a way of ſending it ſafe. In one of my former, either to your lordſhip, or to ſomebody to ſhew you, I told, that a part of the army would be about Dumbarton. But now you would not rely on that, for, till I hear from general Gordon, I am uncertain, if they hold that way. I have ſent your lordſhip a copy of my new commiſſion, which perhaps you have not ſeen before. I have named the ſeveral general officers, and your lordſhip has the rank of a brigadier of the horſe.

I am told earl Wintoun has been very uſeful to our men we ſent over. I ſuppoſe he is now with your lordſhip, and I beg you may make my compliments to his lordſhip; and I hope the king will ſoon thank him himſelf.

I will trouble your lordſhip no farther now; but all ſucceſs attend you, and may we ſoon have a merry meeting. I am, with all reſpect,

My lord,

Your moſt obedient,

and moſt humble ſervant,

From the camp at Perth, October 21, 1715. MAR.

To

THE HISTORY

The ſtates immediately complied with the demand, and preparations were made for tranſporting them. At the ſame time, general Cadogan repreſented to the ſtates, that the king, having received advice that the pretender, James Butler

To Mr. Forſter, general of the king's forces in Northumberland.

Sir,

I wrote to you of the 17th from Auchterardre, which I hope you got. I marched the ſame night the horſe to Dumblain, within four miles of Stirling, and the foot ſome miles ſhort of that place. Next morning I had certain intelligence of the duke of Argyle's returning from Edinburgh with moſt of the troops he had carried there, and was on their march towards Stirling. I alſo had account of Evans's regiment landing in the weſt of Scotland from Ireland, and were on their way to Stirling. I had come away from Perth before the proviſions were ready to go with us; and I found all the country about Stirling, where we were to paſs the Forth, was intirely exhauſted by the enemy, ſo that there was nothing for us to ſubſiſt on there. I had no account from general Gordon, as I expected; and the ſooneſt I could expect him at the heads of Forth was two days after that; and I could not think of paſſing Forth till I had been joined by him. Under thoſe difficulties, and having got one of the things I deſigned by my march, the duke of Argyle's withdrawing from our friends in Lothian, I thought fit to march back to Auchterardre, which was a better quarter, though not a good one neither. Next morning I got intelligence of the duke of Argyle's being come to Stirling the night before, and that he had ſent an expreſs to Evans's dragoons to haſten up. I had a letter alſo that morning from general Gordon, telling me, that ſome things had kept him longer than he expected; that it would be that day e're he could be at Inverary; and that he could not poſſibly join me this week. Upon this I thought it better to return here, which is a good quarter, and wait his coming up, and the lord Seaforth's, than continue at Auchterardre, ſince it would not a bit retard my paſſing the Forth, when I ſhould be in a condition to do it; and in the mean time I could be getting proviſions ready to carry along with me in my march, which, as I have been told, are abſolutely neceſſary about the heads of Forth: So I came home laſt night.

I very much regret my being obliged to this for many reaſons, particularly becauſe of its keeping me ſo much the longer from joining you; but you eaſily ſee it was not in my power to help it. However, I hope my ſtay here ſhall be very ſhort, and you may depend upon its being no longer than it neceſſarily muſt. The paſſage over the Forth is now to extreme difficult.

Butler late duke of Ormond, Henry St. John late lord viſcount Bolingbroke, and other traitors, deſigned to paſs through their dominions, in order to go to Great-Britain and join the rebels, deſired them to give orders to all the gover- 1715.

ficult, that it is ſcarce poſſible to ſend any letters that way; and within theſe two days there were two boats coming over with letters to me, that were ſo hard purſued, that they were obliged to throw the letters into the ſea; ſo that I know very little of our friends on that ſide, and leſs of you, which is no ſmall loſs to me. I heard to day by word of mouth, that the detachment I ſent over are marched and joined our friends in the ſouth of Scotland; ſo I hope they may be yet uſeful; but I hope you know more of them than I do. I have now writ to lord Kenmure, but it is ten to one, if it comes to his hands. I know not what he is doing, where he is, or what way he intends to diſpoſe of his people; whether he is to march into England, or towards Stirling, to wait my paſſing Forth; and, in the ignorance I am in of your affairs beſouth the river, I ſcarce know what to adviſe him. If you be in need of his aſſiſtance in England, I doubt not but you have called him there; but if not, certainly his being in the rear of the enemy when I paſs Forth, or now that the duke of Argyle is reinforced, ſhould he march towards me before I am, it would be of great ſervice. I am forced in a great meaſure to leave it to himſelf to do as he finds moſt expedient.

I am afraid the duke of Ormond is not as yet come to England; elſe I ſhould have had the certainty of it one way or other before now. I cannot conceive what detains him, nor the king from coming here. However, I am ſure it is none of their fault; and I hope they will both ſurprize us agreeably very ſoon.

I believe I told you in my laſt of the lord Strathmore, and two hundred of the detachment, that were going over Forth, and drove into the iſland of May by three men of war, being got ſafe aſhore on this ſide, and are now joined us again. There were but two of all the boats taken; and I hear ſome of the men, that were in them, who were made priſoners in Leith, were relieved by our men, when they came there; but that their officers were ſent to Edinburgh-caſtle; ſo I want ſome repriſals for them, which I hope to have e're long.

Though brigadier Mackintoſh's miſtake in going to Leith was like to be unlucky to us and them, yet it has given the duke of Argyle no little trouble; and our march obliging him to let them ſlip, has, I am apt to believe, vexed him.

I beg you will find ſome way to let me hear from you. Ever ſince my detachment were in Fife, all the men of war, that cruiſed on the north coaſt, betwixt Peterhead and the Firth, have been in the Firth, and I

1715. vernors of the places under their dominion, to ſtop and examine all the king's ſubjects that ſhould paſs out of Germany, Lorrain, or France, and alſo to all the captains of ſhips not to take any ſuch on board. This memorial was readily agreed to, and orders were iſſued accordingly.

As

believe, will continue there to prevent my ſending more over that way; ſo that all that coaſt is clear, which I wiſh to God the king knew: and you may eaſily ſend a boat here any where with letters from England, I hear there is one of the regiments of foot come from Ireland to Stirling.

When you write to me by ſea, pray ſend me ſome news papers, that I may know what the world is a doing; for we know little of it here theſe eight days. Succeſs attend you; and I am, with all truth and eſteem,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient

From the camp at Perth, October 12, 1715. Humble ſervant, MAR.

The pretender's declaration was in the following terms:

James R.

James VIII. by the grace of God, of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. to all our loving ſubjects of what degree or quality ſoever, greeting. As we are firmly reſolved never to omit any opportunity of aſſerting our undoubted title to the imperial crown of theſe realms, and of endeavouring to put ourſelf into the poſſeſſion of that right, which is devolved upon us by the laws of God and man; ſo muſt we, in juſtice to the ſentiments of our own heart, declare, that nothing in this world can give us ſo great ſatisfaction, as to owe, to the endeavours of our loyal ſubjects, both our and their reſtoration to that happy ſettlement, which can alone deliver this church and nation from the calamities which they lie at preſent under, and from thoſe future miſeries, which muſt be the conſequences of the preſent uſurpation. During the life of our dear ſiſter of glorious memory, the happineſs which our people enjoyed, ſoftened in ſome degree the hardſhip of our own fate: and we muſt further confeſs, that when we reflected on the goodneſs of her nature, and her inclinations to juſtice, we could not but perſuade ourſelf, that ſhe intended to eſtabliſh and perpetuate the peace, which ſhe had given to theſe kingdoms, by deſtroying for ever all competition to the ſucceſſion of the crown, and by ſecuring to us at laſt the enjoyment of that inheritance, out of which we had been ſo long kept, which her conſcience muſt inform her was our due, and which her principles muſt lead her to deſire, that we might obtain

But, ſince the time when it pleaſed almighty God to put a period to her life, and not to ſuffer us to throw ourſelf, as we then fully purpoſed to have done

upon

As it would be ſome time before the Dutch could be imbarked, Pitt's regiment of horſe, and Sabine's, Preſton's, and Vane's of foot, had been ſent for from Ireland, and had landed at Cheſter the beginning of October. Aſſociations 1715. Regiments from Ireland.

upon our people, we have not been able to look on the preſent condition of our kingdoms, or to conſider their future proſpect, without all the horror and indignation, which ought to fill the breaſt of every Scotſman.

We have beheld a foreign family, aliens to our country, diſtant in blood, and ſtrangers even to our language, aſcend the throne.

We have ſeen the reins of government put into the hands of a faction, and that authority, which was deſigned for the protection of all, exerciſed by a few of the worſt, to the oppreſſion of the beſt and greateſt number of our ſubjects. Our ſiſter has not been left at reſt in her grave; her name has been ſcurrilouſly abuſed; her glory, as far as in theſe people lay, infolently defaced, and her faithful ſervants inhumanly perſecuted. A parliament has been procured by the moſt unwarrantable influences, and by the groſſeſt corruption, to ſerve the vileſt ends. And they, who ought to be the guardians of the liberties of the people, are become the inſtruments of tyranny. Whilſt the principal powers engaged in the late wars enjoy the bleſſings of peace, and are attentive to diſcharge their debts, and eaſe their people; Great-Britain, in the midſt of peace, feels all the load of a war. New debts are contracted; new armies are raiſed at home; Dutch forces are brought into theſe kingdoms; and by taking poſſeſſion of the duchy of Bremen, in violation of the public faith, a door is opened by the uſurper to let in an inundation of foreigners from abroad, and to reduce theſe nations to the ſtate of a province, to one of the moſt inconſiderable provinces of the empire.

Theſe are ſome few of the many real evils, into which theſe kingdoms have been betrayed, under pretence of being reſcued and ſecured from dangers purely imaginary. And theſe are the conſequences of abandoning the old conſtitution, as we perſuade ourſelves, very many of thoſe, who promoted the preſent unjuſt and illegal ſettlement never intended.

We obſerve, with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, that the generality of our ſubjects are awakened with a juſt ſenſe of their danger; and that they ſhew themſelves diſpoſed to take ſuch meaſures, as may effectually reſcue them from that bondage; which has, by the artifice of a few deſigning men, and by the concurrence of many unhappy cauſes, been brought upon them.

We adore the wiſdom of the divine providence, which has opened a way to our reſtoration, by the ſucceſs of thoſe very meaſures, that were laid to diſappoint us for ever. And we moſt earneſtly conjure all our loving

1715. tions were alſo entered into throughout the kingdom, for the defence of the king's perſon and government; and the lords-lieutenants of the counties were impowered to form into troops or companies ſuch as ſhould be willing to aſſociate,

Aſſociations.

loving ſubjects, not to ſuffer that ſpirit to faint or die away, which has been ſo miraculouſly raiſed in all parts of the kingdom; but to purſue, with all the vigour and hopes of ſucceſs, which ſo juſt and righteous a cauſe ought to inſpire, thoſe methods, which the finger of God ſeems to point out to them.

We are come to take our part in all the dangers and difficulties, to which any of our ſubjects, from the greateſt down to the meaneſt, may be expoſed on this important occaſion, to relieve our ſubjects of Scotland from the hardſhips they groan under on account of the late unhappy union, and to reſtore the kingdom to its antient, free, and independent ſtate.

We have before our eyes the example of our royal grandfather, who fell a ſacrifice to rebellion; and of our royal uncle, who, by a train of miracles, eſcaped the rage of the barbarous and blood thirſty rebels, and lived to exerciſe his clemency towards thoſe, who had waged war againſt his father and himſelf; who had driven him to ſeek ſhelter in foreign lands, and who had even ſet a price upon his head.

We ſee the ſame inſtances of cruelty renewed againſt us by men of the ſame principles, without any other reaſon than the conſciouſneſs of their own guilt, and the implacable malice of their own hearts. For, in the account of ſuch men, it is a crime ſufficient to be born their king. But God forbid, that we ſhould tread in theſe ſteps, or that the cauſe of a lawful prince and an injured people ſhould be carried on like that of uſurpation and tyranny, and owe its ſupport to aſſaſſins. We ſhall copy after the patterns abovementioned, and be ready, with the former of our royal anceſtors, to ſeal the cauſe of our country, if ſuch be the will of Heaven, with our blood. But we hope for better things: We hope, with the latter, to ſee our juſt rights, and thoſe of the church and people of Scotland, once more ſettled in a free, independent Scots parliament, on their antient foundation. To ſuch a parliament, (which we will immediately call) ſhall we intirely refer both our and their intereſts, being ſenſible, that theſe intereſts, rightly underſtood, are always the ſame. Let the civil as well as religious rights of all our ſubjects receive their confirmation in ſuch a parliament. Let conſciences truly tender be indulged. Let property of every kind be better than ever ſecured. Let an act of general grace and amneſty extinguiſh the fears even of the moſt guilty. If poſſible, let the very remembrance of all, which have preceded this happy moment, be utterly blotted out, that our ſubjects may be united

to

ciate, and to grant commiſſions to them in the king's name. 1715.

Declaration by the biſhops.

The archbiſhop publiſhed a declaration, ſigned by himſelf and thirteen of his ſuffragans, teſtifying their abhorrence of the rebellion. But Dr. Atterbury biſhop of Rocheſter, and Dr. Smalridge biſhop of Briſtol, refuſed to ſign this declaration; and a few days after, Smalridge was removed from the poſt of lord almoner to the king, in which he was ſucceeded by Dr. Wake biſhop of Lincoln.

Proceedings of the rebels.

On the 25th of October, lieutenant-general Carpenter, who was appointed to go againſt the Northumberland rebels, ſet out from Newcaſtle with Hotham's regiment of foot, Cobham's, Moleſworth's, and Churchill's dragoons; and on the 27th lay at Wooller, intending the next day, to face Kelſo, where the rebels were. The lord Kenmure, who commanded them while on the ſouth-ſide of the Tweed, having notice of this, called immediately a council of war, wherein it was conſidered what courſe they ſhould take. The lord Wintoun preſſed them earneſtly to

to us, and to each other, in the ſtricteſt bonds of affection as well as intereſt.

And that nothing may be omitted, which is in our power to contribute to this deſirable end, we do, by theſe preſents, abſolutely and effectually, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, pardon, remit, and diſcharge all crimes of high-treaſon, miſpriſon of treaſon, and all other crimes and offences whatſoever, done or committed againſt us, or our royal father, of bleſſed memory, by any of our ſubjects, of what degree or quality ſoever, who ſhall, at or after our landing, and before they engage in any action againſt us, or our forces, from that time, lay hold of mercy, and return to that duty and allegiance, which they owe to us, their only rightful and lawful ſovereign.

By the joint endeavours of us and our parliament, urged by theſe motives, and directed by theſe views, we may hope to ſee the peace and flouriſhing eſtate of this kingdom in a ſhort time reſtored; and we ſhall be equally forward to concert with our parliament ſuch further meaſures, as may be thought neceſſary for leaving the ſame to future generations.

And we hereby require all ſheriffs of ſhires, ſtewarts of ſtewarties, or their deputies, and magiſtrates of burghs, to publiſh this our declaration, immediately after it ſhall come to their hands, in the uſual places and manner, under pain of being proceeded againſt for failure thereof, and forfeiting the benefit of our general pardon.

Given under our ſign manual and privy ſignet, at our court of commercy, the 25th day of October, and in the fifteenth year of our reign. J. R.

1715. march into the weſt of Scotland; but the Engliſh oppoſed, and prevailed againſt that opinion. Then it was propoſed to paſs the Tweed, and attack the king's troops, taking advantage of the weakneſs and wearineſs of general Carpenter's men, who were indeed extremely fatigued, and not above nine hundred men in number, whereof two regiments of dragoons were new raiſed, and had never ſeen any ſervice. But this advice was alſo rejected; and the rebels decamped from Kelſo, and, taking a little to the right, marched to Jedburgh. Upon this march they were all alarmed, by miſtaking a party of their own men for ſome of general Carpenter's forces. The party appearing at a diſtance, captain Wogan, deſirous to know who they were, went off towards the river's ſide, which parted them, and left Mr. Patten to ſtand at a convenient diſtance from him, whilſt he rid up to make a diſcovery. If they proved enemies, he was to fire a piſtol; if friends, to toſs up his hat. At the ſame time ſome of the party, wanting to know who he was, and, galloping towards him, he fired a piſtol; ſo the alarm was taken; but the diſorder was not great, the matter being ſoon diſcovered. Then they continued their march towards Jedburgh. The horſe having entered the town, word was brought them, that general Carpenter had fallen upon the foot, who had not as yet reached the town. This put them into the utmoſt conſternation. However, not being diſcouraged ſo as to abandon their fellows, they all mounted their horſes, and marched out to relieve their friends. This miſtake was likewiſe occaſioned by another party of their own men, who had taken a different route, and, this being alſo diſcovered, they all returned to their quarters, and ſtaid at Jedburgh two days.

As they had now a fair opportunity to ſlip general Carpenter, who was ſome marches behind them, it was reſolved, purſuant to the advice of the Engliſh, to croſs the mountains, and march into England. Accordingly captain Hunter, who was well acquainted with the country, was ordered with his troops, to go into North-Tynedale, and there provide quarters for them, who would follow. But here began a mutiny; the highlanders could not be perſuaded to paſs the borders; and, though many perſuaſions were uſed with them, they would not ſtir. Upon this, the firſt reſolution was altered, and orders were ſent after captain Hunter to countermand him. They were joined in this town by Mr. Ainſley of Blackhill, and ſome others.

From

From Jedburgh they marched to Hawick, a ſmall market-town, belonging to the duchefs of Bucclugh, at whofe houſe, the Engliſh lords, with their relations, and Mr. Forſter took up their quarters. The highlanders ſtill ſuppoſing, that the march for England was reſolved on, ſeparated themſelves in diſguſt, and went to the top of a riſing ground on Hawick Moore, and, reſting their arms, declared, they would fight, if they were led on to the enemy; but would not go into England; adhering to lord Wintoun's advice, that they would go through the weſt of Scotland, join the clans there, and either croſs the Forth ſome miles above Stirling, or ſend word to the earl of Mar, that they would fall upon the duke of Argyle's rear, whilſt he fell on his front. Whilſt they were in this humour, they would allow none to come and ſpeak with them but the earl of Wintoun, who had tutored them in this project, by aſſuring them, if they went to England, they would be all cut to pieces, or taken and ſold for ſlaves (s). After a diſpute of two hours they were at laſt brought to this, that they would keep together as long as they ſtaid in Scotland; but upon any motion of going for England, they would return back: ſo they continued their march to Hawick, where they were extremely ſtraitned for quarters. Here the highlanders, who had always the guard, and did all the duty after they joined the horſe, diſcovered from their advanced guard a party of horſe (who were patroling in their front) and, taking them for enemies, gave the alarm at midnight; and all ran immediately to arms. The moon ſhone, and the night was very clear; ſo the whole body formed themſelves in a very good order to oppoſe any attack, that ſhould be made. But in the end this proved another falſe alarm; and they all returned to their quarters. It was ſaid, that this alarm was deſigned to try the highlanders, and to ſee how they would behave, and whether they would ſtand chearfully to their arms, if an enemy appeared. 1715. Oct. 30.

The next day, they marched to Langholme, another ſmall market-town belonging to the duchefs of Bucclugh. From hence there was a ſtrong detachment of horſe ſent in the night to Eccleſechan, with orders to block up Dum-

(s) During the conteſt, the horſe ſurrounded the foot, in order to force them to march ſouthwards, upon which the highlanders cocked their fire-locks, and ſaid, 'If they were 'to be made a ſacrifice, they 'would chuſe to have it done 'in their own country.'

1715. fries, till they ſhould come up and attack it. Dumfries is a rich town, ſituated very commodiouſly upon the mouth of a navigable river on the Iriſh ſea, and maintains a conſiderable trade with England and the weſt of Scotland. Had the rebels been ſteady in their reſolutions, they might very eaſily have made themſelves maſters of that town, there being no regular forces in it, but only train-bands, militia, and townſmen, who would not have been able to hold out, nor any fortifications to aſſiſt them in the defence of it. Here the rebels alſo might have furniſhed themſelves with arms, money, and ammunition, which were much wanted, and opened a paſſage to Glaſgow, one of the beſt towns in Scotland. Here likewiſe they might have joined the highland clans from the weſt, beſides a great many country-gentlemen, who, on ſuch an appearance, would have come into them; by which means they might have ſoon formed a conſiderable army, and have received ſuccours from France and Ireland, no men of war being in all thoſe ſeas at that time. They were, moreover, aſſured, that in Glaſgow there were a great many arms in the Tolbooth ready for all occaſions, and a conſiderable quantity of gunpowder in the Tron ſteeple. As to the duke of Argyle, he was in no condition to have diſturbed them; but, on the contrary, would have ſcarce thought himſelf ſafe in Stirling, his troops not exceeding two thouſand men; for he had not then been reinforced by the troops from Ireland, nor the Dutch from England. But all theſe arguments were in vain; the Engliſh gentlemen were poſitive for an attempt upon their own country, pretending to have letters from their friends in Lancaſhire, inviting them thither, and aſſuring them, that there would be a general inſurrection upon their appearing; and that twenty thouſand men would immediately join them. Whether they had any ſuch letters or no, is ſtill a queſtion; but they affirmed it to their army, and urged the advantages of a ſpeedy march into England with ſuch vehemence, that they turned the ſcale, and ſent an expreſs after the party of horſe they had ordered to Ecclefechan, for to return and meet them at Langtoun in Cumberland. Thus the deſign of continuing in Scotland was abandoned. But the highlanders, whether dealt with privily by the earl of Wintoun, or being convinced of the advantages they were going to throw away, and the uncertainties they were bringing upon themſelves, halted a ſecond time, and would march no farther. However, their leaders were

again

again prevailed with to march by promiſes, and diſtributing money to the men. But many of them were ſtill poſitive, and that to ſuch a degree, that they ſeparated, and about five hundred went off in bodies, chooſing rather, as they ſaid, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners, than to go forward to certain deſtruction. All imaginable means were uſed to prevent this deſertion; but nothing could prevail with them to alter their reſolutions; for they retired in parties over the mountains. The earl of Wintoun went off likewiſe with part of his troop, very much diſſatisfied at the meaſures, and declaring they were taking the way to ruin themſelves. However, in a little time he returned and joined the body, though not at all ſatisfied with their proceedings; and was never after called to any council of war, which incenſed him extremely againſt the reſt of the lords and commanding officers. They left the ſmall pieces of cannon, which they had brought from Kelſo, at Langholme, having nailed them up, and made them unfit for ſervice. Then they marched that night to Langtoun, about ſeven miles from Carliſle, which was a very long and fatiguing march. Here they had intelligence, that brigadier Stanwix, with a party of horſe from Carliſle, had been there that day to get intelligence of their numbers and motions; but that, upon notice of their coming towards him, he had retired to his garriſon, which then conſiſted of very few men, having made Mr. Graham of Inchbrachy a priſoner. This night the party ordered to Ecclefechan returned and joined the rebels. Next day they entered England, and marched to Brampton, a ſmall market-town, belonging to the earl of Carliſle. Here they proclaimed the pretender, and Mr. Forſter opened his commiſſion (brought by Mr. Douglas from the earl of Mar) to act as general in England. From this time the highlanders had ſix-pence per day paid them, to keep them in good order, and under command. The rebels halted one night at Brampton, to refreſh the men, having marched above one hundred miles in five days. On the 2d of November they advanced to Penrith, where they expected to have met with ſome friends to join them; for it was reported, that Mr. Dacre of Abbeylanner-coaſt, a papiſt, had promiſed to raiſe forty men; but he was prevented by a fever. As they drew near Penrith, they had notice, that the ſheriff, with the lord Lonſdale, and the biſhop of Carliſle, had drawn together the whole poſſe of Cumberland, amounting to about 12,000 men, in order to oppoſe their 1715.

1715. their progreſs. The firſt part of this was very true, that the poſſe was drawn together; nor was their number much leſs. But they gave the rebel army no occaſion to try, whether they would ſtand or not; for, upon notice of the approach of the rebels, they ſhamefully diſperſed, leaving the lord Lonſdale, with about twenty men beſides his own ſervants, who continued on the ſpot till the rebels appeared, and then he retired. A party was ſent to Lowther-Hall to ſee for him, but he was not to be found. This retreat animated the rebels, who made ſome booty, taking ſeveral horſes and a great many arms. Having ſtaid Nov. 5. at Penrith that night, they marched next day to Appleby, where they halted again. On the 5th of November they marched to Kendal, and on the 6th to Kirby-Lonſdale, a ſmall market-town in Weſtmorland, where ſome few papiſts, and their ſervants, from Lancaſhire, joined them (t). From this place they marched to Lancaſter on the 7th where the famous colonel Chartres and another officer happened to be. Upon the news of their approach, the colonel propoſed to blow up a fine bridge, over which they were to paſs, to obſtruct their entry into the town; but the inhabitants would not agree to it. The colonel therefore thought it adviſeable to leave the town, after having ordered ſome barrels of powder to be thrown into a well, to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels. The rebels, having entered Lancaſter without oppoſition, performed the uſual ceremonies of proclaiming the pretender, and levying the public revenue. It was thought they would have continued here till they had received the promiſed ſuccours, the place being eaſily made tenable againſt a greater force than the government could command on a ſudden: but they were in a great hurry to meet their fate, and left Lancaſter on the 9th, carrying with them ſix pieces of cannon, which they found there. They directed their march towards Preſton, where the horſe arrived that night, but the foot halted half way. The horſe entered Preſton without any oppoſition; Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and a regiment of militia, having thought proper to retire on

(t) It is to be obſerved, there were no papiſts of any account had yet joined them in their march; for all the papiſts on that ſide the county had been ſecured in the caſtle of Carliſle, as Mr. Howard of Corbee-caſtle, Mr. Warwick of Warwick-hall, Mr. James Graham of Inchbracky, and Mr. Henry Curwen of Workinton.

the

the approach of the rebels, which did not a little animate them to ſee the royal troops thus fly before them. At Preſton they were joined by a conſiderable number of gentlemen and their followers, all papiſts; which very much diſguſted the Scots gentlemen and highlanders, becauſe they were made to believe, that all the high-church party would join them. The rebels had once reſolved to march out of Preſton the next day, in order to enter Mancheſter, where they expected to meet with a conſiderable reinforcement, and to poſſeſs themſelves of Warrington-bridge, which would have made them maſters of the rich town of Liverpool. But this deſign, like all others, that had any ſhew of prudence, was laid aſide for two days, by which time they found themſelves otherwiſe employed. 1715.

Proceedings of the king's forces.

It is now time to obſerve what motions the king's troops made to oppoſe the rebels, who had thus given general Carpenter the ſlip.

While it was yet uncertain which way the rebels would direct their march, the duke of Argyle ſent a detachment from his ſmall army at Stirling, to hinder their paſſing the head of Forth, if they ſhould attempt that way to join the earl of Mar. A ſquadron of dragoons, and one battalion of foot of this detachment, were quartered at Falkirk, and two hundred dragoons at Kilſyth.

General Carpenter, upon intelligence, that the rebels were in full march towards Lancaſter, reſolved to purſue them with the dragoons only, for the greater expedition; not doubting but he ſhould be joined by the king's troops in the Weſt; in which he was not miſtaken; for general Wills, who had been ſent down ſome days before to command in the Weſt, having intelligence at Cheſter, that the rebels were advancing towards Lancaſter, gave orders for all the troops, quartered in thoſe parts, to aſſemble at Warrington, on the borders of that country. When he arrived there, he found only Preſton's regiment. With that he ſet out, on the 8th of November, and, the ſame day, arrived at Mancheſter, where he had intelligence that general Carpenter was on his march from Durham to Lancaſter, to whom he ſent an expreſs, to acquaint that general of his own motions, that they might act in concert. He marched from Mancheſter the 11th, with the regiments of dragoons of Wynne, Honeywood, Munden, and Dormer, and Preſton's regiment of foot, and advanced directly to Wiggan, where Pitt's horſe and Stanhope's dragoons were quartered. Underſtanding here, that the rebels were

ſtill

1715. ſtill at Preſton, he gave orders for the troops to be ready to march towards that place next morning, by break of day. He formed the horſe into three brigades, Wynne's and Honeywood's, under the command of brigadier Honeywood; Munden's and Stanhope's, under the command of brigadier Munden; Pitt's and Dormer's, under the command of brigadier Dormer.

On the 12th of November, the troops began their march in the following order: a captain and fifty men of Preſton's foot, ſuſtained by a captain and fifty dragoons, formed the vanguard: Preſton's regiment followed brigadier Honeywood's brigade; next Dormer's; and Munden's in the rear; and the baggage in the rear of all. In this order they marched to the bridge of Ribble, where we ſhall leave them, to obſerve what preparations were made for their reception by the rebels.

The ſame morning general Forſter gave orders for his army to march, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the king's troops, and the deſtruction of all their hopes, were ſo near at hand. He had depended on the intelligence from the Lancaſhire gentlemen, who had promiſed, that none ſhould advance within forty miles without his knowledge; but it ſeems, they diſappointed him; ſo that he was under the greateſt ſurprize, when he was informed from all hands, that general Wills was within ſight of him. He went out with a party of horſe to view the poſture of the king's troops; and, upon finding they were in full march towards him, he returned to the town to prepare for their reception.

The battle of Preſton. His men were no ways diſcouraged, but chearfully ſet about the preparations for their defence. They barricadoed the avenues, and poſted their men in the ſtreets and by-lanes, and ſuch houſes, as were propereſt for galling their enemies. The gentlemen volunteers were poſted in the church-yard, under the command of the earls of Derwentwater, Wintoun, and Nithſdale, and the lord Kenmure. General Forſter formed four main barriers; the firſt a little below the church, commanded by brigadier Mackintoſh, and ſupported by the gentlemen-volunteers in the church-yard. The ſecond was ſituated at the end of a lane leading to the fields, and commanded by lord Charles Murray. The third barrier was near a wind-mill, and commanded by the laird of Mackintoſh. And the fourth was in the ſtreet leading to Liverpool, commanded by major Millar and Mr. Douglas. They threw up ſeveral intrenchments in an inſtant, and did all in their power to make a ſtout reſiſtance;

sistance; but were guilty of one capital error, which dis- 1715.
covered their ignorance, or rather infatuation. For in the morning, upon the first intelligence of general Willes's approach, they had detached Macpherson of Innercal, lieutenant-colonel of the earl of Mar's regiment, with an hundred chosen men, to take post at the bridge of Ribble, which was the only pass the king's troops could enter on that side, the river being fordable only in two places, the one below, and the other above the bridge, and these fords easily made unpassable. The bridge terminates a long narrow lane, where, in some parts, not above two can ride abreast. This is the famous lane, where Oliver Cromwell met with a stout resistance from the king's troops, who having rolled down several large stones from the height upon him and his men, one of them came so near, that he escaped only by making his horse jump into a quick-sand. But Mr. Forster, instead of making advantage of this pass, which he might have done to the destruction of the king's troops, (whom he might have very much annoyed by the help of his cannon, while they lay exposed without any cover) ordered this detachment to return to the town, and left the pass free for general Willes.

When general Willes came up to the bridge in the forementioned order, he expected to have met with great difficulties in forcing the pass; but, finding it abandoned, he was much surprized, and suspected some stratagem; and therefore resolved to proceed with caution. Having viewed the hedges, and laid open the ways for the cavalry to enter, he found all clear, and not the least appearance of an enemy. This made him conclude, they had abandoned the place, and were endeavouring, by long marches, to return to Scotland; but in this he was likewise mistaken. For, upon his advancing near the town, he found them in a posture to give him a warm reception, in a place, where he could easier come at them, than he could at the bridge of Ribble. He immediately prepared for an attack, and disposed his troops in such a manner, as he might best annoy them in the town, and prevent their making an escape.

The general having viewed the disposition of the enemy, and finding all the avenues leading to the town strongly barricaded, and two pieces of cannon planted on each; he resolved to make two attacks. For the attack of the avenue, that leads to Wiggan, a captain and fifty dragoons were draughted out of each of the five regiments, with a major and lieutenant-colonel to command them, and ordered to dismount

1715. diſmount to ſuſtain Preſton's regiment commanded by the lord Forreſter, their lieutenant-colonel; and Honeywood's regiment was ordered to remain on horſeback, to ſuſtain the whole; and the brigadier of that name had the direction of that attack

The regiment of Wynne and Dormer, and a ſquadron of Stanhope's, were ordered to diſmount under the command of brigadier Dormer, while the regiments of Pitts and Munden, and the remaining ſquadron of Stanhope's ſuſtained them in the attack of the avenue, that leads to Lancaſter, lying on that ſide of the town oppoſite to the attack of the avenue leading to Wiggan. By the diſpoſition of the king's forces, the four chief barricades of the enemy were eaſily attacked, but not with deſired ſucceſs.

The firſt attack was upon that barricade below the church, commanded by the old brigadier Mackintoſh, who received the king's troops very gallantly; and with a terrible fire, both from the barricade and the houſes, obliged them to retire to the end of the town; at the ſame time the lord Forreſter, lieutenant-colonel of Preſton's foot, entered the avenue of Wiggan, and took poſſeſſion of two large houſes within fifty yards of the barricade, where he poſted his men, finding it impracticable to force the barricade; but from theſe houſes, which overlooked the whole town, he very much annoyed the enemy; and from thence, it is ſaid, they received moſt of the damage they ſuſtained during the action. Theſe houſes had been poſſeſſed by the highlanders, when the barricade was commanded by Mackintoſh; but they were called off by him to ſupport that barricade, which gave the king's troops an eaſier poſſeſſion of them, and perhaps ſaved the remains of that regiment, which ſuffered very much in that bold attack. General Honeywood ordered the houſes between thoſe he poſſeſſed and the barricade to be ſet on fire; which was not done without the loſs of men on both ſides. He likewiſe ordered breaſt-works to be thrown up, both to ſecure his men, and prevent the rebels from eſcaping at that quarter of the town.

The other barricades were attacked with great reſolution, but without any ſucceſs; the king's troops being obliged to retire to the ends of the town, and remain ſatisfied till they could renew their attempts the next day; for by this time night hindered their farther approaches. Thus far the rebels appeared to have acted with courage, and to have had the advantage, ſince they had, in all the attacks, repulſed their

their enemies with little or no loſs on their ſide, and a conſiderable ſlaughter on the king's. But they did not long continue in this diſpoſition; for having intelligence next morning, that general Carpenter had arrived with more troops to ſurround them, their reſolution failed them, and from that moment they acted with great confuſion and deſpair. 1715.

General Carpenter arrived at Preſton on the 13th, at ten in the morning, with three regiments of dragoons, lord Cobham's, Churchhill's, and Moleſworth's, accompanied by the earl of Carliſle, lord Lumley, and colonel Darcy; ordering Moleſworth's to the Mancheſter ſide, and marching the other two to the Lancaſter ſide. He found, that the rebels had been attacked the day before without ſucceſs, and that moſt part of the king's horſe and dragoons were crouded in a deep narrow lane near the end of the town, ſo incommodious, that it was impoſſible to draw up above three or four in front; and, going to view the ground towards the river, he ſaw there were no troops poſted at the end of Fiſher-gate-ſtreet, to block up that part of the town, where ſeveral of the rebels were ſaid to have eſcaped the night before. This ſtreet leads to a marſh or meadow, which joins to that part of the river Ribble, where there are two good fords, being the high road towards Liverpool; and, towards the end of the ſame ſtreet, there was another barricade with two pieces of cannon. General Carpenter therefore ordered colonel Pitt to poſt his two ſquadrons on that marſh; and, going back to the end of the town, he ordered communication to be made for the troops to aſſiſt each other, in caſe of a ſally. The rebels, being thus inveſted on all ſides, and being now ſenſible, though too late, of their condition, began to conſider what was to be done. The Highlanders were for ſallying out upon the king's forces, and dying, as they called it, like men of honour, ſword in hand; but they were over-ruled, and not allowed to ſtir. Nor was the motion communicated to the whole body; but general Forſter (prevailed upon by lord Widdrington, colonel Oxburgh, and ſome few others) reſolved upon a capitulation, flattering themſelves with obtaining good terms from the king's officers. Colonel Oxburgh, pretending acquaintance with ſome of them, made an offer to go out, and treat of a ſurrender. Accordingly, he went with a trumpet to general Willes, and offering to lay down their arms, and ſubmit themſelves, hoped he would recommend them to the king's mercy. The general told the

1715. the colonel, he would not treat with rebels; for they had killed ſeveral of the king's ſubjects, and they muſt expect to undergo the ſame fate. The colonel ſaid, as the general was a man of honour, and an officer, he hoped he would ſhew mercy to people, who were willing to ſubmit. The general replied, All he would do for them was, that, if they laid down their arms, and ſubmitted priſoners at diſcretion, he would prevent the ſoldiers from cutting them in pieces till he had farther orders; and he would give them but an hour to conſider of it. Colonel Oxburgh returned into the town, to acquaint Mr. Forſter with this; and, before the hour was expired, there came out Mr. Dalziel, brother to the earl of Carnwarth, who wanted terms for the Scots. The general's anſwer was, that he would not treat with rebels, nor give them any other terms than what he had before offered them. Upon which the general was deſired to grant farther time till ſeven o'clock next day, to conſult the beſt method of delivering themſelves up. The general agreed to grant them the time deſired, provided they threw them up no new intrenchments in the ſtreets, nor ſuffered any of their people to eſcape, and ſent out the chief of the Engliſh and Scots as hoſtages for the performance. The general ſent in colonel Cotton to bring them out, who accordingly brought out the earl of Derwentwater and brigadier Mackintoſh. The next day, about ſeven in the morning, Mr. Forſter ſent out to let the general know, that they were willing to give up themſelves priſoners at diſcretion, as he had demanded. Brigadier Mackintoſh, being preſent when this meſſage was brought, ſaid, He could not anſwer, that the Scots would ſurrender in that manner; for that they were people of deſperate fortunes; and he had been a ſoldier himſelf, and knew what it was to be a priſoner at diſcretion. Upon this the general ſaid, 'Go back to your people again; and I will attack 'the town, and the conſequence will be, I will not ſpare 'a man of you.' The brigadier went back, but came running out immediately again, and ſaid, 'The lord Kenmure, 'and the reſt of the noblemen, with his brother, would 'ſurrender in like manner, with the Engliſh.'

General Carpenter entered one ſide of the town, and general Willes the other, with all their troops, with trumpets ſounding, drums beating, and colours diſplayed. They both met in the middle of the town, where the Highlanders were drawn up under arms. The noblemen and gentlemen were firſt ſecured in ſeveral inns, and the Highlanders then laid

laid down their arms in the place where they were ſtanding; 1715.
and they were next ſecured under a ſufficient guard.

General Carpenter, finding the place too narrow to contain all the horſe, that was with him, ſent part of them to Wiggan the ſame day, and went away himſelf the next, Nov. 24.
leaving general Willes to command in his abſence.

Mr. Forſter was by moſt people blamed for the ſurrender, without obtaining better terms for thoſe, whom he had drawn into this enterprize. His want of ſkill was acknowledged on all hands; and this was what he could be leaſt blamed for, ſince he was made general, as the only proteſtant of note of the party. But, though he was nominal general, he depended moſtly upon the conduct of colonel Oxburgh, who had gained in foreign ſervice the reputation of an experienced officer. Others did not ſcruple to charge Mr. Forſter with treachery as well as want of capacity, and pretend to ſay, that, if the king's general had not been ſure of him beforehand, he would have granted more generous terms to the rebels; and they bring his eſcape out of Newgate as a proof of this ſurmiſe; ſuppoſing, that a priſoner of his diſtinction would have been better looked after, if the government had not been under an obligation to connive at his eſcape. But there ſeems to be little ground for ſuch a ſuſpicion, eſpecially as the pretender himſelf did not credit it, but held Mr. Forſter afterwards in great eſteem and confidence.

In the attack upon Preſton, brigadier Honeywood received a contuſion on the ſhoulder by a muſket-ſhot, and major Bland a ſlight one in the arm; and his horſe was ſhot through the neck. There were killed at brigadier Honeywood's attack two captains, one enſign, and twenty-eight private ſoldiers; wounded, lord Forreſter, major Lawſon, two captains, one lieutenant, four enſigns, and fifty private men. At brigadier Dormer's attack there were nine men killed; wounded, the brigadier, one captain, one lieutenant, one cornet, and thirty-nine men (u).

Upon

(u) The priſoners of note Engliſh and Scots were as follows:

ENGLISH.

M. Forſter, the general,
The earl of Derwentwater,
The lord Widdrington,
Mr. Edward Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk,
Mr. Charles Radcliffe, brother of the earl of Derwentwater,
Charles and Peregrine Widdrington, brothers of the lord Widdrington,
Walter Tankard,
John Thornton of Netherwiton,
John Clavering of Calley,

1715. Upon the very day, the rebels agreed to ſurrender themſelves at Preſton, was fought the battle of Dumblain. The earl of Mar, being now joined by all the power he could expect from the earl of Seaforth and all his northern Clans, and

Proceedings of the duke of Argyle.

Nicholas Wogan,
Charles Wogan,
John Talbot,
Robert Talbot,
Roger Salkeld,
George Collingwood,
John Hunter,
Edward Ord,
William Tunſtall, paymaſter,
William Shaftoe of Pavington,
John Shaftoe, his ſon,
Edward Shaftoe,
Edward and James Swinburn, brothers of Sir William Swinburn,
George Gibſon, jun. of Stonecraft,
Edward Byers,
Richard Stockart,
William Charleton,
Edward Charleton,
Charles Charley,
Richard Charley,
Ralph Standiſh of Standiſh,
Sir Francis Anderton of Leſtock,
Richard Townley of Townley,
John Dalton,
John Laybourn,
Gabriel Heſtedt,
Cuthbert Heſtedt,
Thomas Walton,
Edward Teſley,
Thomas Errington,
Philip Hudſon,
James Talbot,
Alexander Deaſineſs,
Lyon Walden,
John Maſterſon,
George Sanderſon,
George Budding,
Robert Cotton of Gidding in Huntingdonſhire,
John Cotton, his ſon,
Richard Gaſcoigne,
John Hunter,
William Hardwick,
Thomas Butler,
Robert Patten,
William Caſton,
Thomas Liſle,
Thomas Forſter,
William Raine,
Thomas Riddle,
Henry Widdrington,
Richard Ord,
William Sanderſon,
John Towle,
John Hotherſalt,
Francis Thornbuck,
John Heale,
Edward Mackey,
Henry Oxburgh,
William Dobſon,
John Beaumont,
John Crofts,

SCOTS.

The earl of Nithiſdale,
The earl of Wintoun,
The earl of Carnwarth,
The lord viſcount Kenmure,
The lord Nairn,
The maſter of Nairn,
Lord Charles Murray,
Major Baſil Hamilton,
George Seton of Barne,
Captain James Dalziel,
Brigadier Mackintoſh,
Colonel Stuart,
William Erring,
Alexander Forreſter,
William Grierſon,
William Calderwood,
Robert Maclean,
Robert Carruthers,

Andrew

and by the troops under general Gordon, thought himſelf ſtrong enough to put his deſign in execution of paſſing the Forth, joining his ſouthern friends, and marching into England. To this purpoſe he ſummoned a general council of war, where all their meaſures were concerted for this enterprize. Accordingly he left colonel Balfour governor of the town of Perth, with a guard ſufficient; and, being furniſhed with proviſions, artillery, and all other neceſſaries for a long march, he ſet out on the 10th of November for Auchterardire, there to draw his army together, of which he made a general review that day at that place, and reſted the 11th 1715.

The duke of Argyle, having intelligence of the motion of the enemy, was at no uncertainty what to do. He knew, if he was to diſpute their paſſage over the Forth at

Andrew Caſhie, Walter Riddle,
Mr. Lochart, Richard Harris,
James Skeen,

The Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen of the Engliſh taken priſoners	75
Their ſervants or followers	83
Private men in the church at Preſton	305
Total Engliſh	463
Scots noblemen, officers, and gentlemen taken priſoners	143
Their vaſſals, &c.	862
Total Scots	1005
Engliſh in Preſton	463
Taken in Lancaſter	4
	467
Scots in Preſton	1005
Taken at Lancaſter	17
	1022
Total Engliſh and Scots	1489

1715. the heads of that river, his horſe on which he placed his whole dependence, would be of no ſervice to him in that place. He choſe therefore to engage the earl on the grounds about Dumblain, where he might employ all his forces (x). He likewiſe had intelligence, that on the 12th at night the enemy deſigned to incamp at Dumblain. Therefore, judging it of importance to poſſeſs that place, on the 12th in the forenoon he ordered his whole army to paſs the river at Stirling-bridge, and incamped that night with his left at Dumblain, and his right towards Sheriff-Moor. The enemy advanced the ſame night within two miles of the royal army; and having received intelligence, that the duke with his whole army was in poſſeſſion of Dumblain, they drew up in order of battle, and remained in that poſture under arms till break of day.

Battle of Dumblain, Nov. 13. On the 13th in the morning both armies were in motion, and the duke of Argyle advanced to a riſing ground, to take a view of the rebel army, which he could eaſily diſcern in full march towards him. But another hill on his left intercepted his view of the whole extent of their

(x) On the 23d of October, the duke of Argyle had notice that a party of the rebels, conſiſting of two hundred foot, and a hundred horſe, were marching by Caſtle-Campbell towards Dumferling. Upon this intelligence, his grace immediately ſent off a detachment of dragoons, under the command of colonel Cathcart, who came up with the rebels the 24th, at five o'clock in the morning: and after having killed and wounded ſeveral of them, took ſeventeen priſoners; amongſt them the following gentlemen:

Mr. Murray, brother to the laird of Aberkenny.
Mr. Hay, ſon to Arboth.
Mr. Patrick Gordon, Arbertour's eldeſt ſon.
Alexander Forbes, ſon to Buſſie.
William Roberton, brother to Donſhills.
Mr. Kenloch, a phyſician.
Alexander Smith.
Mr. Alexander Gordon.
Francis Gordon of Craig.
Mr. Hamilton of Gibſtown in Strabogie.
George Gordon of the miln of Kincardine.

The ſame evening colonel Cathcart returned to the camp at Stirling with his priſoners. A few days after, a detachment ſent by the earl of Ilay into Lorn, to intercept about four hundred of the earl of Broadalbin's men, who were in motion to join the rebels, having ſurrounded them, obliged them to ſeparate and return to their ſeveral habitations.

left

left wing; for which reaſon it was impoſſible for him to gueſs at the true extent of their line, or how far they out-flanked him. 1715.

The duke's army amounting to three thouſand five hundred men, of which one thouſand two hundred were dragoons, was drawn up upon the heights above Dumblain to the north-eaſt of that place, which lay about a mile and a half from his left, and a wet boggy moraſs, called Sheriff-Moor, on his right.

The order of the royal army was thus: the firſt line was compoſed of ſix battalions of foot in the centre, with three ſquadrons of dragoons upon the right and left. The ſecond line was compoſed of two battalions of foot, and two ſquadrons of dragoons on each wing. The duke commanded the right; general Witham the left; and major-general Wightman the main battle or centre.

The earl of Mar's army, amounting to about nine thouſand men, were drawn up in the following order: the firſt line was compoſed of ten battalions of foot, conſiſting of the clans commanded by the captain of Clanronald, Glangary, Sir John Maclean, and Campbell of Glen-Lyon on the right; there were three ſquadrons of horſe, the Stirling ſquadron, which carried the pretender's ſtandard, and two of the marquis of Huntley's: on the left were drawn up the Perthſhire and Fifeſhire ſquadrons. The center of the ſecond line was compoſed of three battalions of the earl of Seaforth's, two battalions of the marquis of Huntley's, the battalions of the earl of Panmure, marquis of Tullibardine, lord Drummond and Strowan, all commanded by their reſpective chiefs, except that of Drummond, commanded by the viſcount of Strathallan and Logie-Almond. The earl Mariſchal's ſquadron was on the right, and that of Angus on the left.

The earl of Mar, who knew that his number far exceeded the duke's, extended his lines as far as poſſible, with a deſign to take him in flank, and marched up to him in this diſpoſition.

The duke of Argyle, who till now ſuppoſed, that the moraſs of Sheriff-Moor was unpaſſable, ſaw, that the two or three nights froſt had made it capable of bearing; and the rebels coming down the moor with intent to flank him, having their right much extended beyond the point of his left; he found himſelf obliged to alter the diſpoſition of his front, to prevent his being ſurrounded; which, on account of the ſcarcity of general officers, was not done ſo ex-

1715. expeditiouſly, as to be all formed again before the rebels begun the attack.

The left wing of the duke's ſmall army fell in with the centre of their's, which conſiſted, eſpecially the firſt line, of the flower of the rebel army.

They begun the action by a general diſcharge of their fire-arms, and received the firſt fire of the royal troops without ſhrinking; but the captain of Clanronald, who led them on in chief, was killed, which had like to have ſtruck a damp upon them. But Glengary, who ſucceeded him, ſtarting from the lines, waved his bonnet, and cried three or four times revenge; which ſo animated the men, that they followed him cloſe up to the muzzles of the muſkets, puſhed aſide the bayonets with their targets, and with their broad ſwords did great execution.

The three battalions of foot, on the left of the duke's centre, behaved gallantly, and made all the reſiſtance they could; but being unacquainted with this way of fighting, they were forced to give ground, fell in among the horſe, and helped the enemy to put them in confuſion; ſo that a total route of that wing of the royal army enſued. General Witham, with ſome of the horſe, riding full ſpeed to Stirling, gave out that all was loſt; but the general was miſtaken in that, as well as in the opinion he formed of the men he run from, that morning before the engagement.

Upon the right wing of the king's army, the duke of Argyle commanded in perſon, and, at the head of Stair's and Evans's dragoons, attacked the enemy's left, conſiſting chiefly of horſe, with ſuch intrepidity, that, notwithſtanding the rebels ſhewed they wanted neither courage nor inclination to ſtand, yet were obliged to give way, and were put into confuſion. The duke purſued them towards the river Allan, which he was forced to do, in regard that, tho' the diſtance is not above two miles, yet in that ſpace they attempted to rally again above ten times; and, whenever the ground afforded them any advantage, endeavoured to make a full ſtop; ſo that the duke having to do with troops of that diſpoſition, who likewiſe out-numbered him, was obliged to follow his blow, leſt he ſhould have loſt the advantage he had gained. Nor was it in his power to ſuccour the left, the rout of that wing happening ſo ſuddenly, and the officer, who commanded, leaving the field almoſt at the firſt fire of the rebels,

rebels, there was no opportunity to rally the broken troops a ſecond time. 1715.

Brigadier Wightman followed cloſe after the duke with three battalions of foot, and ran a very great riſque of faring in the ſame manner with the reſt, if the rebels had but had common prudence; for, no ſooner their right underſtood the diſaſter of their left, than they formed again, and returned back to the field following cloſe on the rear of Wightman's battalions, to the number of five thouſand. Some ſay, that body was led on by general Gordon, others by general Hamilton, others by both; and others, and indeed with more probability, ſay, they were headed by Glengary; and that he, upon being ordered to attack theſe battalions, returned for anſwer, That the clans had done enough; and that he would not hazard them to do other people's work (meaning the horſe) and remained upon a hill, where he ſeemed to form his men, as if for ſome new action.

The duke, having by this time intirely broke their left, and puſhed them over the river Allan, returned to the field; and Wightman, facing again to the right, took poſſeſſion of ſome incloſures and mud walls which would ſerve for a breaſt-work, in caſe they were attacked, as they judged by the countenance and number of the enemy they ſhould. In this poſture both armies ſtood looking at one another, but neither caring to engage; when towards evening the duke drew off towards Dumblain, and the enemy towards Ardoch, without moleſting one another (y).

The

(y) This is the account of the duke of Argyle's hiſtorian, to which it may be proper to add thoſe which were publiſhed by a kind of authority on all ſides. The firſt is colonel Harriſon's account, who was ſent expreſs to the king by the duke of Argyle.

The duke of Argyle being informed, on the 12th, that the rebels had come to Auchterardire with their baggage, artillery, and a ſufficient quantity of bread for a march of many days, found he was obliged, either to engage them on the grounds near Dumblain, or decamp, and wait their coming to the head of the Forth. He choſe the firſt on many accounts, and, amongſt others, that the grounds near Dumblain were much more advantageous for his horſe than thoſe at the head of the river: and beſides this, by the froſts then beginning, the Forth might become paſſable in ſeveral places, which the ſmall number of his troops did not enable him to guard ſufficiently. He likewiſe received advice, that

1715. The day after the engagement, the duke of Argyle returned to the field of battle, and carried off the wounded, and four pieces of cannon left by the rebels, to Stirling, where he retired with all his army.

The

that the 12th at night the rebels designed to incamp at Dumblain; upon which, judging it of importance to prevent them by possessing that place, he marched the 12th in the forenoon, and incamped, with his left at Dumblain, and his right towards Sheriff-Moor. The enemy stopped that night within two miles of Dumblain. Next morning his grace, being informed by his advanced guard, that the rebels were forming, rode to a rising ground, where he viewed the enemy distinctly, and found, as they pointed their march, they designed strait upon his flank. The moor to our right, was the preceding night unpassable, and guarded us from being flanked on that side; but by the frost was become passable. His grace therefore ordered his troops to stretch to the right in the following order: three squadrons of dragoons upon the right and left in the front line, and six battalions of foot in the centre. The second line was composed of two battalions in the centre, and one squadron upon the right, and another upon the left, and a squadron of dragoons behind each wing of horse in the first line. As the right of our army came over against the left of the rebels, which they had put to a morass, his grace, finding they were not quite formed, gave orders immediately to fall on, and charged both their horse and foot. They received us very briskly, but, after some resistance, were broke through, and were pursued above two miles by five squadrons of dragoons, the squadron of volunteers, and five battalions of foot. When we came near the river Allan by the vast numbers of rebels we drove before us, we concluded it an intire rout, and resolved to pursue as long as we had daylight. The pursuing to the river Allan had taken up a long time, by reason of the frequent attempts they made to form in different places, which obliged us as oft to attack and break them, when they were in part passed, and others passing the Allan. Major-general Wightman, who commanded the five battalions of foot, sent to acquaint the duke of Argyle, that he could not discover what was become of our troops on the left; and that a considerable body of the rebels, horse and foot, stood behind him. Upon that his grace halted, formed his troops, and marched towards the hill, on which the rebels had posted themselves.

Hereafter his grace extended his right towards Dumblain, to give his left an opportunity of joining him. There we continued till it was late, and, not finding our left come up, his grace marched slowly towards the ground he had formed on in the morning. So soon as it was dark, the rebels, who continued

The priſoners of moſt note taken by the king's forces were the lord Strathallan, the lairds Barrowfield, Logie Drummond, Mr. Murray of Auchtertyre, the viſcount of Strathallan's brother, Mr. Drummond of Drumquhany, Mr. Roſs, ſon to the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, colonel Mac- 1715.

tinued undiſperſed on the top of the hill, moved to Ardoch. About an hour after our troops, which had been ſeparated from the duke of Argyle, joined his grace. Our dragoons on the left, in the beginning of the action, charged ſome of the horſe on the right, and carried off a ſtandard; but at the ſame time the rebels preſſed ſo hard on our battalions on the left, that they were diſordered, and obliged to fall in among the horſe. The rebels by this means, cut off the communication betwixt our left and the other body; and they being informed, that ſome of the rebels were endeavouring to get to Stirling, the troops on our left retired beyond Dumblain, to poſſeſs themſelves of the paſſes leading there. We have, as yet, no certain account of the numbers killed; but it is reckoned they may be about eight hundred, among whom there are ſeveral perſons of diſtinction. The quality of the priſoners is not yet fully known; only that the viſcount of Strathallan, two colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, one major, nine captains, beſides ſubalterns, are brought to Stirling. We have likewiſe carried off fourteen colours and ſtandards, four pieces of cannon, tumbrels with ammunition, with all their bread-waggons. This victory was not obtained without the loſs of ſome brave men on our ſide. The earl of Forfar's wounds are ſo many, that his life is deſpaired of. The earl of Ilay, who came half an hour before the action, received two wounds, the one in his arm, and the other in his ſide; but the bullet being cut out of his ſide, it is hoped he is paſt danger. General Evans received a cut in his head. Colonel Haley was ſhot through the body, but there is hopes of his recovery. Colonel Lawrence is taken. Colonel Hummers and captain Armſtrong, aid-de-camp to the duke of Argyle, are killed. The courage of the king's troops was never keener than on this occaſion, who, though the rebels were three times their number, yet attacked and purſued them with all the reſolution imaginable. The conduct and bravery of the generals and inferior officers contributed much to this ſucceſs; but, above all, the great example of the duke of Argyle, whoſe preſence not only gave ſpirit to the action, but gained ſucceſs as often as he led on. The troop of horſe volunteers, which conſiſted of noblemen and gentlemen of diſtinction, ſhewed their quality by the gallantry of their behaviour; in a particular manner the duke of Roxburgh, the lords Rothes, Haddington, Lauderdale, Loudoun, Belhaven, and Sir John Shaw.

Major-

1715. Mackenzie of Keldin, &c. with ſeveral captains, ſubaltern officers, and private men, amounting in all to the number of about eighty.

The Major-general Wightman's account was as follows:

Stirling, Nov. 14, 1715, at eleven at night.

Laſt Friday I arrived from Edinburgh, where I had finiſhed all the works and barricadoes, that I had ordered to do for the ſecurity of that town; and, as ſoon as I came to his grace the duke of Argyle, he told me he was glad to ſee me; and that, as he intended to make a march towards the enemy the next morning, he had ſent an expreſs to Edinburgh for me. Accordingly on Saturday the 12th inſtant our whole army marched over the bridge of Stirling towards the enemy, who lay at a place called Ardoch, about ſeven miles from this place; and in the evening our army came within three miles of the enemy's camp. We lay all that night on our arms, and the next morning, being Sunday, I went with his grace where our advanced guard was poſted, and had a plain view of the rebels army all drawn up in line of battle, which conſiſted of nine thouſand one hundred men. They ſeemed to make a motion towards us; upon which the duke ordered me immediately back to put our men in order; and ſoon after his grace ordered them to march to the top of a hill againſt the enemy: but before all, or not above half our army was formed in line of battle, the enemy attacked us. The right of their line, which lay in a hollow way, vaſtly out-winged us, which was not perceived by us, nor poſſible for us to know it, the enemy having poſſeſſion of the brow of the hill; but the left of their army was very plain to our view, the moment we got to the top of the hill. Not half our men were come up, or could form. The enemy, that were within little more than piſtol-ſhot, began the attack with all their left upon our right. I had the command of the foot; the enemy were highlanders, and, as it is their cuſtom gave us fire, and a great many came up to our noſes ſword in hand: but the horſe on our right, with the conſtant fire of the platoons of foot, ſoon put the left of theirs to the rout; the duke of Argyle purſuing as he thought, the main of their army, which he drove before him above a mile and a half over a river. As I marched after him as faſt as I could with a little above three regiments of foot, I heard great firing on our left, and ſent my aid de-camp to ſee the occaſion of it, and found, that the right of the enemies army, that lay in the hollow way, and were ſuperior to that party of the army, which we had beaten, was fallen upon our left with all the fury imaginable; and, as our men were not formed, they cut off juſt the half of our foot, and

The earl of Forfar, the laird of Glenkindy, and lieutenant-colonel Lawrence, were all the men of note, who 1715.

were

and the ſquadrons on our left. The duke, who purſued the enemy very faſt, was not appriſed of this; and, as he had ordered me to march after him as faſt as I could, I was obliged to ſlacken my march, and ſend to his grace to inform him of what had happened. I kept what foot I had in perfect order, not knowing but my rear might ſoon be attacked by the enemy, that had beat our left, which proved to be the flower of our army. At laſt, when the duke had put to flight that part of the rebel army, he was engaged with, he came back to me, and could not have imagined to ſee ſuch an army as was behind us, being three times our number; but, as I had kept that part of our foot, which firſt engaged, in very good order, his grace joined me with five ſquadrons of dragoons, and we put the beſt face on the matter, to the right about, and ſo marched to the enemy, who had defeated all the left of our army. If they had had either courage or conduct, they might have intirely deſtroyed my body of foot; but it pleaſed God to the contrary. I am apt to conjecture their ſpirits were not a little damped by having been witneſſes, ſome hours before, of the firm behaviour of my foot, and thought it hardly poſſible to break us. We marched in a line of battle, till we came within half a mile of the enemy, and found them ranged on the top of a hill, on very advantageous ground, and above four thouſand in number. We poſted ourſelves at the bottom of the hill, having the advantage of ground, where their horſe could not well attack us; for we had the convenience of ſome earth walls or ditches about breaſt high, and, as evening grew on, we inclined with our right towards the town of Dumblain, in all the order that was poſſible. The enemy behaved like civil gentlemen, and let us do what we pleaſed; ſo that we paſſed the bridge of Dumblain, poſted ourſelves very ſecurely, and lay on our arms all night. This morning we went with a body of dragoons to the field of battle, brought off the wounded there, and came to this town in the evening. General Webb's late regiment, now Morriſon's, is one of the unfortunate regiments that was not formed, and ſuffered moſt. Major Hanmer is killed, with young Hillary, and many other officers. General Evans and I had the good fortune to be on the right wing with the duke. General Evans had his horſe ſhot dead under him, and eſcaped very narrowly, as well as myſelf.

P. S. Our whole army did not conſiſt of above one thouſand dragoons, and two thouſand five hundred foot; and but a little more than half of them engaged. However, I muſt do the enemy that juſtice to ſay, I never ſaw regular troops more exactly

1715. were mentioned to be taken priſoners by the rebels, who took likewiſe ſeveral captains and ſubaltern officers; and,

exactly drawn up in line of battle, and that in a moment, and their officers behaved with all the gallantry imaginable. All I can ſay is, it will be of the laſt danger to the government, if we have not force to deſtroy them ſoon. The loſs on both ſides I leave for another time, when we have a more exact account.

The following account (given by the earl of Mar or his party) of the engagement on Sheriff-Moor near Dumblain, Nov. 13, 1715, was publiſhed by Mr. Freebairn, the pretender's printer at Perth:

There being various and different reports induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, to cover the victory obtained by the king's army over the enemy, the beſt way to ſet it in a clear light is to narrate the true matter of fact, and leave it to the world to judge impartially thereof.

Thurſday, Nov. 10, the earl of Mar reviewed the army at Auchterardire, Friday, the 11th, reſted.

Saturday 12, the earl of Mar ordered lieutenant general Gordon and brigadier Ogilvie, with three ſquadrons of the marquis of Huntley, and the maſter of Sinclair's five ſquadrons of horſe, and all the clans, to march and take poſſeſſion of Dumblain, which was ordered to be done two days before, but was delayed by ſome interruptions: and all the reſt of the army was ordered, at the ſame time, to parade upon the Moor of Tullibardine very early, and to march after general Gordon. The earl of Mar went to Drummond-Caſtle to meet with my lord Broadalbin, and ordered general Hamilton to march the army. Upon the march, general Hamilton had intelligence of a body of the enemy's having taken poſſeſſion of Dumblain; which account he ſent immediately to the earl of Mar. A little after general Hamilton had another expreſs from general Gordon, who was then about two miles to the weſtward of Ardoch, that he had intelligence of a great body of the enemy's being in Dumblain. Upon which general Hamilton drew up the army ſo, as the ground at the Roman camp near Ardoch would allow. A very little after the earl of Mar came up to the army, and not hearing any more from lieutenant-general Gordon, who was marched on, judged it to be only ſome ſmall party of the enemy to diſturb our march, ordered the guards to be poſted, and the army to their quarters, with orders to aſſemble upon the parade any time of the night or day, upon the firing of three cannon. A little after the army was diſmiſſed, the earl of Mar had an account from lieutenant-general Gordon, that he had certain intelligence of the duke of Argyle's being at Dumblain with his whole army. Upon which the

and, according to them, about two hundred private men. 1715.

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the general was ordered to halt, till the earl ſhould come up to him, and ordered the three guns to be fired; upon which the army formed immediately, and marched up to lieutenant-general Gordon at Kinbuck, where the whole army lay under arms, with guards advanced from each ſquadron and battalion till break of day.

Sunday the 13th, the earl of Mar gives orders for the whole army to form on the Moor, to the left of the road that leads to Dumblain, fronting to Dumblain. The general perſons were ordered to their poſts. The Stirling ſquadron, with the king's ſtandard, and two ſquadrons of the marquis of Huntley's, formed the right of the firſt line of horſe. All the clans formed the right of the firſt line of foot. The Perthſhire and Fifeſhire ſquadrons formed the left of the firſt line of horſe; the earl Mariſchal's ſquadron on the right of the ſecond line; three battalions of the marquis of Seaforth's foot, two battalions of my lord Huntley's, the earl of Panmure's, the marquis of Tullibardine's, the battalions of Drummond, commanded by the viſcount of Strathallan and Logie Almond, the battalion of Strowan, and the Angus ſquadron of horſe, formed the ſecond line. When the army was forming, we diſcovered ſome ſmall number of the enemy on the height of the weſt end of the Sheriff-moor, which looks into Dumblain; from which place they had a full view of our army. The earl of Mar called a council of war, conſiſting of all the noblemen, gentlemen, general officers, and heads of the clans, which was held in the front of the horſe on the left, where it was voted to fight the enemy nemine contradicente. Upon which the earl of Mar ordered the earl Mariſchal, major-general of the horſe, with his own ſquadron, and Sir Donald Macdonald's battalion, to march up to the height, where he ſaw the enemy, and diſlodge them, and ſend an account of their motions and diſpoſitions. No ſooner the earl Mariſchal began his march, but the enemy diſappeared, and the earl of Mar ordered the army to march up after them. By the other generals orders the lines marched off the right, divided in the centre, and marched up the hill in four lines. After marching about a quarter of a mile, the earl Mariſchal ſent back an account, that they diſcovered the enemy forming their line very near him, to the ſouth of the top of the hill: upon which the army, particularly the horſe, was ordered to march up very quickly, and form to the enemy; but, by the breaking of their lines in marching off, they fell in ſome confuſion in the forming, and ſome of the ſecond line jumbled into the firſt, on or near the left, and ſome of the horſe formed near the centre; which

1715. The number of the killed and wounded, on the ſide of the rebels, is ſaid to have amounted to eight hundred, and on

which ſeems to have been the occaſion, that the enemy's few ſquadrons on the right were not routed as the reſt.

The earl of Mar placed himſelf at the head of the clans, and, finding the enemy only forming their line, thought fit to attack them in that poſture. He ſent colonel William Clapham, adjutant-general to the marquis of Drummond, lieutenant-general of the horſe on the right, and to lieutenant-general Gordon on the right of the right of the foot, and major David Erſkine, one of his aid de camp, to the left, with orders to march up and attack immediately: and upon their return, pulling off his hat, waved it with a huzza, and advanced to the front of the enemy's formed battalions: upon which all the line to the right, being of the clans, led on by Sir Donald Macdonald's brothers, Glengary, captain of Clanronald, Sir John Maclean, Glenco Campbell of Glenlyon, colonel of Broadalbin's, and brigadier Ogilvie of Boyne, with colonel Gordon of Glenbucket, at the head of Huntley's battalions, made a moſt furious attack; ſo that in ſeven or eight minutes we could perceive neither the form of a ſquadron or battalion of the enemy before us. We drove the main body and left of the enemy in this manner for about half a mile, killing and taking priſoners all that we could overtake. The earl of Mar endeavoured to ſtop our foot, and put them in ſome order to follow the enemy, which we ſaw making off in ſome ſmall bodies from a little hill below, towards Dumblain, where the earl of Mar reſolved to follow them to complete the victory. When an account was brought him, that our left, and moſt of our ſecond line, had given way, and the enemy was purſuing them down the back of the hill, and had taken our artillery, immediately the earl of Mar gave orders for the horſe to wheel; and having put the foot in order, as faſt as could be, marched back with them. When he was again near the top of the hill, two ſquadrons of the enemy's grey dragoons were perceived marching towards us. When they came near the top of the hill, and ſaw us advancing in order to attack them, they made much faſter down the hill than they came up, and joined at the foot of the hill to a ſmall ſquadron or two of the black dragoons, and a ſmall battalion of foot, which we judged had marched about the weſt end of the hill, and joined them. At firſt they again ſeemed to form on the low ground, and advanced towards us; but, when they ſaw us marching down the hill upon them, they filed very ſpeedily to Dumblain. The earl of Mar remained poſſeſſed of the field of battle, and our own artillery, and ſtood upon the ground till ſunſet; and then, conſidering, that the army had no co-

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ver or victuals the night before, and none to be had nearer than Braco, Ardoch, and the adjacents, whereby his lordſhip expected the left to rally, and the battalions of the lord George Murray, Innernyhe, Mackpherſon, and Macgregor, to join him, reſolved to draw off the artillery, and march the army to that place, where were ſome proviſions. There were two carriages of the guns broke, which we left on the road. But theſe battalions did not join us till the next day afternoon, before which the enemy was returned to Stirling.

We took the earl of Forfar, who was dangerouſly wounded, colonel Lawrence, and ten or twelve captains and ſubalterns, and about two hundred ſerjeants and private men, and the laird of Glenkindy, one of the volunteers, four colours, ſeveral drums, and about fourteen or fifteen hundred ſtands of arms. We compute that there lay killed in the field of battle about ſeven or eight hundred of the enemy: and this is certain, that there lay dead upon the field of battle above fifteen of the enemy to one of ours. Beſides, the number of the wounded muſt be very great.

The priſoners taken by us were very civilly uſed, and none of them ſtripped. Some are allowed to return to Stirling upon their parole, and the officers have the liberty of the town of Perth. The few priſoners taken by the enemy on our left, were moſt of them ſtripped and wounded after taken. The earl of Panmure being firſt of the priſoners wounded, after taken, they having refuſed his parole, he was left in a village, and by the haſty retreat of the enemy, upon the approach of our army, was reſcued by his brother and his ſervants, and carried off. 1715.

Monday 14, the earl of Mar drew out the army early in the morning on the ſame field, at Ardoch, they were on the day before. About eleven o'clock, we perceived ſome ſquadrons of the enemy on the top of the hill near the field of battle, which marched over the top of the hill, and a little after we had an account of their marching to Stirling. Upon which the earl of Mar marched back with his army, who continued about Auchterardire.

Tueſday 15, reſted. Wedneſday 16, the earl of Mar left general Hamilton with the horſe to canton about Duplin, and lieutenant-general Gordon with the clans, and the reſt of the foot about Forgan and adjacents, and went into Perth himſelf to order proviſions for the army; the want of which was the reaſon of his returning to Perth.

Thurſday 17, the earl of Mar ordered general Hamilton to march with the horſe, and ſome of the foot, to Perth, and lieutenant-general Gordon with the clans, to canton about that place.

After writing the former narrative, we have account from Stirling, that the enemy loſt twelve hundred men; and, after inquiry, we cannot find above ſixty of our men in all killed; among whom were the earl of Strathmore, and the captain of Clanronald, both very much lamented. Auchterhouſe is miſſing. Very few of our men are wounded.

1715. on the king's ſide to five hundred; but they never agreed in the accounts of their ſeveral loſſes (z).

A remarkable incident. Patten.

It was reported, that Mr. Drummond, an officer in the duke of Argyle's army, went to Perth under the pretence of being a deſerter, and was made aid de camp to the lord Drummond; and at the battle of Dumblain he attended the earl of Mar to receive his orders. When the earl thought, that his right wing was like to defeat the duke of Argyle's left, he diſpatched this Mr. Drummond to general Hamilton (who commanded the left of the earl of Mar's army) with orders to attack the enemy briſkly, ſince he was like to have the advantage on the right. But Mr. Drummond, inſtead of delivering that order, gave the direct contrary orders to general Hamilton, and told him, that the earl of Mar was worſted on the right, and deſired him to retire with all haſte with as good order as poſſible. Upon which general Hamilton gave order to halt, which was obeyed. Then, the right of the duke of Argyle's army approaching them, moſt part of them gave way without firing a gun; and thoſe, that ſtood, were chiefly gentlemen and officers, who were ſo galled by the duke of Argyle's right wing, that many of them were killed on the ſpot, and others taken priſoners. And it is ſaid, Mr. Drummond, after he gave the abovementioned orders to general Hamilton, deſerted to the duke of Argyle's ſide. But this is only report.

There was another thing very obſervable that day; Mr. Robert Roy Macgregor, alias Campbell, a gentleman eminent formerly for his bravery and courage, was with his men very near the earl of Mar's army; and being deſired by a gentleman of his own party, to go and aſſiſt his friends,

(z) The account of the killed, wounded, and taken on the king's ſide, according to the muſter-maſter-general's rolls, Nov. 30, 1715, ſtands thus:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Taken.	
Foot,	241	120	110	In all
Dragoons,	25	53	12	
Officers,	14	11	10	
Serjeants,	10	3	1	
Total of men	290	187	133	610
Horſes,	42	75	40	157

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he refuſed, and ſaid, if they could not do it without him, they ſhould not do it with him. 1715.

The engagement being over, news was brought to the rebels, of the ſurrender of the important paſs of Inverneſs to the king, on the ſame day the battle was fought. This ſervice was performed by Simon Frazer of Beauford, lord Lovat, chief of the Frazers, who had hitherto appeared in the intereſt of the pretender. He came before Inverneſs on the 10th of November, where he was little expected in that manner, having been all his life of a contrary party. Sir John Mackenzie, who held the town as governor for the earl of Seaforth, had only three hundred men with him. With theſe he retired to a kind of caſtle or citadel, out of which he made his retreat on the 12th, and gave free poſſeſſion to the king's new friends. The ſecuring Inverneſs was a great blow to the rebels in theſe parts, for by it a free communication was opened between the earl of Sutherland and the well-affected in the counties adjacent to Inverneſs; and by theſe means the earl of Seaforth and the marquis of Huntley were not only drawn from the rebel-army to defend their own territories, but were induced ſoon after to make their ſubmiſſion; and a good number of the Frazers, who followed Frazerdale before, upon the change of diſpoſition in their chief, the lord Lovat left the rebels, and increaſed the number of the king's friends under him. Inverneſs taken.

The marquis of Tullibardine left the earl of Mar likewiſe, in order to cover his own country; and many of the clans, not ſeeing any likelihood of coming to an action, returned to their homes; it being the cuſtom with theſe people never to remain long in the field, unleſs they are kept in conſtant employ.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XXX. PART II.

From the Year 1715. to the Year 1716.

CHAP. III.

Barrier treaty ratified.—Arrival of the Dutch troops.—Cadogan ſets out for Scotland.—Priſoners ſent to London.—The pretender lands in Scotland.—His proceedings.—The rebels think of diſperſing.—The proceedings of the king's army.—Pretender leaves Scotland.—Death of Lewis XIV.—Duke of Orleans made regent.—Proceedings in Ireland.—The Parliament meets.—Their proceedings.—The impeach'd lords are condemn'd.—Order'd to be executed.—Three reprieve'd.—Derwentwater and Kenmure executed.—The earl of Wintoun condemn'd.—Trial of the rebels.—Foſter makes his eſcape.

30. GEORGE I.

ON the 12th of November arrived at Whitehall captain Williamſon, aid de camp to general Cadogan, with the news of the barrier treaty being ſigned, bringing with him a duplicate of the treaty itſelf for the king to ratify. This treaty had been a long The barrier treaty ratified.

1715. while in hand, and had met with many difficulties and delays; and it was very much doubted by ſome, whether the imperial court intended to conclude it at all. But, after great diſputes, it was at laſt finiſhed at Antwerp, and ſigned by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the States-general, and the king of Great-Britain, by which the bounds of the imperial dominions in the Netherlands, as alſo of the States-general, were adjuſted, and the emperor became guarantee of the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the crown of Great-Britain, as the States-general were before.

The arrival of the Dutch troops.

Three days after, general Cadogan arrived at London from Flanders, and the ſame day three thouſand of the Dutch auxiliaries came up the Thames; and having refreſhed themſelves for ſome days in their quarters in the Tower-hamlets, and Southwark, marched by land towards Scotland, and the other three thouſand were ordered to follow by ſea. But, the winds being contrary, they were forced to put into Harwich and other places. Theſe troops, not being uſed to ſea, ſuffered ſo much, that they deſired to land, and march wherever the king ſhould think fit. Accordingly they were ordered alſo to proceed by land to Scotland; and their march, with that of the three thouſand from London, was ſo regulated, as to arrive at Edinburgh about the ſame time.

They march to Edinburgh.

General Cadogan ſets out for Scotland.

A reſolution being taken to diſlodge the rebels from Perth, general Cadogan, by the king's command, ſet out on the 29th of November for Scotland; and brigadier Petit, with ſix engineers under him, was ordered to march thither with all ſpeed. A conſiderable train of artillery was alſo ſhipped off at the Tower, and ſent to Scotland for this expedition.

About the ſame time colonel Stern's regiment arrived in the Thames from Ghent, where they had been garriſoned, and brought priſoners with them the lord Clermont, ſon to the earl of Middleton, who, in the year 1708, was taken priſoner in the pretender's expedition to Scotland, and Mr. Murray, who, by the name of Gordon, had lately been with the earl of Mar, and who were both taken in Flanders. The lord Clermont was committed to the Tower, and the other to Newgate.

Several half-pay officers taken at Preſton ſhot.

With regard to the priſoners taken at Preſton, ſome half-pay officers being found among them, a court-martial was held at Preſton on the 28th of November, to try the following perſons as deſerters; the lord Charles Murray, a younger ſon of the duke of Athol, major Nairn, and captain

tain Lockhart, brother to Lockhart of Cornwarth, the author of the memoirs of Scotland, Nairn and Lockhart had belonged to lord Mark Ker's regiment; captain Shaftoe to colonel Frank's; enſign Erſkine to Preſton's; and enſign Dalziel to lord Orkney's. The five firſt were found guilty, and ſentenced to be ſhot; but Dalziel was acquitted as to the crime of deſertion, upon his proving, that he had reſigned his commiſſion ſome time before he engaged in the rebellion. The lord Charles Murray was reſpited till further orders; but the others were, on the 4th of December, executed. About five hundred of the inferior priſoners were ſent to the caſtle of Cheſter, and a great number to Liverpool; but all the noblemen and moſt conſiderable perſons amongſt them were ſent to London, where they arrived on the 9th of December, being guarded from Highgate by major-general Tatton, lieutenant-colonel of the firſt regiment of guards, at the head of a detachment of about three hundred foot-guards, and a hundred and twenty horſe-granadier guards. They were brought ſo far by brigadier Panton, lieutenant-colonel of Lumley's regiment of horſe, under a guard of one hundred of his troopers. At Highgate every one of the priſoners had his arms tied with a cord coming croſs their back; and, thus pinioned, they were not allowed to hold the reins of the bridle, but had their horſes led by a foot-ſoldier. In this poſture they were ranged in four diviſions, according to the four different priſons, to which they were allotted; the noblemen to the Tower; Forſter and Mackintoſh to Newgate; others to the Marſhalſea; and others to the Fleet; each diviſion being placed between a party of horſe-granadiers, and a platoon of foot-guards. In this manner general Tatton ſet out from Highgate about noon, and proceeded to London through innumerable crowds of ſpectators of all ages and conditions; his drums beating all the way a triumphal march. The ſame day two of them, Mr. Richard Gaſcoigne and Mr. Thomas Butler, one of the duke of Ormond's natural ſons, were carried to the Cock-pit, where they were examined before a committee of the privy-council, and afterwards committed to the cuſtody of a meſſenger. The next day, the lord Kenmure, Mr. Forſter, and brigadier Mackintoſh were carried to the Cock-pit, where they were ſeverally examined by a committee of council, and then remanded, the firſt to the Tower, and the others to Newgate. The ſame day likewiſe, Mr. Gaſcoigne

1715.

The chief of the priſoners ſent to London.

1715. coigne and Mr. Butler were examined a ſecond time, and then committed to Newgate. On Monday, the 12th of December, the earls of Derwentwater, Nithiſdale, Carnwarth, and Wintoun, the lord Widdrington, and ſome others of the principal rebels, were alſo ſeverally examined, and afterwards ſent back to their reſpective priſons.

The rebellion in England being totally ſuppreſſed, the king's houſhold troops broke up their camp in Hyde-park, the day after the priſoners were brought to London, and the artillery was ſent to the Tower. However, for the greater ſecurity of London and Weſtminſter, an extraordinary horſe-guard was placed in ſeveral inns between St. James's and Whitehall, with orders to patrole all night.

The pretender lands in Scotland.

On the 22d of December, the pretender landed at Peterhead, in the North of Scotland, with only ſix gentlemen in his retinue; among whom was the marquis of Tinmouth, ſon to the duke of Berwick. The pretender had imbarked at Dunkirk on board a ſmall ſhip, which had formerly been a privateer of eight guns. The firſt night he lay at Peterhead; the ſecond at Newburgh, a ſeat of the earl Mariſchal's. He paſſed through Aberdeen incognito (he and all that were with him being in the habit of ſea-officers) to Fetteroſſe, the chief ſeat of the earl Mariſchal. Here he was met by the earl of Mar, the earl Mariſchal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the firſt quality, who had left Perth with a party of horſe, on the firſt notice of his landing, which they received by an expreſs from Peterhead. At this place he appeared in public, and, aſſuming his pretended quality, permitted the noblemen and gentlemen to kiſs his hand. Whilſt he remained at Fetteroſſe, which was till the 27th, he formed a court, appointing all the officers of ſtate and houſhold, and made ſome peers, and ſeveral knights. He was proclaimed with great ſolemnity before the door of the houſe, and then publiſhed his declaration *, dated at Commercy in Lorrain, on the 25th of October. It was printed at Perth by Robert Freebairn, who ſtiled himſelf Printer to his majeſty, and was ſent to all the magiſtrates, miniſters, and juſtices of the peace within the rebel-quarters; many of whom, eſpecially in the North, publiſhed it according to the order ſent with it.

He is proclaimed, and his declaration publiſhed.

* See p. 450.

At

At Fetteroſſe, the pretender received alſo the homage of his eccleſiaſtical and lay epiſcopal ſubjects, of the dioceſe of Aberdeen by addreſſes from each of them. (a). 1715.

He is addreſſed.

During the pretender's ſtay at Fetteroſſe, he was attacked by an aguiſh diſorder; but he ſoon recovered, and, on the 2d of January, arrived at Briechen, where he continued two days; and, on the third, went and lay at Kinaird. The next day he arrived at Glames, and lay there that night. Next morning he made his public entry into Dundee, with the earl of Mar on his right, and the earl mariſchal on his left hand, being followed by about three hundred gentlemen on horſeback. At the deſire of his friends, he remained about an hour on horſeback in the market-place; allowing the people to perform the ceremony of kiſſing his hand. He then went and dined at Stuart of Garantully's, where he lodged that night. Next day he left Dundee, and dined at Caſtle-Lyon, a ſeat of the earl of Strathmore's, and lay that night at Sir David Tripplin's, and, on the 7th of January arrived at the palace of Scoon, the antient place of the coronation of the kings of Scotland, where he ſeemed reſolved to ſtay till that ceremony was performed.

He goes to Scoon.

On the 9th of January, about noon, he made his public entry on horſeback into Perth, and reviewed ſome of the troops,

He makes his entry into Perth.

(a) The addreſs of the clergy, dated December 29, was as follows:

SIR,

We your majeſty's moſt faithful and dutiful ſubjects, the epiſcopal clergy of the dioceſe of Aberdeen, do, from our hearts, render thanks to Almighty God for your majeſty's ſafe and happy arrival into this your antient kingdom of Scotland, where your royal preſence was ſo much longed for, and ſo neceſſary to animate your loyal ſubjects, our noble and generous patriots, to go on with that invincible courage and reſolution, which they have hitherto ſo ſucceſsfully exerted for the recovery of the rights of their king and country, and to excite many others of your good ſubjects to join them, who only wanted this great encouragement.

We hope and pray, that God may open the eyes of ſuch of your ſubjects, as malicious and ſelf-deſigning men have induſtriouſly blinded with prejudices againſt your majeſty, as if the recovery of your juſt rights would ruin our religion, liberties, and property, which by the overturning of theſe rights have been highly incroached upon; and we are perſuaded, that your majeſty's juſtice and goodneſs will ſettle and ſecure thoſe juſt privileges, to the conviction of your moſt malicious enemies.

1715. troops, that were drawn out on purpoſe. He expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the appearance of the men, and was much pleaſed with the Highland dreſs, which he had never ſeen before. In the evening he returned to Scoon, where he began to form a regular council, and to perform ſeveral acts of ſtate. He publiſhed ſix proclamations; for a general thankſgiving for his ſafe arrival; for praying for him in churches; for the currency of all foreign coins; for ſummoning the meeting of the convention of eſtates; for ordering all fencible men, from ſixteen to ſixty, to repair to his ſtandard, and for his coronation on the 23d of January.

On the 16th of that month a grand council was held, at which all the chiefs of the rebels were preſent. At the opening of it, the pretender delivered himſelf in a ſet ſpeech to this effect:

His ſpeech to his council.

"I am now, on your repeated invitation, come among "you. No other argument need be uſed of the great con- "fidence I place in your loyalty and fidelity to me, which I "intirely rely on. I believe you are already convinced of "my good intentions to reſtore the antient laws and liber- "ties of this kingdom: if not, I am ſtill ready to confirm "to you the aſſurance of doing all, that can give you ſa- "tisfaction therein.

The

Almighty God has been pleaſed to train up your majeſty from your infancy in the ſchool of the croſs, in which the Divine Grace inſpires the mind with true wiſdom and virtue, and guards it againſt thoſe falſe blandiſhments, by which proſperity corrupts the heart. And as this ſchool has ſent forth the moſt illuſtrious princes, as Moſes, Joſeph, and David; ſo we hope the ſame infinitely wiſe and good God deſigns to make your majeſty, not only a bleſſing to your own kingdoms, and a true father of them, but alſo a great inſtrument of the general peace and good of mankind.

Your princely virtues are ſuch, that, in the eſteem of the beſt judges, you are worthy to wear a crown, though you had not been born to it; which makes us confident, that it will be your majeſty's care to make your ſubjects a happy people, and ſo to ſecure them in their religion, liberties, and property, as to leave no juſt ground of diſtruſt, and to unite us all in true chriſtianity, according to the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and the practice of the primitive chriſtians.

We adore the goodneſs of God, in preſerving your majeſty, amidſt the many dangers, to which you have been expoſed, notwithſtanding the helliſh contrivances formed againſt you, for encouraging aſſaſſins to murder your ſacred perſon; a practice abhorred by the very hea-

'The great diſcouragements, which preſented, were not 1715.
'ſufficient to detet me from coming to put myſelf at the
'head of my faithful ſubjects, who were in arms for me,
'and, whatſoever, ſhall enſue, I ſhall leave them no room
'for complaint, that I have not done the utmoſt they could
'expect from me. Let thoſe, who forget their duty, and
'are negligent of their own good, be anſwerable for the
'worſt that may happen. For me, it will be no new
'thing, if I am unfortunate. My whole life, even from
'my cradle, has ſhewn a conſtant ſeries of misfortunes;
'and I am prepared (if ſo it pleaſe God) to ſuffer the
'threats of my enemies, and yours. The preparations,
'which are making againſt us, will, I hope, quicken
'your reſolution, and convince others, from whom I have
'aſſurances, that it is now no time to diſpute what they
'have to do: if, otherwiſe, they ſhall by their remiſneſs
'be unmindful of their own ſafety, I ſhall take it as my
'greateſt comfort, that I have acquitted myſelf of what-
'ever can be expected from me. I recommend to you
'what is neceſſary to be done in the preſent conjunc-
'ture;

heathens. May the ſame merciful providence continue ſtill to protect your majeſty, to proſper your arms, to turn the hearts of all the people towards you, to ſubdue thoſe who reſiſt your juſt pretenſions, to eſtabliſh you on the throne of your anceſtors, to grant you a long and happy reign, to bleſs you with a royal progeny, and at laſt with an immortal crown of glory. And as it has been, ſtill is, and ſhall be our care, to inſtil into the minds of the people true principles of loyalty to your majeſty; ſo this is the earneſt prayer of, &c.

The city of Aberdeen, who were moſtly of the epiſcopal communion, followed the example of their paſtors, in the following addreſs:

We your ever loyal and dutiful ſubjects, the magiſtrates, town-council, and other your majeſty's loyal ſubjects, citizens of Aberdeen, do heartily congratulate your arrival to this your native and hereditary kingdom. Heaven very often inhances our bleſſings by diſappointments; and your majeſty's ſafe arrival after ſuch a train of difficulties, and ſo many attempts, makes us not doubt but God is propitious to your juſt cauſe.

As your majeſty's arrival was ſeaſonable, ſo it was ſurpriſing. We were happy, and we knew it not: we had the bleſſing we wiſhed for, yet inſenſible till now, that your majeſty has been pleaſed to let us know, that we are the happieſt, and, as ſo, we ſhall always endeavour to be the moſt loyal of, &c.

1715. ture; and, next to God, rely on your council and reso-
lution.'

The rebels think of dispersing.

This speech was dispersed with great industry; but the council soon came to a resolution to abandon the whole enterprize, the first opportunity they should have to do it decently. They were not in circumstances to stand the attack of the royal army, which was now reinforced with six thousand Dutch: but it was necessary to conceal this resolution from their own people, till the proper measures were concerted to have them all dispersed with the greatest safety, without exposing them to the insults of the royal army. Had the resolution been made public, it would have had this consequence, that the common people would be so dispirited, as not to be capable of taking care of their safety; and some of them perhaps might have had thoughts of revenging upon their leaders the danger, into which they had been drawn. For this reason the council gave out, they resolved to fight the king's troops; and accordingly, made all the preparation necessary for such an undertaking, as if they had really intended it.

Expresses were sent to the earl of Seaforth, the marquis of Huntley, and many others of their friends, to return speedily to the army at Perth. Their head-quarters were fortified in the best manner; and people of all ranks were zealous in promoting the work. Nothing was to be seen till the very day they abandoned the place, but the greatest industry in throwing up intrenchments, raising batteries, planting guns, with all the other preparations of war. The pretender even issued out an order, for the burning of the village of Auchterardire, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy (b).

Ac-

(b) The order was as follows:

James R.

'Whereas it is absolutely necessary for our service, and the public safety, that the enemy should be as much incommoded as possible, especially upon their march towards us, if they should attempt any thing against us or our forces; and seeing this can be by no means better effected than by destroying all the corn and forage, that can support them in their march, and burning the houses and villages, which may be necessary for quartering the enemy; which nevertheless it is our meaning should be only done in case of absolute necessity, concerning which we have given our full instructions to James Graham younger of Braco: these are therefore ordering and requiring you, how

According to this order, several towns, as Auchterardire, Blackford, Dunning, and Muthell, and other villages, were burnt to the ground; by which the poor inhabitants, being only old infirm men, women, and children (the rest being forced from their homes) were exposed to the severest season of the year, in one of the coldest winters that had been known for many ages. In the account published at Paris, of the pretender's conduct in Scotland, it is affirmed, that, upon his leaving that kingdom, he had deposited a sum of money in the hands of general Gordon, for the use of the sufferers by the execution of this order; which money was to be delivered by that general, with a letter from the pretender to the duke of Argyle. Whether this was published to take off the ill impression that order seemed to leave upon the minds of the people, or whether there was any truth either in that or the letter, depends only on the credit of the account written by the earl of Mar at Paris (c). 1715. Several villages burnt.

Dur-

'how soon this order shall be 'transmitted to you by the 'hands of the said James Gra- 'ham, forthwith, with the gar- 'rison under your command, to 'burn and destroy the village of 'Auchterardire, with all the 'houses, corn, and forage with- 'in the said town, so as they 'may be rendered intirely use- 'less to the enemy; for the do- 'ing whereof this shall be to 'you, and all you shall em- 'ploy in execution thereof, a 'sufficient warrant.'

Given at our court of Scoon this seventeenth day of January, in the fifteenth year of our reign, 1715-16.

By his majesty's command,

MAR.

To colonel Patrick Graham, or the commanding officer for the time, of our garrison of Tullibardine.

(c) This account at large was as follows:

SIR,

You seem surprized at the sudden change our affairs here have taken, from what you expected by the accounts you had from some of our friends at Edinburgh, before our leaving Perth, and even after we were gone from thence. I will therefore, for your satisfaction, give you a true account of that whole matter.

It is plain enough, that it was our business to represent our affairs then to the public, to be in such a posture, as might encourage our friends every where, and discourage our enemies, and stop them from marching against us, until we were in a better condition to receive them; which we had reason to expect soon to be, by our friends joining us, as they daily promised to do, and un-

1715. During these transactions, the duke of Argyle, in conjunction with the lord Cadogan, took measures to dislodge the rebels from Perth, and remove the pretender from Scotland.

Brunt-Island abandoned by the rebels. A number of the rebels having possession of the town of Brunt-Island, on the other side of the road of Leith, the duke of Argyle ordered the men of war, then on duty in that road, to stand over, and throw some shot into the town. The captain had thrown but few, when the rebels abandoned the town, fearing, as they said, the captain, after his cannonading, would attempt to land; and their number was not sufficient to defend the place. Upon notice of the rebels abandoning Brunt-Island, where they had left behind them six pieces of cannon, some arms, and a great quantity of provisions, a detachment of Scots and Dutch troops were sent over the Firth, to take possession of the town, under the command of Sir James Montgomery. Upon this the rebels quitted all the towns on the north-side of the Firth; by which means the navigation to and beyond Leith was not so much interrupted, as in the beginning of the winter.

There happened some skirmishes between the detachments sent to possess these towns, and some parties of the rebels;

until we should receive the money, arms, and ammunition we were every day expecting, as we had been for a long time.

But, that time being now over, I may freely own to you, and it is fit you should know, that, a month before the chevalier landed, the resolution was taken of abandoning Perth, as soon as the enemy should march against it. And, though this resolution was known to a good number in our army, yet the secret was so well kept, that it never came to the public; so that the enemy believing that we should stand our ground, thought themselves obliged to delay their march for a long time, until they had made great preparations of artillery, &c. as if they had been going to besiege a fortified town: but, in reality, our condition was then such, as obliged us to take that resolution, having neither a sufficient number of men, ammunition, nor arms.

Upon the chevalier's arrival we expected that our friends would then have certainly joined us; both those, who had formerly been with us, and were gone home, and those, who before had given, the chevalier not being come, as the only reason of their not joining the army; and also that those, to whom the reducing of Inverness, the lord Sutherland, and those, with him, was committed, would have vigorously performed that service, and then have joined

rebels; but none of any conſequence. The moſt remarkable ſkirmiſh was about the ſecond of January, when the earl of Rothes, with a good company of volunteers, and a detachment of fifty Dutch, attempted to poſſeſs themſelves of the palace of Falkland, a royal foundation, but now gone to decay. The rebels having intelligence of the earl's deſign, threw a party of their men into the place, and ſent another body to ſurround him in a village near Falkland. The volunteers, to the number of thirty, found means to make their eſcape; but the Dutch foot were made priſoners. 1715.

To reſtrain the incurſions of the enemy upon the duke's new acquiſitions on the coaſt of Fife, three battalions of Dutch foot were ordered to paſs the Firth at the Queen's-Ferry, and take quarters about Innerkeithing, Dumferling, and the towns in that neighbourhood, which proved a ſufficient check upon the rebels during their ſtay at Perth.

About this time the earl of Seaforth and the marquis of Huntley had capitulated with the earl of Sutherland after many

joined us; and we had no reaſon to doubt, but money, ammunition, and arms would immediately be ſent after the chevalier.

But, to our great misfortune, we were diſappointed in all theſe our hopes, though never ſo well grounded in appearance.

The rigour of the ſeaſon, and the great fall of the ſnow on the hills, kept in ſome meaſure the reſt of the highlanders from joining us: Moſt of thoſe, who before had excuſed themſelves upon the chevalier's not being come, kept ſtill at home, now that he was come, waiting perhaps to ſee how his affairs were like to ſucceed. Thoſe employed for reducing of Inverneſs were ſo far from acting with vigour, that they made, what they called it, a ceſſation of arms with the enemy. Some gold was ſent to us in lingo's; but the ſhip in which it came, was ſtranded, and the gold itſelf loſt. Several ſhips came with officers, but neither arms nor ammunition in any of them. So that our condition after the chevalier's arrival, was no ways bettered, except by the new life his preſence gave to the ſmall number we at that time had got together. Even in that weak condition, the chevalier would gladly have maintained Perth, or ventured a battle. But when the enemy, with all their great preparations, and an army of above eight thouſand effective regular troops, were actually in march, and advanced near to the place, it was found impracticable to defend the town, and unadviſeable to enter into a battle with a ſmall number of men, that were in it, for a great many

reaſons

1715. many threatenings between them, which never came to blows. The earl of Seaforth afterwards involved himself again in the rebellion; but the marquis of Huntley ſtrictly obſerved the terms of his capitulation.

Proceedings of the king's army.

The duke of Argyle had now got all the ſupplies he expected. The ſix thouſand Dutch auxiliaries, under the command of major-general Vanderbeck, had joined him; as Newton's and Stanhope's dragoons had likewiſe from England. But he was in great want of a train of artillery, which he had long expected from England, and which had been ſhipped for this ſervice; but, the ſtormy weather and eaſterly winds continuing, the duke grew impatient of waiting any longer for them, and ordered general Cadogan to go to Berwick with a guard of five hundred men, and fifteen hundred carriage horſes, to bring thence ten pieces of cannon and four mortars, with their carriages and ammunition, which with fourteen pieces, that he had already with him, was thought a ſufficient train for this expedition. The

reaſons too long to be here mentioned. But in ſhort we had not above four thouſand, both horſe and foot; and of theſe, for want of arms, and for other reaſons, not above two thouſand five hundred to be relied upon as good fighting men. The town is little better than an open village at any time; and at this the river on one ſide, and a kind of foſſe or ditch on the other, were frozen up ſo that it was eaſy to be entered on all quarters. The long continued froſt had kept the mills from going; ſo that there was not above two days proviſions in the town. The enemy being then in poſſeſſion of the moſt part of Fife, where the coal-pits are, there were no coals to be got; and, the wood being ſcarce in the country, there happened to be almoſt no fuel at all. Beſides this, the highlanders are not uſed to defend towns; nor had they wherewithal to defend this.

On the other hand, to have gone out to fight the enemy, when there was no advantageous poſt or paſs to be defended, had been expoſing our men to viſible deſtruction; the enemy being provided with every thing, and thrice our number of fighting men, might have ſurrounded us on all ſides, and prevented all poſſibility of retreat. All this put us into an abſolute neceſſity of leaving Perth, and retiring northwards, which we did in good order, and came in two days to Montroſe, and Briechin. Neither of theſe places are tenable, though we had been provided, as we were not, with a ſufficient number of men, ammunition, and proviſions. But, Montroſe, being a good harbour, where we expected our ſuccours from abroad, we were unwilling to quit it, ſo long as

we

The train being now ready, he was as much at a loſs for gunners to manage it, having few or none in his army; but the fleet on board of which the train and ammunition had been ſhipped, arriving in the road of Leith on the 28th of January, colonel Borgard, who commanded the engineers and gunners ſent with theſe ſtores, arrived at Stirling on the 29th, ſo that now all things were ready for the intended attack of the enemy, which was reſolved in a council of war, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon. 1715.

On the 21ſt, two hundred dragoons were ſent, under the command of general Gueſt, to view the road, and diſcover ſome of the diſpoſitions of the rebels. This party, though only ſent to reconnoitre, put the rebels into the utmoſt confuſion at Perth. Some country people, whoſe fear magnified the number of the detachment, carried news to the town, that the duke of Argyle and all the army was within a few hours march. This ſtruck the whole rebel army with

we could remain ſafe in it. We thought indeed, that the enemy would have made a halt at Perth, and not have marched ſo quickly after us, as we ſoon found they did, they being within a few miles of us, before we had certain intelligence of it, though great pains had been taken to be informed of their motions. The earl of Panmure, not being recovered of the ſevere wounds he had received at the battle of Sheriff-Moor, was not in a condition to march along with the army, which otherwiſe he would have done; upon which the chevalier adviſed him, as he paſſed Dundee, to endeavour to get off in the firſt ſhip he could find; and by accident, finding a little bark at Arboth, went off in it for France.

Before this time ſeveral people had very ſeriouſly repreſented to the chevalier the deplorable circumſtances, in which his affairs now were on all ſides; that being overpowered in Scotland, no appearance of any riſing in England, nor any news of the ſuccours he expected from abroad, he had no courſe at preſent to take, that was conſiſtent with what he owed to his people in general, to thoſe, who had taken arms for him in particular, and to himſelf upon their account, but by retiring beyond ſea, to preſerve himſelf for a better occaſion of aſſerting his own right, and reſtoring them to their antient liberties.

It was indeed hard to bring him to think of this; but thoſe about him found it now high time to preſs the matter more than ever, the enemy being within three miles upon their march towards us. They therefore again repreſented to him the impoſſibility of making a ſtand any where, till they ſhould come to the moſt inacceſſible places of the mountains, where in that ſeaſon of the year, there being ſo much ſnow on the ground, there could be no ſubſiſt-

1715. with the greateſt conſternation; and the panic continued, till parties, ſent out as far as Tullibardine to view the country, returned with the report of the falſhood of the rumour.

Colonel Gueſt, being returned, acquainted the duke of Argyle, that the roads were ſo covered with ſnow, that it would be impoſſible for the army to paſs, eſpecially the artillery and heavy carriages, except the ſnow was removed; upon which ſeveral thouſand people from the country were ſummoned in to clear the roads.

On the 24th, the duke and general Cadogan went out with a party to view the country, and haſten the workmen employed in clearing the roads. This likewiſe alarmed ſome of the enemy's advanced poſts, but did not, as the other, reach Perth.

The day before and that day it thawed ſuddenly; and the thaw was followed by a great fall of ſnow, which hindered

ſiſtence for any body of men together, and where no ſuccour could come to them. That, when his ſmall army was divided in leſſer bodies, they could not avoid being cut off by the enemies troops, who would then be maſter of all the low countries, and eſpecially by the garriſons they had in Inverlochy and Inverneſs, which they would reinforce. That, as long as they knew he was in the kingdom, they would purſue him, even with the hazard of their whole army, his perſon being the chief object of their purſuit, as his deſtruction was the only thing, that could ſecure their uſurpation; whereas, if he were gone off, they would not purſue with that eagerneſs, nor would they find their account in harraſſing their army in the ſnow, and exceſſive cold of the mountains, to purſue the ſcattered remains of the loyal party, who might ſkulk in the hills, till providence ſhould open a way for their relief, or that they ſhould obtain terms from the government. That his perſon being with them would defeat even theſe faint hopes; and that in ſhort, whilſt he was in the kingdom, they could never expect any terms or capitulation but by abandoning him, or giving him up; which rather than ever conſent to, they would be all to the laſt man cut in pieces.

Though the chevalier was ſtill extremely unwilling to leave his loyal people, who had ſacrificed their all with ſo much zeal and alacrity for his ſervice; yet when he conſidered, that, as things then ſtood, his preſence, far from being a help and ſupport to them, would rather be an occaſion of haſtening their ruin, he was ſenſibly touched to find himſelf, for their ſakes, under a neceſſity of leaving them: there was no anſwering their reaſons, nor any time to be loſt, the danger increaſing every moment.

ed the workmen employed in clearing the roads, who had now all their work to do over again, and rendered the deſigned march almoſt impracticable. This inclined moſt of the generals to defer the march of the troops till the ſeaſon was more moderate, none of them having ſeen a campaign in ſo cold a climate: but the duke was reſolute in the meaſures taken, eſpecially as he had poſitive orders from above, to attack the rebels without loſs of time. 1715.

On the 26th, the duke ordered two regiments of dragoons, and five hundred foot, to advance to Dumblain, with directions to poſt a ſtrong party at the demoliſhed bridge of Down.

On

ment. He therefore at laſt told them, that he was ſorry to find himſelf obliged to conſent to what they deſired of him; and I dare ſay, no conſent, he ever gave, was ſo uneaſy to him as this was.

In the mean time freſh alarms coming of the enemies approaching, orders were given for the army's marching towards Aberdeen, and the reſolution was taken for his going off in the evening. It happened very providentially, that there was juſt ready in the harbour a ſmall ſhip, that had been deſigned to carry a gentleman he was then to have ſent to a foreign court. This ſhip was now pitched upon to tranſport him: ſhe was but a ſmall one, and could carry but a few paſſengers; and therefore, to avoid confuſion, he himſelf thought fit to name thoſe, who ſhould attend him. The earl of Mar, who was the firſt named, made difficulty, and begged he might be left behind; but the chevalier being poſitive for his going, and telling him, that in a great meaſure there were the ſame reaſons for his going as for his own; that his friends would more eaſily get terms without him than with him; and that, as things now ſtood, he could be no longer of any uſe to them in that country, he ſubmitted.

The chevalier likewiſe ordered the marquis of Drummond to go along with him. This lord was then lame by a fall from his horſe, and not in a condition to follow the army, and was one of the four with the earl of Mar, lord Tullibardine, and lord Lithgow, againſt whom there was then a bill of attainder paſſing. The chevalier would have willingly carried with him the two other lords; but it happened, that they were both then at a diſtance; lord Tullibardine at Briechin with a party of the foot, and lord Lithgow at Bervil with the horſe. Lord Mariſchal, gentleman of his bed-chamber, was alſo ordered to go, though he ſeemed very deſirous to ſtay, and ſhare in the fate of his countrymen. Lieutenant general Sheldon, vice-chamberlain, had the ſame orders; as had alſo colonel Clepham, who had left the enemy. Lord Edward Drummond, who

1715. On the 29th, the army begun their march, and proceeded to Dumblain; the troops which were there before, advancing, at the ſame time, to the old caſtle of Braco, expecting ſome reſiſtance, but they found it abandoned. The next morning the ſame party, with two pieces of cannon, advanced upon the road to Tullibardine; to cover the workmen, who were clearing the way, and to prevent their being inſulted by the garriſon of Tullibardine. That day the army marched to Auchterardire; that is, to the place where it ſtood, for the rebels had burnt the village to the ground, ſo that the men were obliged to lie in the open air in as violent a cold night, as ever was known in thoſe parts. The next morning early they marched to Tullibardine, the garriſon of which place had retired, except fifty men, who were made priſoners. Here the duke of Argyle

was alſo gentleman of his bedchamber, happened to be with lord Tinmouth, at five miles diſtance, and ſo could not go with the chevalier, as he intended they both ſhould; but he wrote to them to follow in a ſmall ſhip, that was then in the harbour; but the maſter of this ſhip was frightened, and went away without carrying any body.

The chevalier then ordered a commiſſion to be drawn for lieutenant-general Gordon to command in chief, with all neceſſary power inſerted; and particularly, one, to treat and capitulate with the enemy. He left alſo the ſaid general the reaſons of his leaving this kingdom, and all the money, that was in the pay-maſter's hands, or that he had himſelf (ſave a ſmall ſum for defraying his own and company's charges) and left orders for a ſum of money (if there ſhould be any left after paying the army) to be given to the poor people, who ſuffered by the burning of Auchterardire, and ſome villages about it, which had been thought neceſſary to be done, to prevent the enemy's march, though very much againſt his inclination; which made him delay from time to time, until the enemy was actually on their march; and the chevalier left a letter with general Gordon, for my lord Argyle, to be delivered when the ſaid money ſhould be given, deſiring, that it ſhould be diſtributed accordingly.

About nine o'clock the chevalier went on board the ſhip, which was about a mile at ſea. Lord Mariſchal and colonel Clepham, came ſome time after to the ſhore; but by an accident found no boat, and ſo could not go off; though, as the boat-man, who carried the chevalier, aſſured us, he ſtaid for them till near eleven o'clock, but could ſtay no longer, becauſe of the nine men of war, that were cruizing thereabouts; and it was great good luck, that the ſhip,

Argyle received intelligence, that the pretender and his army had abandoned Perth the day before, and retired towards Dundee. This was very agreeable news to the whole army, who had lain in the ſnow for two nights ſucceſſively. But, as it was four o'clock in the afternoon before the duke had the intelligence, they could not reach Perth that night. However the duke took with him four ſquadrons of dragoons, and two battalions of foot, and marched that evening to take poſſeſſion of the town, where he arrived about two o'clock in the morning with the horſe; but the foot, through the length and deepneſs of the road, did not arrive till ten the next morning, very much haraſſed by their march. Had the rebels had any intelligence, that the duke was detached, with ſo ſmall an attendance, from the 1715.

ſhip, having ſtaid ſo long, got out of their reach before it was day-light.

As ſoon as the chevalier parted, we marched and we are now a good way advanced towards the highlands; for there was no ſtand could be made at Aberdeen; nor could we think of going to Inverneſs, that being ſtill in the enemies hands. Some went to Peterhead, and thought to have got off in a ſhip they found there; but we hear they were ſoon forced back by a man of war: ſo it is like they may join us again, if they are not intercepted by the enemy.

I muſt add here one thing, which, however incredible it may appear, is, to our coſt, but too true; and that is, that, from the time the earl of Mar ſet up the chevalier's ſtandard to this day, we never received from abroad the leaſt ſupply of arms and ammunition of any kind; though it was notorious in itſelf, and well known, both to friends and enemies, that this was what from the beginning we mainly wanted; and, as ſuch, it was inſiſted upon by the earl of Mar in all the letters he writ, and by all the meſſengers he ſent to the other ſide. Several ſhips came with officers, and ſome ſmall ſums of money, after the battle of Sheriff-moor; and three or four ſhips more came after the chevalier's arrival. But, even when he was with us in perſon, no powder was ſent, nor a ſword nor muſket, ſo that, when we marched from Perth, we had not three hundred weight of powder for the whole army, nor ſhould we have wanted men, had we had arms to put in their hands. How the main point came to be ſo intirely neglected, by thoſe, who had the management of the chevalier's affairs in their hands on the other ſide, is yet a myſtery to us: and it ſurprizes us the more, that thoſe, who came lately over, aſſure us, that both arms and ammunition might have been gotten from private hands, without having the obligation to any foreign prince. So whether this unaccountable omiſſion proceeded from mere negligence,

1715. the main of the army, he might have been in ſome hazard; for the groſs of the army did not arrive at Perth from Tullibardine till late in the evening, the 1ſt of February.

The pretender and his party had now got two days march before the royal army. It was neceſſary therefore to purſue them without intermiſſion, that they might have no reſt. Accordingly the 2d of February the duke of Argyle continued his purſuit at the head of ſix ſquadrons, two battalions, and eight hundred detached foot; lay that night at Errol, and on the 3d arrived at Dundee, though the main army, which made more eaſy marches, did not come up till the 4th. Here the duke's intelligence made him judge, that the rebel army, which had now proceeded to Montroſe, would make ſome ſtop there, as that place was more tenable than Perth, and a ſea-port, where they might expect ſupplies from abroad. Therefore he reſolved not to allow them to fortify themſelves, but ſent two detachments to Montroſe by two different roads: two thouſand foot and fifty dragoons went by the way of Aberbrothick, and three hundred more, and fifty dragoons, marched by the way of Bri-

want of money, or, from a jealouſy in ſome, who were perhaps unwilling, that we ſhould be the inſtruments of this great work, and that it ſhould ſucceed in our hands, or ſome other by-reaſons, is what time may diſcover.

Thus I have given you true matter of fact, and a ſincere account of our unfortunate condition. Whatever may now be our fate, we have ſtill one ſolid ground of comfort, that the chevalier hath (as we hope) got ſafe out of the reach of his enemies; for in the ſafety of his perſon is all our hopes of relief; and we look on him as the inſtrument reſerved by God, and he now ſeems the only one in the ordinary courſe of providence to ſecure theſe nations in due time from their oppreſſions, and the lawleſs dominion of E.——

Now if we look back a little, and conſider our affairs, from the beginning of this laſt attempt, I believe it will be found, that no nation in our circumſtances, and ſo deſtitute of all kind of ſuccour from abroad, ever made ſo brave a ſtruggle for reſtoring their prince and country to their juſt rights. And when it comes to be known to the world (as ſome time or other it may) what encouragements there were at home and abroad, reaſonably to make us expect and hope for ſucceſs in this great, good, and neceſſary work, it will not appear a chimerical, rash, or ill-grounded undertaking; and it's not proving ſucceſsful as plainly appears by what has been already ſaid, and what follows: is not owing to the chevalier, or his faithful friends on this ſide.

When

Briechen; but the ſnow was ſo deep, that the march proved very tedious to thoſe detachments, ſince they were obliged to ſummon in the country-people, to clear the roads. On the 5th the whole army marched: the duke with the cavalry, and train by the road of Briechen, and the infantry with general Cadogan by the way of Aberbrothick. 1715.

In this day's march they had intelligence, that the pretender had made his eſcape, both from his own people and the king's army, the morning before, on board a French ſhip, called the Maria Tereſa of St. Malo, then lying in the road of Montroſe. The pretender leaves Scotland.

It has been already obſerved, that the abandoning Perth, and diſperſing the rebel army as ſoon as they could get out of the reach of the king's army, had been reſolved ever ſince, if not before, the pretender's arrival in Scotland; but that it was neceſſary to conceal this deſign from the groſs of the army, as well as that the pretender, and ſome of the chief leaders of this undertaking, intended to make their eſcape to France the firſt opportunity. However, the army's abandoning Perth ſo precipitately, as to leave their waggons

When the earl of Mar, by the chevalier's command, came down to Scotland, he found the people there more forward to take arms, than his inſtructions allowed him to conſent to; and it was not without difficulty, that we could allay their firſt heat. But the chevalier not going into England, nor the duke of Berwick coming to Scotland, as was generally expected, abated very much of that forwardneſs, ſo that when the government ſummoned thoſe they ſuſpected to appear, and give bail for their good behaviour, many of them ſeemed inclined to comply. The earl of Mar, in purſuance of his inſtructions, found it then high time, for preventing this ſtep, to appear openly; and it was not without difficulty, that he could perſuade ſome to join with him, they apprehending great uncertainty of ſucceſs in this affair, by no account being come of the chevalier, or the duke of Berwick's arrival, nor of money, arms, ammunition, or officers, though others were all along very forward. Upon the reſolution of taking arms, he ſent a gentleman to give the chevalier an account of it,

It was near a month after the earl of Mar ſet up the ſtandard before he could procure a commiſſion; and it is no ſmall proof of the people's zeal for their country, that ſo great a number followed his advice, and obeyed his orders, before he could produce one.* It muſt be owned, and it is the leſs to be wondered at, that his authority being thus precarious, ſome were not ſo punctual in joining him, and others performed not ſo effectually the ſervice they were ſent upon;

1715. waggons and artillery behind them, and then pointing their march to the ſea-ſhore, eſpecially to Montroſe, where it was known that ſeveral French ſhips lay, raiſed jealouſies in the heads of the army of what was really their intent, and produced conſiderable murmurings, which the earl of Mar could not appeaſe, but by countenancing the march from Montroſe to Aberdeen, where he gave out they deſigned to make a ſtand. The army was made to believe, that the pretender was to go along with them; and, to amuſe them, his horſes and ordinary body-guard were drawn up before the door of the houſe where he lodged. This removing all jealouſy, the army became tractable again, and proceeded on their march. But the pretender, inſtead of going on with them, left his attendance in their uſual waiting, ſlipped out of a back-door, and went on foot to the earl of Mar's quarters, and from thence to the water-ſide where a boat waited for them, and carried them on board with only three ſervants. The ſame boat returned, and took in the earl of Melfort, the lord Drummond, lieutenant-general Bulkley, Sheldon, and others, to the number

upon; which had they done, not only Scotland, but even part of England, had been reduced to the chevalier's obedience before the government had been in a condition to make head againſt us. But, as it was, moſt of thoſe, who had promiſed, and ſome, who had not, joined the chevalier's ſtandard at Perth about the end of October; at which time the earl of Mar ſent two gentlemen, to give the chevalier an account of the condition they were in, of what they had, and what they wanted, and to haſten his own, the duke of Ormond's, and the duke of Berwick's coming into Britain.

About this time there was a riſing of ſome noblemen and gentlemen in the ſouth of Scotland, who, marching over the borders, were joined by ſome in the north of England; and, they altogether marching back into Scotland, the earl of Mar ſent over the Firth of Forth fifteen hundred foot to join them. This occaſioned the duke of Argyle's leaving Stirling, and going with a part of his army to Edinburgh. Now had the Scots and Engliſh horſe, who were then in the ſouth of Scotland, come and joined the fifteen hundred foot, as was expected; had the Highland clans performed, as they promiſed, the ſervice they were ſent upon in Argyleſhire, and marched towards Glaſgow, as the earl of Mar marched towards Stirling, he had then given a good account of the government's army, the troops from Ireland not having yet joined them, nor could they have joined them afterwards. But, all this failing

number of ſeventeen in all, being perſons of the firſt rank, either in his houſhold or army, or originally privy to his deſign. 1715.

When they were all on board, the veſſel ſet ſail, ſteering to the coaſt of Norway, to keep clear of the Engliſh cruiſers. They had a freſh gale at weſt ſouth weſt, and made land the next evening; and coaſting along the German and Dutch ſhores, they arrived in five days at Gravelin in France; and the ſame ſhip returned in twelve days from her firſt ſetting out, both to give intelligence of the pretender's ſafe landing, and to take in another party of gentlemen, which was done about Frazerſburgh, after the main of their army was diſperſed in the hills.

The earl Mariſchal and the lord Tinmouth, ſon of the duke of Berwick, were about five miles from Montroſe, when the pretender imbarked; and ſo were left to ſhift for themſelves with ſeveral others. But it will appear from the ſequel, that both the earl Mariſchal and general Gordon were in the ſecret, though they pretended to make the army believe otherwiſe, to ſecure themſelves from their reſentment,

ing by ſome croſs accidents, lord Argyle returned with that part of his army to Stirling; and the earl of Mar could not, with the men he then had, advance farther than Dumblain; and for want of proviſions there, was ſoon after obliged to return to Perth,

But immediately after we had got proviſions, and that the clans and my lord Seaforth had joined us, we marched again towards the enemy; and notwithſtanding the difficulties the earl of Mar had upon that occaſion with ſome of our own people, he gave the enemy battle; and, as you ſee in our printed accounts of it, had not our left-wing given way, which was occaſioned by miſtake of orders, and ſcarcity of experienced officers, that being compoſed of as good men, and marched as chearfully up to the field of battle as the other, our victory had been compleat; and, as it was, the enemy, who was advanced on this ſide the river, was forced to retire back to Stirling.

Amongſt many good qualities, the Highlanders have one unlucky cuſtom, not eaſy to be reformed; which is, that generally after an action they return home. Accordingly a great many went off after the late battle of Sheriff-Moor; ſo that the earl of Mar, not being in a condition to purſue the advantage he had by it, was forced to return to Perth, waiting there, not without impatience, both for the return of the Highlanders, and for money, arms, and ammunition, he had ſo often aſked, and ſtill expected from abroad. But the Highlanders, hearing nothing of the

1715. ment, and only ſtaid behind to conduct the army to a place, where they could with ſafety diſperſe them: which they did ſo effectually, that though the duke of Argyle uſed his utmoſt endeavours to come up with them, yet he could never overtake one party of them, and did not, in all the purſuit from Perth to the Highlands, take 8 hundred priſoners. They kept ſo cloſe together, and marched with ſuch expedition into the mountains, that it was in vain for the duke to purſue them any farther.

When the pretender went away, he appointed general Gordon to command in chief. When that general arrived in the army at Aberdeen (where they were but coldly received, in compariſon of their former reception) he produced a paper of inſtructions, which he had from the pretender, and which, he ſaid, he was commanded not to open till he came to that city. In this paper the pretender complains chiefly of diſappointments from abroad; and mentions the neceſſity he was under, for his own preſervation, to leave the country. He thanks them for their ſo chearfully undertaking ſo hazardous an enterprize, which, he ſays, would not

chevalier, or the duke of Berwick's coming, nor of the ſupplies, did not return to the army, as they had promiſed: and the gentlemen of the army, who had been long from home, living ſtill at their own charges, which they could not well longer ſupport, went alſo mostly home, ſome without leave, and others after a leave, which the earl of Mar ſaw well enough would be to no purpoſe to refuſe. Some indeed never thought of quitting the army, and others returned ſoon to it; but our number was never again near ſo great, as it had been before the battle. About this time we had the news of the fatal affair at Preſton, which was no ſmall diſcouragement to the army; ſo that ſome, who had been cabalting privately before, began then to ſpeak openly of capitulating with the enemy, and found others more eaſy to join with them.

We had, at the ſame time, another piece of bad news: which was, that Simon Frazer of Beauford (by ſome called lord Lovat) had joined lord Sutherland; and that they, with the help of ſome other diſaffected people thereabouts, had retaken Inverneſs. Upon this news, moſt of the name of Frazer, who had joined the chevalier's army with Frazerdale, went now away, and joined Beauford, or lord Lovat, their chief.

This obliged the earl of Mar to ſend lord Seaforth north to get his men together, who had mostly returned home after the battle, and, in conjunction with the chevalier's friends in that country,

not have been liable to the preſent diſappointments, if their endeavours had been as well ſeconded by others, who had, by large promiſes, flattered him with their aſſiſtance. He recommends to them to conſult their own ſafety, and to keep together till they arrived at ſuch places, where they might ſeparate without becoming a prey to the enemy, and promiſes to let them hear from him ſhortly. 1715.

It was the 6th of February when they arrived at Aberdeen, the third day after the pretender imbarked. Here they ſtaid but one night, and, in that interval procured three veſſels to carry over about two hundred gentlemen, who deſigned to make their eſcape that way. Theſe veſſels received private orders to meet them to the north of Aberdeen, about Peterhead, Buchan-Roſs, and other parts, where they took in their intended cargo; but one of them, falling in with the king's cruiſers, put in for the ſhore, where the gentlemen landed again, and followed the rebel army through by-ways. The other two veſſels, with about a hundred and forty gentlemen, arrived ſafe in France.

On

country, to endeavour to recover Inverneſs,

In the mean time thoſe, who were for capitulating with the enemy, preſſed the earl of Mar ſo hard to conſent to it, that to prevent ſome people's making private ſeperate treaties, which he found they were about, he was at laſt forced to comply ſo far with them, as to ſend a meſſage from the whole army to my lord Argyle, to know, 'if 'he had power to treat with 'them?' That lord returned with great civility this anſwer, 'That he had no ſufficient 'power to treat with them in a 'body, but that he would 'write to court upon the ſub-'ject.' To which it was replied, 'That, when he ſhould let 'them know he had ſufficient 'power, they then would make 'their propoſitions.' By which the affair was put off at that time, and we were ſince informed, that the lord Argyle never received thoſe powers; and that even his former powers, which he ſent up to be inlarged, were never returned to him.

Much about this time the marquis of Huntley having, for ſometime, preſſed his going home with his horſe, the earl of Mar conſented to it, and gave him a commiſſion, in conjunction with my lord Seaforth, for reducing of Inverneſs, and thoſe, who oppoſed the chevalier's intereſt in that country, which we then hoped would be ſoon done.

After this, ſome, though but few, were diſcovered to have private dealings with the enemy; and ſome others went home, and never returned to the army; but a good number of the noblemen and gentlemen, and all the heads of the clans,

ſtill

1715. On the 7th, the rebels reſolved to leave Aberdeen, and began their march early in the morning, and had evacuated the place by two in the afternoon. General Gordon, with the foot, formed the van, and the earl Mariſchal with about a thouſand horſe, formed the rear to prevent ſurprize. They marched to the left directly weſt through Strath-Spey, and Strath-Down, to the hills of Badenoch, where they quietly diſperſed the common people moſtly to their homes, but with a reſolution to be ready to take up their arms on the firſt notice they ſhould have from general Gordon.

About

ſtill remained with the army at Perth.

We had about this time the long wiſhed-for news of the chevalier's being landed; and that put an end, for the preſent, to any further talking of capitulations.

I have now given you a true, and I hope, a ſatisfactory account of the condition we have been in, ever ſince our firſt taking arms; of the bad condition, in which the chevalier found us at his arrival; and of the reaſons, that obliged him at laſt to leave us.

There remains yet to anſwer one queſtion, which you may naturally aſk, as moſt people do, on this ſubject; and that is, Why the chevalier delayed his coming ſo long?

To anſwer this queſtion to your ſatisfaction, I muſt tell you, that I have what I ſhall here relate, from perſons of unqueſtionable veracity, who were then upon the place, eye and ear witneſſes of what paſſed; and ſo you may ſafely rely upon it.

You have certainly heard, what was generally ſaid, of the chevalier's ſiſter's inclinations towards him, whilſt ſhe was in poſſeſſion of his throne. But, whatever there was of truth in that, what I am well aſſured of is, that he was at laſt ſo little ſatisfied with what was ſaid to him from thence, that he was fully reſolved, whilſt ſhe was yet alive, to have gone into Scotland; and, in order to that, had already prepared a declaration, or manifeſto, to have been there publiſhed upon his arrival. How he was hindered from putting this deſign in execution by ſome real friends, that were themſelves impoſed upon, and by other pretended friends, who were at the bottom real enemies, is a myſtery, which time may diſcover.

Upon the firſt news of his ſiſter's death, he immediately took poſt, and reſolved to endeavour, at any rate, to get into ſome part of his dominions; but was ſtopped by thoſe, who had power to do it effectually. Being then forced back to Lorrain, he made and publiſhed his proteſtation, which it is likely you have ſeen, and which, I can aſſure you, was drawn intirely by himſelf.

From

About this time ſeveral gentlemen, who had betaken themſelves to the hills about Lochaber, received advice, that two French frigates lay at the Orkneys in Pentland Frith, till they ſhould come aboard. Upon this the lord Duffus, Sir George St. Clair, and lieutenant-general Eclin, with about one hundred and ſixty gentlemen more on horſeback well armed and mounted, made a ſally from the hills, and, croſſing in a body the ſhire of Murray, came down to the ſea-coaſt, near a place called Bruch. Here they quitted their horſes to their ſervants; and ſuch, as they had no uſe for, they killed to prevent their falling a prey to the king's forces; then went on board ſome ſmall boats to purſue 1715.

From that time, as before, he had nothing in his thoughts, but how, and when, he could aſſert his own right, and deliver his people. He ſaw little ground to hope for ſuccour from any foreign prince, and had only the affections of his people, and the advice of his friends on this ſide the water, to rely upon. Their intereſt ſeemed now more than ever linked to his; and they being upon the place, and conſequently beſt able to judge of the fitteſt time for his coming to them, it muſt be allowed, that it has been no ways prudent nor adviſeable in him to act contrary to their opinion: and yet it is moſt certain, that it was only by following their advice, contrary to his own judgment and inclination, that ſo much time was loſt. Some of them in England inſiſted upon having a certain number of regular troops to make head at firſt, without which, they ſaid nothing was to be attempted: and though he ſent them word over and over, that, after all the endeavours he could uſe, he found it abſolutely impoſſible to obtain any troops; yet they inſiſted for ſeveral months in this opinion, and by that means the moſt favourable time, he ever had, was loſt. Other friends there pretended, that the diſpoſition of the people would ſtill grow more favourable towards him; and that there was no danger, but advantage, by delaying.

Thus, though he had ſeveral times fixed a day for his departure, he was ſtill forced to delay, that he might not act contrary to the advice of his friends; and at another time, becauſe he found, that his enemies had diſcovered his deſign, and taken infallible meaſures to intercept him. But, as ſoon as his friends began to ſee and own the miſtakes they had been in, he, without any regard to the many dangers he had to go through, ſet out from Commercy the 28th of October, and went incognito through a great part of France to the coaſt of Bretagne; and to avoid falling into the hands of many, who were placed upon the common road to intercept him, he was obliged to croſs the country through bye-ways, with only three peo-

ple

1715. purſue their way to the Orkneys; but, finding theſe boats too ſmall and dangerous for that boiſterous ſeaſon of the year, they put in again at Dumbeth; where they hired two large barks, in which ſixty of them got ſafe to the frigate of twenty-ſix guns. The others preſſed another Scots veſſel to carry them to the other frigate. When they arrived off that coaſt, the country people were alarmed, and afraid, that they were come with a deſign to plunder them, and ſeemed inclinable to fall upon them. But, the French ſhip coming in to their aſſiſtance, the people were ſoon ſet right as to their miſtake, and aſſiſted them in getting on board

ple with him. His deſign was to go to England, if things appeared favourable there; or, if they did not, to go to Scotland.

When he arrived at St. Malo's, he found the duke of Ormond returned from the coaſt of England, to which he had gone ſome days before, in hopes to have found friends ready to join him; but, that having failed, by ſome accident of diſcoveries, he was forced to return. Upon this he reſolved to go into Scotland; and, it not being thought ſafe for him to go through the Britiſh channel, he had been adviſed to go round Ireland; and, by a meſſage from his friends in Scotland, it was propoſed to him to land at Dunſtaffnage, which was at that time in their poſſeſſion; but ſoon after the enemy came to be maſters of it, by the clans not performing what they were charged with in Argyleſhire, as is aforementioned. His friends immediately informed him of this change by a ſecond meſſage; and this confirmed him in the reſolution he had himſelf before taken, of changing all his meaſures, and, in place of taking that long tedious way, which was indeed the ſafeſt, to take a much ſhorter, though a more dangerous way for being intercepted by the enemies ſhips. He ſent therefore immediately to prepare a ſmall ſhip privately for him at Dunkirk; which was accordingly done, though not without difficulty.

He was a ſecond time obliged to traverſe a great part of France, and that on horſeback, in the very coldeſt time of this hard and ſevere winter; expoſed to greater danger than in the Forth, from the greater number of thoſe, who lay in wait for him on all the great roads, which obliged him to travel by unfrequented roads, where there was accommodation bad enough; and yet all this time, in that terrible cold, he never had the leaſt ailment or indiſpoſition.

It was about the middle of December (our ſtyle) before he could reach Dunkirk. He was there informed, that there were a man of war then lying in that very road; and that there were a great many more cruizing on the coaſt of France, England, and Scotland, all of them in waiting for him: but he, without any regard to theſe dangers,

board the French ſhip. Both the ſhips ſet ſail, and landed them at Gottenburgh, in the king of Sweden's dominions, who was then ſetting out with an army on his expedition to Norway, and received their offer of entering into his ſervice very courteouſly. But the lord Duffus, going to Hamburgh, was there ſeized at the ſuit of the Britiſh envoy. 1715.

In the mean time, the duke of Argyle was on his march to Montroſe, where he arrived on the 6th of February; and at Aberdeen, with five hundred men, on the 8th; but, the reſt of the army not being come up, the purſuit could not be continued: only he diſpatched general Evans with two hundred dragoons to harraſs their rear, or endeavour to divide their horſe from the foot; and, at the ſame time, to give chace to the two hundred gentlemen, who had ſeparated from the reſt, to take ſhipping at Frazerſburgh; but the general ſucceeded in neither.

While the duke of Argyle was in chace of the rebel army by land, the men of war were as induſtrious to annoy them by ſea, and hinder their eſcape. But they had not the fortune to meet with one ſhip belonging to the rebels; though they were not remiſs in their duty (d).

With

gers, went immediately on board this ſmall ſhip with only three ſervants, and conducted by good providence, arrived ſafe at Peterhead, where he landed the 22d of December, O. S.

Having, I hope, now fully ſatisfied your curioſity, I have only to add, that though it has pleaſed God to permit, that this attempt, though never ſo juſt, had not the wiſhed for ſucceſs; we have ſtill reaped by it one great advantage, which is, that we have ſeen with our own eyes, and perſonally known our lawful ſovereign, and, to our unſpeakable ſatisfaction, diſcovered in him all the great and good qualities, that are neceſſary for making a people every way happy.

The time may, and I hope, will yet come, when God, in his mercy, will open the eyes, and turn the hearts of thoſe nations to a ſenſe of their duty, and not permit ſo accompliſhed a perſon to be always unfortunate. But, however it ſhould pleaſe providence to diſpoſe of him, this I can aſſure you, and you may rely upon it, that, as his right is indefeaſible, he is firmly reſolved, by the help of almighty God, to aſſert it, when ever he finds a fit opportunity, and never to depart from it but with his life.

(d) This appears from the following journal of their proceedings publiſhed at Edinburgh:

Feb.

1715. With all this diligence both on ſea and land, it was ſtrange that any eſcaped: but it was much more ſo, that not one of them ever fell into the hands of their purſuers, but arrived every man ſafe in France; where they were hunted by the earl of Stair, the Britiſh ambaſſador at the French court, whoſe intelligence was ſo good, that there was ſcarce one ſtep taken by the pretender, or any of his moſt ſecret friends, without his knowledge; by which means he diſappointed the pretender of the greateſt part of the

'Feb. 22. The Royal Anne Galley, Port-mahon, Deal-Caſtle, and Phenix are returned from cruiſing. It appears from the journal of captain Stewart, that he had intelligence early of the pretender's having put to ſea from Montroſe in a clean tallowed French ſnow, which rowed out of the harbour, and cloſe in a long ſhore, a good while with her ſails furled.

'The Port-mahon lay all that night within two leagues of the harbour's mouth; but it was ſo very dark, there was no ſeeing a ſhip at a quarter of a mile's diſtance. Captain Stewart and the Pearl were off Aberdeen; and when the rebels marched out of that town, having notice of their marching northward, and that lord Tinmouth and others were contriving to make their eſcape from Peterhead or Frazerſburgh, he immediately diſpatched away the Pearl and Phenix to lie off theſe places, which effectually diſappointed them. He lay himſelf at Aberdeen, till the duke of Argyle arrived there. The winds afterwards blowing hard ſoutherly, he diſpoſed the ſhips moſtly on the ſouth-coaſt of the Murray Firth; ſent by the Deal-Caſtle a letter to the earl of Sutherland, to appriſe him of the flight of the rebels, and to prepare to receive them, in caſe they ſhould make a puſh at Inverneſs; and traced lord Tinmouth and his aſſociates as far as Port-Sary; where ſeeing a ſhip of war ready to intercept them, they deſpaired of ſucceſs on the coaſt, and therefore they joined the clans on the 10th inſtant, and took to the mountains. All the ſhips kept the ſea diligently, when wind and weather would permit, and obſerved the motions of his majeſty's army ſo carefully, that the duke of Argyle did not paſs through any ſea-port town without finding ſome ſhip ready to put in execution any ſervice his grace might have had to propoſe. On the 21ſt Sir John Jennings had advice from my lord Lovat, that a veſſel with the pretender's plate, and other effects on board, and a conſiderable ſum of money for his uſe, had lately put into the Lewis; and that many of the chiefs of the rebels were making off towards the iſle of Sky, and other north-weſt-iſlands:

the ſupplies he expected from France, and watched his perſon ſo narrowly, that he kept him a conſiderable time on that ſide of the water, to the general diſappointment of the rebels. By his repeated memorials to the regent of France, he kept him in conſtant obſervance of the treaty of Utrecht; at leaſt any violations, that were made, were only by connivance; in which caſes the earl was never ſilent, as appears by two memorials; the one writ while the pretender was in Scotland, and the other after he had abandoned it (e). 1715.

The facts contained in the firſt memorial were too well vouched, for the regent to deny them; and it was difficult to find any evaſion to reconcile them to the engagements

iſlands: whereupon he immediately ordered the Drake-ſloop thither, with inſtructions to cruiſe about the Orkneys, if the wind ſhould then be contrary; and by expreſs directed captain Stuart of the Aldborough to diſpatch the Happy-ſloop thither, and to cruiſe himſelf with the lively for fourteen days about the iſlands of Iſlay, Mull, and Canna, to endeavour to intercept the rebels or any veſſels for their relief.'

(e) The firſt memorial, dated in January 1715-16, was in the following terms:

The underwritten earl of Stair, miniſter of the king of Great-Britain at the court of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, repreſents to his royal highneſs the duke of Orleans regent of France, that although his royal highneſs has ſeveral times aſſured the ſaid earl, that he would faithfully and punctually obſerve the treaty of peace, concluded with Great-Britain at Utrecht, and that he would not ſuffer any arms, ammunition of war, officers, or ſoldiers, to ſail from any harbour of France for the ſervice of the pretender; and that his royal highneſs had accordingly ſent ſtrict orders to all the harbours in the kingdom for that purpoſe; it is nevertheleſs apparent, that things of this nature are daily imbarked, and ſhipped off in the ports of France, without any oppoſition on the part of the officers commanding there. The late duke of Ormond and the pretender have frequently gone on board ſhips at St. Malo, that were known to be loaden with arms and ammunition for the ſervice of the pretender; and that with ſo little circumſpection, that they have been attended with a whole troop of horſe, with their officers of the regiment of Nugent, all of them in their regimental cloaths, arms, and accoutrements, without meeting with any oppoſition from the commanding officers of the moſt chriſtian king at St. Malo. The pretender, finding it not adviſeable to venture to imbark there, ſet out through Normandy to imbark at Dunkirk; and the late duke of Ormond,

1715. ments of the court of France in the treaty of Utrecht; for which reaſon he did not incline to give any anſwer. But the affairs of the pretender taking a different turn, and he being obliged to leave Scotland, and being again arrived in France,

mond, not finding it ſafe to land in England, returned to Morlaix. During his abſence, his royal highneſs did the earl of Stair the honour to tell him, that he would cauſe the ſaid troopers of the regiment of Nugent to be puniſhed as deſerters, if they returned to France; and the marſhal d'Uxelles aſſured him, that he would cauſe them to be hanged. They are now returned, and have joined their regiments: the ſieur Beſach and his company, the arms and ammunition, which the late duke of Ormond had with him for his enterprize, are ſtill at Morlaix, and have been removed only from one ſhip to another. The commanding officer is ſo far from commanding thoſe arms to be ſtopped, that he refuſed to cauſe the ſhip to be ſearched, though he was deſired to do ſo by captain Campbell, commander of the Engliſh man of war lying in the harbour of Morlaix.

Several ſhips, with arms, ammunition, money and officers for the ſervice of the pretender, are ſailed within theſe ſix weeks paſt, from Dieppe and Havre-de-Grace, which are actually arrived in Scotland. And laſtly, a ſhip ſailed the 17th of this month from Havre-de-Grace, in ſight of an officer of the king of Great Britain, who having repreſented to the marquis de Roveray, that there were twenty officers, both at Havre and Harfleur, ready to go on board to follow the pretender to Scotland; and deſired the marquis to give orders to prevent their imbarkation, the marquis anſwered, that what he ſaid might poſſibly be true; but that he could not hinder the officers from going on board, having no orders from court ſo to do. The earl of Stair has ſeveral times repreſented to his royal highneſs the regent, and to the marſhal d'Uxelles, that ſeveral generals, colonels, and other officers, who are actually in the ſervice of France, deſigned to go over to Scotland, and join the rebels, and even has given a liſt of them to the marſhal; which generals, colonels, and officers are ſtill at Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, and other places thereabouts, ready to imbark for Scotland, having been detained only by the contrary winds and great froſts; the commanders of the ſaid places alledging that they have no orders from court to hinder the ſaid officers from imbarking. The ſaid earl of Stair finds himſelf obliged to repreſent theſe things to his royal highneſs, that he may ſee, whether his orders have been punctually executed, and conſider whether Great-Britain has reaſon to believe, that the treaty of Utrecht is faithfully executed. His royal highneſs is deſired, at the ſame time, to caſt an eye on the ſaid treaty. Furthermore, the ſaid

earl

France ſome days after the firſt memorial was delivered, the earl of Stair preſented a ſecond, to prevent his or any of his adherents being ſheltered in that court (f). 1715.

The earl of Stair finds himſelf obliged to notify to his royal highneſs, that the ſaid late duke of Ormond, and ſeveral other conſpirators againſt their king and country, ſet out ſome days ſince towards Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and that they have aſſembled on the coaſt of Gaſcoigne a great quantity of arms and ammunition, with ſhips to make a deſcent (as the court of St. Germain's give out) in Ireland, and cauſe a rebellion there, which that court flatters themſelves will not only be ſupported with money, but alſo with troops from France. The earl of Stair, who has ſo ardently deſired to eſtabliſh and maintain a good ſincere friendſhip between the king his maſter and his royal highneſs, finds himſelf very uneaſy to have repreſentations to make about matters of ſo great importance, which are of ſo nice a nature, and tend to alienate the affection of the two nations from each other, and provoke them ſo far, that diſmal conſequences may enſue thereupon, if ſpeedy care is not taken to prevent them.

(f) The ſecond memorial ran thus:

The earl of Stair, miniſter of the king of Great-Britain, to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, by expreſs order from the king his maſter, notifies to his royal highneſs the duke of Orleans, regent of France, the flight of the pretender, and the diſperſion of the rebels in Scotland; which his majeſty is perſuaded will be very acceptable to his royal highneſs, by reaſon of their near relation, and the ſtrict friendſhip, which his majeſty has carefully cultivated with his royal highneſs.

The treaty of Utrecht being ſo lately concluded, the king thought himſelf ſure, that his royal highneſs, regent, would have taken proper meaſures to hinder the pretender from ſetting foot again in France. But ſince the pretender has found means to return thither, his majeſty perſuades himſelf, that his royal highneſs will oblige him, as ſoon as he has notice of it, to quit the kingdom,

His royal highneſs has too much reaſon and penetration not to ſee the whole weight and juſtice of this demand. Great-Britain cannot be either ſafe or quiet ſo long as perſons, who have conſpired and undertaken with an armed force the ruin and ſubverſion of their country, are received and ſupported in its neighbourhood; nor can France itſelf be ſure, that they ſhall not he again expoſed to bear the blame of their evil practices.

The king of Great-Britain and the nation thought themſelves very ſafe on the ſide of France by the ſolemn treaty of Utrecht, which for ever excludes the pretender from France, and obliges France to give him no ſuccours, nor ſhips, nor arms, nor ammunition, nor money,

1715. The pretender, upon his return to France from Scotland, being perſuaded, that the lord viſcount Bolingbroke (who had

money, nor officers, nor ſoldiers, nor councils, directly or indirectly. Theſe gentlemen came over, and demanded refuge and protection in France, where they are no ſooner arrived, but taking advantage of the conveniency of the neighbourhood, and the facility of correſpondence by letters, they plot and contrive a black and deteſtable treaſon againſt their country, which, upon the faith of the treaty, was diſarmed and defenceleſs. And, notwithſtanding the treaty, they find means to get entrance for the pretender into France, and by their intrigues procure him ſhips, arms, ammunition, officers, ſoldiers, and money; with which aſſiſtance the pretender did actually invade Britain, where he occaſioned infinite damage to the nation..

His royal highneſs may imagine, whether Great-Britain can be eaſy in a ſituation ſo troubleſome as they would find themſelves in, having theſe rebels in their neigbourhood, ready to carry fire and ſword into the heart of their country. In this ſituation Great-Britain would be obliged to keep always in arms, tormented with continual ſuſpicions and inquietudes; a condition much worſe than an open war. For a people, which love to live in peace with all their neighbours, and is jealous of the preſervation of their laws and liberties, his royal highneſs may ſee by the unanimous addreſſes of both houſes of parliament to the king, with what an eye the nation beholds this boiſterous and unſettled ſituation. The king hath the happineſs of his ſubjects too much at heart, not to come with eagerneſs into their ſentiments and intereſts; and he flatters himſelf, that upon this account his royal highneſs will not refuſe him ſo juſt a proof of his friendſhip, and of the deſire he hath to maintain a good underſtanding between the two nations.

For the ſame reaſons the king of Great-Britain hopes, that his royal highneſs will be pleaſed to join effectual inſtances with thoſe of his majeſty, to the duke of Lorrain, to the end the ſaid duke may not permit the pretender to return into his dominions,

The earl of Stair is ordered likewiſe to put his royal highneſs in mind of the declaration he made, that the officers in the ſervice of France, who ſhould follow the pretender in the invaſion of Great-Britain, ſhould be broke; and the king is perſuaded, that his royal highneſs will not ſuffer the general officers, colonels, and others, who have followed the pretender in the rebellion, ever to be employed again in the ſervice of France; and that if it happen, that ſome of the ſaid officers ſhould return, or be already returned into France, his royal highneſs will puniſh them in ſuch a manner, that it may appear his royal highneſs and this government do loudly diſapprove of their proceeding

had entered into his ſervice as ſecretary of ſtate to him, and continued in France, in order to ſend ſupplies to him into Scotland) 1715.

ceeding formally, contrary to the treaty of Utrecht.

To the end there may be no miſtake in ſo nice and important a matter, the earl of Stair hath orders to demand an anſwer in writing to his memorial, which he is earneſtly deſirous may be ſuch, as may contribute towards the reſtoring of a good underſtanding between the two nations.

The regent's anſwer to this memorial was as follows:

His royal highneſs, being unfeignedly deſirous of advancing the glory and proſperity of the king of Great-Britain, heard with ſo much the greater pleaſure of the ſucceſs of his arms in Scotland, becauſe, at the ſame time that this event ſecures the tranquility of the kingdom of Great-Britain, it will put a ſtop to the falſe reports, that have been ſpread without foundation by the enemies of the public peace, with deſign to alter the truth and friendſhip, which the king is deſirous to preſerve with the king of Great-Britain, and which hath always been one of the principal objects of his royal highneſs's views. And, as he will punctually fulfill the treaty of Utrecht, he hath already employed the authority he is intruſted with to make the chevalier de St. George depart the kingdom, and will continue to make uſe of the ſame authority, to oppoſe his coming into it again at any time, or under any pretence whatſoever,

As for the fugitives, who are come into this kingdom from England, or who may hereafter come over, though no body is ignorant what the laws of refuge are in foreign ſtates, his royal highneſs being deſirous to convince the king of Great-Britain how far the king is from ſuffering any perſon whatſoever to abuſe the ſanctuary of his kingdom, as to maintain in Great-Britain an intelligence capable of diſturbing her tranquility, he will, in concert with the king of Great Britain, enter into any meaſures, which ſhall be thought proper for preventing ſuch an abuſe, and for keeping up a good underſtanding, by removing every occaſion of diſtruſt. And, to ſhew beſides how far his majeſty is from bearing with the raſhneſs of thoſe, who dare to act contrary to his intentions, he has cauſed the ordinances to be ſtrictly executed againſt ſuch of the officers of his troops as went out of the kingdom without his leave.

If it be true what the earl of Stair ſays, that England was diſarmed upon the faith of treaties, it is no leſs certain, that no perſon whatſoever can ſay with truth, that ever his majeſty had a mind to take that opportunity to diſturb it, nor that he hath granted any ſuccours to the chevalier de St. George. It is well known on the contrary, that his royal highneſs hindered the ſuſ-

1715. Scotland) had been faulty in the execution of his office, ſent the duke of Ormond to him for the ſeals, and removed him from all employments under him. This occaſioned a controverſy (under his direction) by letters between his ſecretary Mr. Brinſden, and Mr. James Murray, afterwards made earl of Dunbar by the pretender. (g).

During

pected armaments and imbarkations, when he had notice of them; and nothing better proves, that the chevalier de St. George was not aſſiſted by France, than the condition he was in in Scotland, deſtitute of all things neceſſary for ſuch an enterprize.

His majeſty ſees, with pleaſure, the marks of a perfect intelligence between the king of Great-Britain and his parliament, ſince this muſt be the moſt ſolid foundation of the glory of that prince, and the happineſs of his ſubjects. His royal highneſs will always have a great concern therein. As he very truly deſires to keep his Britannic majeſty's friendſhip, ſo he will omit nothing, that may ſhew him how glad he is of the teſtimonies he receives thereof; neither will he interpoſe, directly or indirectly, to hinder the duke of Lorrain from granting, upon the inſtances of the king of Great-Britain, what he ſhall be pleaſed to aſk of him with relation to the chevalier de St. George's reſidence in his territories. And, as he hath a real concern for the ſatisfaction of his Britannic majeſty, he will ſee, with a great deal of pleaſure, whatever may contribute towards it. But his royal highneſs is perſuaded at the ſame time, that the king of Great-Britain will not deſire him to take any meaſures with a prince, over whom the king hath no authority, which cannot be grounded on any ſolid foundation, and which would add nothing to the rendering effectual the powerful inſtances of his Britannic majeſty. An anſwer, conceived in terms ſo plain and particular, ought to evince to all mankind, what are the true intentions of the king; and leaves no manner of doubt or obſcurity in relation to the ſincere deſire his royal highneſs has always had carefully to preſerve the amity of the king of Great-Britain, and to contribute in whatever depended upon the authority he is intruſted with, to the eſtabliſhment and preſervation of a good correſpondence and perfect friendſhip between the king and that of England.

(g) Theſe letters were printed at London, 1735, in 8vo. but immediately ſuppreſſed. As they contain ſeveral curious particulars, it may not be improper to inſert them at large, with the prefixed charge againſt the lord Bolingbroke, ſent from London, March 16, 1716, by the agents of the pretender, in relation to the affairs of Scotland, during the rebellion of the late earl of Mar, as contained in the following letters between his lordſhip's ſecretary and Mr Murray. By the aſteriſm [*] is to be underſtood the pretender.

The

During theſe proceedings, Lewis XIV. of France died at Verſailles on the 1ſt of September, N. S. 1715, in the 77th year of his age almoſt completed (having been born on the 5th of September, 1638) and in the 73d year of his reign, which began May 14, 1643. His death produced a ſort of revolution in the government of France. The king, by his will, had placed the adminiſtration of the government in a council, of which the Duke of Orleans was chief. But the duke was not, by his authority, to decree any thing, or iſſue any order in the name of the minor, without the advice and conſent of the council. The day after the king's death the duke of Orleans (attended as the kings of France uſually are on the like occaſions) came to the parliament of Paris, and, after the king's will was opened and read, complained of a diſpoſition ſo contrary to the laws of the realm, and ſo prejudicial to his right. He therefore moved, that the will ſhould not be regiſtered, but that

1715.

The death of Lewis XIV.

The duke of Orleans made regent.

The articles againſt lord Bolingbroke are as follow:

I. Lord Bolingbroke was never to be found by thoſe, who came to him about buſineſs. If by chance or ſtratagem, they got hold of him, he affected being in a hurry, and, by putting them off till another time, ſtill avoided giving them any anſwer.

II. The earl of Mar, by ſix different meſſengers, at different times, acquainted lord Bolingbroke, before the * came from Dunkirk, of his being in diſtreſs for want of arms and ammunition, and prayed a ſpeedy relief; and though, the things demanded were in my lord's power, there was not ſo much as one pound of powder ſent in any of the ſhips, which by his lordſhip's direction parted from France.

III. The * himſelf, after his arrival, ſent general Hamilton to inform him, that his want of arms and ammunition was ſuch, that he ſhould be obliged to leave Scotland, unleſs he received a ſpeedy ſupply. Lord Bolingbroke amuſed Mr. Hamilton twelve days together, and did not introduce him to any of the French miniſters, though he was referred to them for a particular account of affairs, or in all that time ſo much as communicated his letter to the queen or any body elſe.

IV. The count de Caſtel Blanco had for ſeveral months at Havre a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition, and did daily aſk his lordſhip's orders how to diſpoſe of them, but could never get any even to the hour the * landed in France.

V. The *'s friends at the French court had, for ſome time paſt, no very good opinion of his lordſhip's integrity, and a very bad one of his diſcretion.

1715. that the parliament ſhould adjudge the regency to him without any reſtriction. They immediately complied with his motion, and adjudged the regency to him, with power to nominate ſuch ſubordinate councils for preparing all affairs to be laid before him, as he ſhould think fit. Lewis XIV. was ſucceeded by his great grandſon Lewis XV. ſon of the duke of Burgundy (who was dauphin after the death of his father) and of Maria Adelaida of Savoy. Lewis XV. was born the 15th of February 1710, and was between five and ſix years old when his great grandfather died. He was the third ſucceſſive minor that came to the crown of France, ſince the death of Henry IV.

The duke regent was ſon of the duke of Orleans, brother of Lewis XIV. and was then in the 41ſt year of his age. He was married, in 1692, to one of the late king's natural daughters.

He began his regency with an act of juſtice and prudence. The edicts of the king's of France formerly had not the ſanction of laws, before they were regiſtered in the parliament of Paris, whoſe undoubted right it was to examine them; and, in caſe they contained any thing againſt

VI. For at a time, when many merchants in France would have carried privately any quantity of arms and ammunition into Scotland, my lord deſired a public order of the regent for the imbarkation; which, being a thing not to be granted, is ſaid to have been done, in order to beg a denial.

VII. The * wrote to his lordſhip by every occaſion, after his arrival in Scotland; and, though there were many opportunities of writing in return, yet from the time he landed there, to the day he left it, he never received one letter from his lordſhip.

The lord Bolingbroke in his firſt letter, after he received theſe articles, wrote as follows;

'The * and earl of Mar, and 'the others, who came from 'Scotland, are ſo much in want 'of any excuſe for their flight, 'that they have thought fit to 'have my lord Bolingbroke 'diſcharged the *'s ſervice in 'the moſt abrupt and injurious 'manner, under the pretence, 'that the want of powder, 'which he delayed to ſend, 'forced them to abandon Scot'land. His lordſhip ſays pub'lickly, 1. That he is able to 'prove, that, if they wanted 'powder, it was not by his 'fault. 2. That, according to 'what the * and the earl of 'Mar both ſay in their letters, 'they muſt have come away as 'they did, had they had all 'the powder of France. 3. 'That, if they had pleaſed to 'have ſtaid in Scotland a few

days

againſt the laws of the realm, to remonſtrate againſt them. But the late king had deprived the parliament of that liberty in the year 1667, ſince which time they had been compelled to regiſter all his edicts, without being permitted to make any repreſentation againſt them. The regent reſtored this privilege to them by an edict, which was regiſtered a few days after the king's death. At the ſame time he cauſed to be regiſtered a declaration, containing a ſcheme of government to be obſerved in the kingdom during the king's minority. Purſuant to which he named, beſides the council of regency, ſix other councils, and, by that means, a new way of adminiſtration in the government was introduced. 1715.

By the death of Lewis XIV. the affairs between Great-Britain and France ſtood upon a very different foot than before. The regent, by virtue of king Philip's renunciation, and the death of all the princes in France, ſprung from Lewis XIV. was become next heir to the minor king, and conſequently it was his intereſt to cultivate the friendſhip of

' days longer, they would have ' received near ten thouſand ' arms, and above thirty thou- ' ſand weight of powder, and ' other ſtores in proportion. ' And, laſtly, That the true ' reaſon flows from another ' ſource, and that he knew and ' ſpoke of the deſign to diſcard ' him, long before the want of ' powder was ſo much as talked ' of. That he is unwilling to ' enter into the particulars of ' thoſe general heads for rea- ' ſons, that may be eaſily gueſ- ' ſed, ſince he is perſuaded, ' that he ſhall not paſs for a ' driveller nor traitor among ' his friends.'

The ſecond letter was wrote by lord Bolingbroke's ſecretary, in the following terms:

April 4, 1716.

I have communicated to his lordſhip what you wrote to me; and it is by his lordſhip's order, that I give you the following anſwer:

The charge, that you have ſent over, is ſo full of improbable lies, that his lordſhip can hardly imagine it can have any other effect, but the ſhame and confuſion of thoſe, that brought it; which is the effect of that villainous and ungrateful treatment, that thoſe people have given, and my lord has met with in this country, where they are equally deſpiſed for their folly, and deteſted for their immorality, by all the people of conſideration.

My lord has hitherto had two other reaſons for his ſilence:

The firſt is, That he cannot very fully explain the articles of his not ſending arms and ammunition into Scotland, without betraying the ſecret of thoſe, by whom he has been truſted,

1715. of ſuch ſtates as were likely to ſupport his title againſt the king of Spain, and particularly of England. It was his buſineſs to ſeek all means for weakening the only prince in the world, that had any right to diſpute his ſucceſſion, or oppoſe his views. Hence his acceſſion to the quadruple alliance; his promoting, or at leaſt conniving at the deſtruction of the growing naval power of Spain in 1718; his ſtipulation in favour of Don Carlos, in order not only to divert Spain from forming deſigns againſt his power in France, but to weaken Spain by increaſing her expences. To theſe meaſures the regent was carried, in order to divert and weaken king Philip, and king George undoubtedly went into all his ambitious views, as the only means to retrieve the fatal miſtakes of the treaty of Utrecht. But the fruits of all theſe proceedings were entirely loſt by the death of the regent, and the birth of a dauphin, and inſtead of facilitating the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Orleans, and thereby dividing the houſe of Bourbon for ever, they proved the foundation of all the expenſive diſputes, which ſubſiſted many years between Great-Britain and Spain, as will appear in the courſe of the hiſtory.

A

and under whoſe protection he lives.

And the ſecond is, That he cannot give the true reaſon of the ill uſage he has received, without expoſing ſome characters in ſuch a light, as will ſhock every body. However, you ſhall have as much as can be at preſent given of the ſtate of things on this ſide of the water; of the method Engliſh buſineſs is put into; and of the hands that are truſted with it. After which you will pity my lord, and not blame him.

When he returned laſt ſummer out of Dauphine, and at the deſire of his friends engaged in this buſineſs, he found himſelf immediately expoſed to a daily ſtruggle with difficulties of three ſorts. The firſt ariſing from the rivetted prejudices of one perſon. The ſecond, from the impoſſibility of keeping the queen, and the whole rabble of the court of St. Germain's, from meddling in buſineſs. And the third, from the cabals of French and Engliſh, men, women, and children, people for the moſt part of no name in the world, or elſe of very bad characters, who had been let into the moſt ſecret parts of buſineſs, and expected to continue ſo.

To get over the firſt of theſe difficulties, my lord ſaw would be the work of time; but he ſaw likewiſe, as the latter was begun, the harder it would prove; and that any yielding to thoſe prejudices increaſed, and ſtrengthened them. He there-

fo-

A parliament having been called in Ireland, and the duke of Grafton and the earl of Galway (who had been appointed lords juſtices, upon the earl of Sunderland's reſignation of the poſt of lord-lieutenant of that kingdom) being arrived at Dublin, the two houſes met there on the 12th of November, and Mr. Connolly was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. The peers began with a bill for recognizing the king's title to the crown, and the commons with ſeveral bills for the further ſecurity of his perſon and government; namely, a bill to attaint the pretender, and give a reward of fifty thouſand pounds for his head; and for attainting the duke of Ormond, giving the crown his eſtate, and ten thouſand pounds reward upon his head. 1715. Proceedings of the Iriſh parliament.

Theſe bills were followed by a retroſpect upon the councils of the late reign; and a reſolution was unanimouſly

fore began upon the firſt, and continued upon every occaſion to combat them with great decency, but with great firmneſs, contrary indeed to the opinion of others, who imagine it will be time enough to talk of thoſe things, when his lordſhip thinks it will be too late.

As to the people of the court of St. Germain's, my lord knew enough of England, and France too, to know they would be a load upon buſineſs, but no help to it. In England they are odious, and in France in contempt. The firſt is not very ſtrange; for you may depend upon it, that twenty-eight years experience had not made them wiſer in any degree. And the latter is ſo true, that my lord affirms, that he never yet ſpoke of Engliſh buſineſs to any man of figure on this ſide the water; but, before he would give any anſwer, he exacted, that the court of St. Germain's (no one perſon excepted) ſhould not know any thing of it.

With this ſet of people, and a whole tribe of Jeſuites, my lord therefore avoided all ſorts of commerce before the duke of Ormond arrived. He would not ſo much as ſee any of them, before his grace came, and thought fit to open his door to them. My lord could no longer avoid ſeeing them; but he never would enter into any familiarity with them. He choſe three or four perſons of ſenſe and activity. Some of them were proteſtants, and others were very indifferent Roman catholicks. Thoſe he employed were as many as he wanted. During the time, that my lord, much againſt his will, was obliged to reſide at St. Germain's, he obſerved the ſame conduct, and never aſſociated with any one man there but the duke of Berwick, who is not to be reckoned of the court, though he has lodgings in the houſe, who has a hundred times more capacity and credit than all the reſt put together, in concert with whom

1715. mouſly paſſed againſt thoſe, who adviſed the queen to prorogue the late parliament, at a time, when a bill to attaint the pretender was depending; and they were voted to be enemies to the ſucceſſion, and favourers of the pretender and popery. They proceeded, in the next place, to bring in a bill to prevent tumults, rebellious, and riotous aſſemblies. All theſe bills, together with the ſupplies demanded, went through the houſes in the uſual forms, without the leaſt oppoſition; and, being ratified in England, received the royal aſſent. But they did not end here: for, on the 17th of November, the commons, while the public accounts, which were ordered to be laid before them, were preparing, entered into an inquiry, which brought a great many of their members on their knees. The laſt houſe of commons, in the queen's time, had addreſſed her againſt Sir Conſtantine Phipps, at that time lord-chancellor of Ireland, and one of the lords juſtices of the kingdom, deſiring her to remove him from his employments. But,

whom my lord all along acted, and by whoſe judgment he is willing to ſtand or fall.

With the other cabal of people, that I mentioned in the third place, my lord had at firſt ſome little communication, for he was thrown into their hands; but, as ſoon as he knew of their perſons, and informed himſelf of their characters, he broke all meaſures with them, and the rather as they were made uſe of as people, who intended to do nothing, only to amuſe thoſe on this ſide the water, and by that means our friends on the other ſide: and for this uſe they were indeed very proper, ſince they are ſo inconſiderable, that they may be at any time diſavowed, without the leaſt conſequence.

But the thing, that principally ſhocked my lord, was to find the ſource of all buſineſs, and even the heads of the beſt and deareſt friends, truſted to the keeping of a multitude of people, ſome of whom, both men and women, of the vileſt characters.

The third letter was as follows:

April 8, N. S. 1716.

It is eaſy to imagine all thoſe neſts of hornets flew about my lord's ears immediately, and that with the greater ſpirit, becauſe the duke of Ormond obſerved a quite contrary conduct. It was more than ſix weeks before the return out of Scotland, and conſequently long before the ſix articles mentioned in your letter were prepared, or any other of the pretences againſt my lord invented, that we knew of the union of the ſeveral cabals, in order to get rid of him; and that he ſpoke to ſeveral of his acquaintance of it.

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But, as this addreſs ſeemed not to be very acceptable to the queen, or to the counſels of that reign, there were many counter addreſſes procured, and ſent up from the ſeveral counties and towns in Ireland, in favour of Sir Conſtantine, deſiring he might not be removed, notwithſtanding the addreſs of the commons. This the houſe eſteemed a breach of the privilege of parliament, and reſolved to ſhew their reſentment againſt theſe addreſſes, eſpecially ſuch as were members of the ſitting parliament. Accordingly they appointed a committee to inquire who had ſigned theſe addreſſes, and many were cenſured or brought to acknowledgment upon that account. Then they addreſſed the lords juſtices for a proclamation againſt the popiſh inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who preſuming upon the conſtruction they thought fit to put upon the articles of capi- 1715.

He was not much concerned at it, being from the firſt reſolved to ſerve upon a proteſtant and Engliſh bottom, or not to ſerve at all. And he confeſſes, that he did not imagine, that the duke of Ormond, for whom he has always had a very particular reſpect, would ever have been drawn in, to put himſelf at the head of a party on this ſide the water, and indirectly, (for he is far from deſigning any ſuch thing) to do the work of the factions abovementioned. My lord knew indeed, and knew with great ſorrow, that his grace gave ſo much ear to them, and ſuffered the ſtories, they had told him, to make ſo great an impreſſion upon him.

When the reſolution was taken of leaving Scotland, and the principal perſons returned hither, it was judged a proper time to make the utmoſt effort againſt my lord; and perhaps there were people who thought that the loading of him would excuſe the precipitation, wherewith Scotland was abandoned, if that precipitation needed any excuſe. Then were theſe articles againſt my lord formed, and falſe reaſons invented, where the true ones were not to be owned. My lord was diſcarded with all the circumſtances of provocation poſſible: he was treated, as far as it lay in the power of thoſe, whom he ſerved, with an affectation of indignation and contempt: as ſoon as the ſtep was made, the tongue of every fellow, that could be encouraged to ſlander, was let looſe.

Having thus given a general view of the ſtate of things on this ſide the water, and the true account of the animoſities againſt my lord, I ſhall, in very few words, refute the ſix articles you ſent me over.

That my lord was ſeldom to be found, with any direct anſwer to their buſineſs, is true, if by people is meant any ſuch, as, in the former part of what I have writ, are deſigned; if by

1715. capitulation made with king William, for the ſurrender of thoſe places, had claimed an exemption from the penalties and proceſs upon the other laws againſt papiſts: upon complaint whereof to the houſe this addreſs was founded.

Whilſt the bills were ſent to England to be ratified, the parliament adjourned to the 6th of January. Upon their meeting on that day, the lord viſcount Dillon came into the houſe of peers, and, delivering his writ, took the oath of allegiance; but being aſked, Whether he could take the other oaths? He ſaid, 'He would conſider of it,' and then withdrew. Upon this the lords reſolved, that no peer ſhould have parliamentary privilege, till he had taken and ſubſcribed the other oaths, in the act to prevent 'the further growth of popery.' This done, the lords entered into an aſſociation to defend the king and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, againſt the pretender, and all his open and

by people is meant any one man, who could be of uſe, or was, or fit to be truſted, the accuſation is falſe. My lord never looked upon himſelf to be under any obligation of converſing, in order to carry on buſineſs, with a ſet of people, againſt whom he would have done his utmoſt to have ſhut the door, if the buſineſs had gone proſperouſly on.

As to the ſecond it is true, that my lord Mar wrote for arms, for ammunition, for money, for officers, and laſt, for a body of troops; but, till the arrival of Mr. Hamilton, my lord did not underſtand there was any particular want of powder, more than of any other ſpecies. My lord uſed his beſt endeavours to procure all that was deſired, as well as other aſſiſtances, much more conſiderable, which had never been aſked for, or thought of, and which would have been procured, had the buſineſs of Scotland kept alive a little longer, and had other people done their parts as my lord did his. Moſt of the veſſels ſent to Scotland were barks, fit only to carry paſſengers, and not capable of tranſporting arms and ammunition. By theſe conveyances however ſeveral ſums of money were ſent, and particularly ſixty thouſand livres in gold at one time, of which ſo good care was taken, that every farthing of it was loſt: arms and ammunition were to be got but two ways. They were either to be bought and ſent into Scotland, or ſuch quantities, as had been before promiſed, were to be made uſe of. That there was not one farthing to buy them with, is true, that my lord may appeal to thoſe of St. Germain's, who had the management of the money, upon this head. The little caſh that was procured, was either ſent in ſpecie to Scotland, or employed in anſwering the bills, that were conſtantly

and ſecret abettors. The commons likewiſe entered into the like aſſociation; and alſo reſolved, That, whatever forces the king ſhould think fit to raiſe, or what expences he ſhould think neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom, they would inable him to make good the ſame. It was ſtrongly reported, that, the day the aſſociation was brought into the houſe of peers, two lords, one of whom was the earl of Angleſey, imbarked for England, to avoid ſigning it. The archbiſhop of Armagh and the biſhop of Corke refuſed alſo to ſign. Soon after the commons reſolved, That whoever adviſed the diſbanding or breaking a great part of the army, immediately after the unſeaſonable prorogation of the late parliament, when a bill to attaint the pretender was under conſideration, were enemies to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and deſigned to bring in the pretender and popery. After which it was voted, That the earl of Angleſey was one of the principal adviſers to break the army, and prorogue the parliament, and was therefore an enemy to the king and kingdom. This was followed with an addreſs for the earl's being removed from the 1715.

ly drawing from the coaſts. And beſides, if money had not been wanting, the neceſſary orders for buying, conveying to the coaſts, and imbarking, could not have been procured. My lord imagines, when the duke of Ormond reflects, he cannot but be ſenſible of this truth, ſince he cannot be ignorant, that a quantity of arms, he thought himſelf ſure of in October, were in February ſtill in the ſame place, and no nearer being ſent than the firſt day. As for ſending ſuch arms and ſtores, as were already provided, my lord knew of but two parcels; one, and that a ſmall one, might have been in Scotland in October or November, had the directions given by my lord been purſued. Why they were not, he will not ſay; but the fault is, that thoſe arms and ſtores are at this hour rotting in a magazine at Morlaix, where they have lain theſe five months. As to the other parcel of arms and ſtores, it is that which you call count Caſtel Blanco's, and contains a very large quantity of both. This Caſtel Blanco is a Spaniard, who, by the merit of marrying lord Melfort's daughter, ſets up for a manager of Engliſh buſineſs. But that thoſe arms and ſtores belonged to him, is no more true, than that other report, equally current, of his having advanced one million and ſeven hundred thouſand livres for the ſervice of England and Scotland. His name had indeed been made uſe of for buying thoſe arms and ſtores in the late king of France's time; and his name was to have been made uſe of again, if, at laſt, on that pretence, the French king

1715. the king's council and ſervice; which was complied with. The lords juſtices alſo thought fit, at that juncture, to ſecure ſeveral ſuſpected perſons, as the earl of Antrim, the earl of Weſtmeath, the lord Nutterville, the lord Cahir, the lord Dillon, and ſome others, and then adjourned the the two houſes to the 8th of March.

The parliament meets, Jan. 9. Pr. H. C.

The parliament met in England on the 9th of January, when the king made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The king's ſpeech.

"THE zeal and affection to my government, and the vigilant care for the ſafety of the nation, which you "have ſhewn in your reſpective counties, have not only "fully anſwered my expectations, but give me aſſurances, "that you are met together, reſolved to act with a ſpirit "becoming a time of common danger, and with ſuch "a

king would let them go; which is ſtill a doubtful point; and to cover them as arms and ſtores going for Spain, and intended for the Weſt-Indies. It is ſilly to ſay, that orders from my lord were wanting to ſend them. Thoſe orders muſt have been of another kind; and ſuch orders could not be got ſooner, or in any other manner than they were got. This is a point my lord cannot ſpeak plain upon; and it muſt therefore reſt here, whether this Caſtel Blanco, one Mr. Franc, and ſuch other meddling people, deſerve the beſt credit. I think it proper, however, to add, that in a fortnight's time, after there was the leaſt appearance of being able to ſend away the ſtores and ſhips, and all other meaſures neceſſary were got ready and prepared, without any noiſe or the leaſt ſuſpicion, they might have been in Scotland, had they not been at laſt ſtopped by the French (which I ſtill ſay is a doubtful point) in five or ſix days time, when my lord Mar and his company from Scotland landed at Gravelin; from whence orders, as I afterwards heard, were ſent to every place, to ſtop all manner of imbarkation.

What is ſaid, under the ſecond head may ſerve as an anſwer to the fourth, as well as to the ſecond letter.

As to the third article, upon general Hamilton's arrival, my lord repreſented where it was proper all that he brought by letter and by word of mouth, the very next morning. It is therefore a ſimple lie, and worthy of thoſe, who ſcribble from this ſide of the water, to ſay, that general Hamilton was amuſed for twelve days, as if, during all that time, the purport of his meſſage had been kept a ſecret. It is to be ſuppoſed,

" a vigour, as will end in the confuſion of all thoſe, who 1715.
" have openly engaged in this rebellion, and in the ſhame
" and reproach of ſuch, as by ſecret and mallicious inſi-
" nuations have fomented, or, by an avowed indifference,
" encouraged this traiterous enterprize.

" It is, I doubt not, a great ſatisfaction to you, to have
" obſerved, that the powers, you intruſted me with for
" the preſervation of the public ſafety, have been em-
" ployed in the moſt proper and effectual manner, and
" made ſtrictly ſubſervient to thoſe purpoſes only, for
" which you intended them. And you muſt have had the
" pleaſure to reflect with me, that as the meaſures taken
" for our defence have been juſt and neceſſary; ſo it has
" pleaſed the divine providence to bleſs them with a ſeries
" of ſuitable ſucceſs. And I cannot but take this opportu-
" nity of doing juſtice to the officers and ſoldiers of the ar-
" my, whoſe brave and faithful diſcharge of their duty has
" diſappointed our enemies, and contributed ſo much to
" the ſafety of the nation.

" I

poſed, that the regent's and the *'s miniſters would not have conferred with a man of his circumſtances, and who came on ſuch an errand; but if ſuppoſing they had not theſe ſcruples, of what uſe was it for them to ſee him, when he could tell them nothing more than they knew already? But, be that as it will, I can aſſure you, that my lord, if he could have given him the opportunity, would, which, it ſeems, ſo much weight is laid upon.

The fifth article of that letter contains the moſt impudent falſhood, that ever was invented. Without money, and the orders abovemſaid, no merchant could or would undertake to tranſport any quantity of arms or ammunition; and I am able to cite ſome very great bargains of this kind, which my lord brought to bear, which failed at laſt, for want of money, and the neceſſary countenance. The latter part of the article is an accuſation of incredible weakneſs, my lord is ſaid to have inſiſted on a public order, and to have declined making uſe of private methods for the imbarkation of arms and ammunition. I remember indeed, that, when preparation was made for ſending away the arms and ammunition from Havre, as if they were going for Spain, and a ſhip had been provided for that purpoſe by my lord, which no man living ſuſpected, he had the greateſt difficulties imaginable to keep theſe wiſe people from imbarking part of the ſtores aboard a veſſel, which every body knew to belong to the chevalier. As to the ſixth article, no body is better able to anſwer it than myſelf, ſince I entered all the letters which

my

1715. "I did hope, that the detecting and preventing the de-
"ſigned inſurrections in ſome parts of the kingdom, and
"the defeating in others thoſe, who had taken up arms
"againſt me, would have put an end to this rebellion.
"But it is plain, that our enemies, animated by ſome ſe-
"cret hopes of aſſiſtance, are ſtill endeavouring to ſupport
"this deſperate undertaking; and the pretender, as I have
"reaſon to believe, is now landed in Scotland.

"It is however with pleaſure I can acquaint you, that
"notwithſtanding theſe inteſtine commotions, Great-Bri-
"tain has, in ſome meaſure, recovered its influence and
"reputation abroad. The treaty for ſettling the barrier
"for the Netherlands is now fully concluded between
"the

my lord writ; and there was no leſs than five diſpatched before Mr. Hamilton came into France, by whom my lord received the firſt letter of buſineſs after the *'s landing there. Some of thoſe were loſt at ſea, and the three laſt packets were brought back to my lord, the gentleman, that carried them, being arrived too late in Scotland,

This, ſir, I give you by my lord's direction. He ordered me to add, that he employed the utmoſt diligence he was maſter of; and he believes it ſufficient to carry him through ſuch work as he has been concerned in of late, ſince it carried him formerly through his buſineſs of another-gueſs ſort. That he all along ſaw, there was nothing but mortification to be met with, and reputation to be loſt, among the people, with whom he had to do; and that it was impoſſible for a man to act upon the principles he brought out of England with him, and have kept his ground here. That he never had any correſpondence, directly or indirectly, with my lord Marlborough, or any man belonging to the court of England, ſince he engaged in this buſineſs. That he defies his worſt enemies to advance the leaſt ſhadow of proof of any thing of this kind. That, as he was incapable of betraying a truſt while it ſubſiſted, ſo it is with the utmoſt reluctancy, that, in his own juſtification he is obliged to ſay what he has ſaid; and that he ſhall be very ſorry if the ſame neceſſity oblige him to ſay more. That nothing ſhall ever oblige him to repair his fortune at the expence of betraying any man; but that, ſince he is treated in this violent manner, he thinks himſelf at liberty to give his friends a true ſtate of the fact, and to declare, that he never will, upon any account, or upon any ſollicitation, ſerve the ſame people again: that he has withdrawn himſelf almoſt intirely from the world; and that in his retreat he ſhall heartily pray for the proſperity of his friends, and of his country; and, without very much fear of what is to come, comfort himſelf with the teſtimony of a good conſcience.

The

" the emperor and ſtates-general under my guaranty. The 1715-16.
" king of Spain has agreed to a treaty, by which that va-
" luable branch of our commerce will be delivered from the
" new impoſitions and hardſhips, to which it was ſubjected
" by the late treaties; and will ſtand ſettled for the future,
" on a foot more advantageous and certain, than it ever
" did, in the moſt flouriſhing time of any of my predeceſ-
" ſors; and the treaty, for renewing all former alliances
" between the crown of Great-Britain and the ſtates-gene-
" ral is brought very near to its concluſion.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I muſt rely on your affection to me, and your care
" and concern for the ſafety of the nation, to grant me
" ſuch ſupplies, as may inable me to reſtore, and to ſecure
" the peace of the kingdom; and I will order eſtimates of
" the neceſſary expences to be laid before you.

" Among the many unavoidable ill conſequences of this
" rebellion, none affects me more ſenſibly, than that ex-
traordinary

The fourth letter was as follows:

Paris, April 14, 1716.

I hope you have received my laſt of the 9th inſtant, which, with my former, will give you a light into affairs here, and be an anſwer to the articles you ſent. There are abundance of things more my lord could ſay to clear himſelf, but he rather chuſes to be ſilent.

Thoſe on this ſide, who firſt raiſed the ſtorm, begin to be ſenſible of their folly. My lord all along has acted like a wiſe, prudent, and honeſt man: they quite the contrary. And would they have ſtaid a very few days longer in Scotland (which every body now agrees they might have done) they would have had ſuch aſſiſtances, which in all probability muſt have reſtored them.

There are many more circumſtances, which I am not at liberty to mention. All is referred to, &c.

A reply to the foregoing letter:

SIR,

I had the favour of yours, and return you thanks for the copies you incloſed of the letters writ by the lord Bolingbroke's orders, the firſt of which was without a date; the reſt of the 4th, 8th, and 18th of April. I was pleaſed to find the *'s conduct, in removing his lordſhip, thoroughly cleared by the weakneſs of his defence. And when I read the ſcurrilous paſſages of his letters, as that he was turned out in 'the moſt abrupt and injurious manner,' and had met with 'villainous and ungrateful treatment,' I

1715-16. " traordinary burden, which it has and muſt create to my " faithful ſubjects. To eaſe them as far as lies in my pow- " er, I take this firſt opportunity of declaring, that I will " freely give up all the eſtates, that ſhall become forfeit- " ed to the crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards " defraying the extraordinary expence incurred on this oc- " caſion.

My lords and gentlemen,

" It is matter of the greateſt uneaſineſs to me, that the " firſt years of my reign, the whole courſe of which I " wiſhed to have tranſmitted to poſterity, diſtinguiſhed by " the fair and endearing marks of peace and clemency, " ſhould be clouded and overcaſt with ſo unnatural a rebel- " lion; which, however impotent and unſucceſsful a due " care may render it in all other reſpects, does moſt ſenſi- " bly afflict me, by the calamities it has brought on many " of my faithful ſubjects, and by thoſe indiſpenſable returns " of ſeverity, which their ſufferings, and the public ſafety, " do

was filled with indignation to ſee the beſt of princes inſulted by an unworthy ſubject, a negligent miniſter excuſing his faults at the expence of his maſter's honour, and wiping off his own guilt by throwing it on the dukes of Ormond and Mar, who have given ſuch unqueſtionable proofs of their p———y and loyalty.

Though you deſire a particular anſwer to his lordſhip's letters, I am perſuaded, that it is your opinion, that they do not deſerve it. However, to gratify your curioſity, I will put his management of the *'s affairs in ſo true a light, as muſt convince every loyal ſubject of the neceſſity of diſplacing him.

His lordſhip's letters are not calculated ſo much to clear himſelf, as to weaken the *'s intereſt in England, and to diſcourage all correſpondence with him. He has given general anſwers to particular charges. There are evident marks of guilt and concern at the diſcovery of his actions in every line; and an innocent man, with his lordſhip's pen, could have made a more plauſible defence. Before I enter into particulars, I cannot but obſerve, that his narrative of facts is as true as the accounts he gives of himſelf, that he was, 'withdrawn from 'the world: that in this retreat 'he will heartily pray for the 'proſperity of his friends, and 'comfort himſelf with the teſti- 'mony of a good conſcience.' The goodneſs of his conſcience will appear from the diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in him: and they, who are acquainted with his lordſhip's character, muſt be ſurprized at his reflection on the

im-

" do moſt juſtly call for. Under this concern my greateſt 1715-16.
" comfort is, that I cannot reproach myſelf with having
" given the leaſt provocation to that ſpirit of diſcontent and
" calumny, that has been let looſe againſt me, or the leaſt
" pretence for kindling the flame of this rebellion.

" Let thoſe, whoſe fatal counſels laid the foundation of
" all theſe miſchiefs, and thoſe, whoſe private diſcontents
" and diſappointments, diſguiſed under falſe pretences,
" have betrayed great numbers of deluded people into their
" own deſtruction, anſwer for the miſeries, in which they
" have involved their fellow-ſubjects. I queſtion not, but
" that, with the continuance of God's bleſſing, who alone
" is able to form good out of evil, and with the chearful
" aſſiſtance of my parliament, we ſhall, in a ſhort time,
" ſee this rebellion end, not only in reſtoring the tranqui-
" lity of my government, but in procuring a firm and laſt-
" ing eſtabliſhment of that excellent conſtitution in church
" and ſtate, which it was manifeſtly deſigned to ſubvert;
" and that this open and flagrant attempt, in favour of po-
" pery, will aboliſh all other diſtinctions among us, but
" of

immorality and bad characters of others.

The ſubſtance of his lordſhip's apology for himſelf is, 'That, 'if they wanted arms and powder in Scotland, it was not his 'fault: That he had neither 'money to buy them with, nor 'could he obtain orders for imbarking them. That without 'money, and the neceſſary orders to the officers of the 'ports, no private merchant 'could or would undertake to 'ſhip off any quantity. That 'the * and duke of Mar ſay in 'their letters, they muſt have 'left Scotland, had they had 'all the arms and powder in 'France: and that, if they had 'ſtaid a few days longer, they 'would have had ten thouſand 'arms, thirty thouſand weight 'of powder, and other ſtores in 'proportion.' And he modeſtly concludes, 'That he has all 'along acted like a prudent, 'honeſt, and wiſe man, and 'they (that is, the *, and dukes 'of Ormond and Mar quite the 'contrary.'

There are other particulars obſerved by his lordſhip, which ſhall be remarked in their proper place; and you may be aſſured, that I will give you an impartial narrative of facts; that I will mention nothing but what the dukes of Ormond and Mar will atteſt upon their honour: and if there wanted any additional proof, that the truth of every article might be confirmed by the teſtimony of ſeveral gentlemen of probity, who were employed.

The printed letter from an officer in the *'s army, after it had marched northwards from Aberdeen, will inform you of

1715-16. " of ſuch as are zealous aſſertors of the liberties of their " country, the preſent eſtabliſhment, and the proteſtant " religion; and of ſuch, as are endeavouring to ſubject the " nation to the revenge and tyranny of a popiſh pre- " tender."

Proceedings of the parliament.

The lords and commons preſented ſeverally very loyal addreſſes of thanks for this ſpeech. The commons declared, they thought themſelves obliged, in juſtice to their injured country, to proſecute, in the moſt vigorous and impartial manner, the authors of thoſe deſtructive counſels, which had drawn down theſe miſeries upon the nation. They began with expelling Mr. Forſter, general of the Northumbrian rebels, and after a remarkable ſpeech to ſhew the neceſſity of proceeding by way of impeachment, Mr. Lechmere impeached the earl of Derwentwater of high-treaſon, and undertook to make the impeachment good. Mr. Pulteney impeached the lord Widdrington; Mr. Boſcawen, the earl of Nithiſdale: Mr. Hampden, the earl of Wintoun; the lord Finch, the earl of Carnwarth; the earl of Hertford,

the ſtate of affairs in Scotland; and the extreme want they were in of arms and ammunition. The duke of Mar, by ſix ſeveral expreſſes, ſollicited lord Bolingbroke for an immediate ſupply. In all his letters, he aſſures him, that numbers of men would join him, if he had arms for them; and that he wanted powder for the few arms that he had. His lordſhip's excuſe, that, till general Hamilton's arrival, he did not know, that there was a particular want of powder, more than of any other ſpecies, is falſe and frivolous; for the want of powder was ſpecified in ſeveral letters; and his lordſhip underſtands Engliſh too well not to know, that powder is principally intended by the word ammunition.

The want of money to provide arms, is as groundleſs, as his other pretenſions. For, though the * did not abound in money, there was always a ſufficient ſum for that ſervice. Ten ſhillings is the price of a new muſket, and, ſince the reduction of the troops in France, ſerviceable arms were to be had at 20d. a piece; and his lordſhip probably means ſuch ſecond hand arms by the 'great bargains he brought to bear, but 'failed for want of money.'

His lordſhip declines anſwering the charge of his inſiſting on a public order, and neglecting private methods of imbarkation; and ſlides off into an idle ſtory of a ſhip at Havre de Grace, which, ſuppoſing it true, is nothing to the purpoſe. He knew, that a public order would not be granted; and he owns, that a connivance from the officers might be depended upon; and

ford, viſcount Kenmure; and Mr. Wortley Mountague, the lord Nairn. Then Mr. Lechmere, and the reſt, were ordered to carry up their ſeveral impeachments to the lords; which being done, a committee was appointed to draw up the articles againſt the ſeven impeached lords. Mr. Lechmere, chairman of the committee, in leſs than two hours reported, that the articles were drawn up; which, being agreed to, were carried by him to the lords the ſame day. 1715-16.

The next day, the impeached lords were all brought to the bar of the houſe of lords, where the articles of impeachment againſt them were read, and they were ordered to put in their anſwer on the 16th, and, upon their requeſt, ſuch perſons, as they ſhould think proper to aſſiſt them in their defence, were allowed to come to them. Jan. 10.

The impeachments being lodged, the commons ordered a bill to be brought in, to continue the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act for ſix months longer; which was oppoſed by Mr. Shippen. He ſaid, 'It invaded the moſt va-'luable right of Engliſhmen; encouraged malicious infor-'mations, and gave a handle to thoſe in power to oppreſs innocent

and therefore it may be preſumed, that his conduct in this caſe was to amuſe the *'s friends in Scotland, and cover his wilful neglect of them. His lordſhip's firſt excuſe, though not mentioned in any of his letters, for not ſending arms, was, 'leſt 'the going of many ſhips 'through the channel ſhould 'draw the attention of the ene-'my's fleet that way, and en-'danger the *'s paſſage. But, what reaſon can be given why arms and ammunition were not ſent in the ſhips, that went to Scotland before the *, or in thoſe, that followed him? Why ſome arms and powder were not put in every one of them, that parted from France? And as a dozen ſhips arrived ſafe, they might have carried a ſufficient ſupply of every thing that was wanting. The ſmalneſs of the ſhips is a poor plea; for, if they were fit to tranſport paſſengers, they might alſo have carried ſome powder, and ſome arms; and ſuppoſing they could not, why were ſuch uſeleſs veſſels provided for that ſervice? Of what moment was it to ſend officers to command men, who, as his lordſhip knew, were neither furniſhed with powder nor arms? Beſides, thoſe ſhips, which arrived in Scotland, were each of them of ſufficient bulk to carry arms and ammunition,

His lordſhip appeals to the duke of Ormond for the truth of a paſſage in his third letter, 'That a quantity of arms, 'which his grace thought him-'ſelf ſure of in October, were 'in February ſtill in the ſame 'place, and no nearer being 'ſent than the firſt day; and 'that a ſmall parcel might have 'been

1715-16. 'innocent people.' Mr. ſecretary Stanhope appealed to the whole houſe, Whether the king or his miniſtry had made an ill or wanton uſe of the power, with which the parliament had thought fit to intruſt his majeſty. And Mr. Hungerford himſelf owned, 'The government had 'uſed that power with great moderation.' After which, the bill paſſed both houſes.

On the 16th of January a bill was brought in to attaint the earl of Mar, William Murray, commonly called marquis of Tullibardine, the earl of Linlithgow, and John Drummond, commonly called lord Drummond. The bill was prepared by Mr. Smith, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, lord Coningſby, and Mr. Lechmere, and had an eaſy paſſage through both houſes.

On

'been in Scotland in October 'or November, had the direc- 'tion given by his lordſhip 'been purſued; and that theſe 'arms and ſtores are now rot- 'ting in a magazine at Mor- 'laix.' Though his lordſhip pretends an unwillingneſs to mention where the fault of not ſending this ſupply lay, he ſtrongly intimates, that the duke of Ormond was blameable in it; and with what ſincerity that reflection on his grace was made will be beſt judged from a true account of the circumſtances of that affair.

The ſhip loaden with the arms abovementioned arrived in the river of Morlaix on the 24th of December, when the duke of Ormond returned from his ſecond attempt to land in England. W——n, the maſter of the veſſel, ſaid he was too deeply loaden, and too ſmall to undertake a voyage to Scotland in that rigorous ſeaſon of the year. It was then reſolved to put them on board of another ſhip, commanded by H——s, and the only veſſel that could be procured in that port at that time. H——'s ſhip was foul, and hauled aſhore to be cleaned. His crew were afraid of being taken at ſea, and on that account mutinied, and moſt of them deſerted; and, while another crew was providing, on the 3d of January, the Adventure, and the Charles-galley, two Engliſh men of war came into the river, and anchored near her. Information was given to the captains, that H——s's ſhip belonged to the *, and that W——n was loaden with arms for his majeſty's ſervice. Whereupon W——n's veſſel was unloaden in the night, and the arms were privately conveyed to a magazine. The two men of war remained in the river till the beginning of March; and it was impracticable for H——s to ſail while they were there, becauſe out of the river is narrow, and it was impoſſible to paſs the men of war unobſerved, even in the night. In the mean time, the utmoſt endeavours were uſed to remedy this accident: it was reſolved to

carry

On the 21ſt of January the king came to the houſe of peers, and gave his aſſent to the 'Act for continuing the 'ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus.' Then the lord chancellor read the following ſpeech of his majeſty to both houſes: 1715-16.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I Had reaſon to believe, when I ſpoke laſt to you, that "the pretender was landed in Scotland. The ac- "counts I have received ſince put it beyond all doubt, that "he is heading the rebellion there, and does aſſume the "ſtyle and title of king of theſe realms. His adherents "do likewiſe confidently affirm, that aſſurances are given "them of ſupport from abroad. This parliament hath on "all occaſions expreſſed ſo much duty to me, and ſo true "a regard for the religious and civil rights of my people, "that

carry the arms a few leagues by land, and an agreement was made for a ſhip, that lay out of the reach of the men of war to carry them to Scotland; but afterwards the owner's heart failed him, and he peremptorily refuſed to ſtand to the bargain. The truth of theſe particulars is atteſted by his grace the duke of Ormond, and captain Cammock's journal; and, when his lordſhip recollects himſelf, he cannot be ignorant of them.

Thus you ſee the true reaſons of the miſcarriage of the ſupply, that the accidents could neither be prevented nor remedied; that this 'parcel of arms might 'have been in Scotland in Oc- 'tober or November, if his di- 'rections had been purſued,' though theſe directions were dated from Paris the 16th of December, and the ſhips that were to carry them, arrived in the port the 24th: that his lordſhip's exactneſs in other points may be judged of by this ſmall inſtance; and that a miſtake of two months in a fact of ſo late a date can hardly be excuſed as a failure in point of memory.

That ſhips might have been privately ſent without a public order, is evident, becauſe that quantity of arms, which lord Bolingbroke ſays were ſtill rotting in a magazine at Morlaix, were ſent by the * to Scotland ſoon after his return to France, and a month before the date of his lordſhip's letter, and two other ſhips loaden with arms and ſtores were alſo ſent from another port. And this was done at a time when the *'s affairs were deſperate, and without the privity and conſent of the French court.

In ſhort, lord Bolingbroke's defence on every particular of this head is weak and ſuperficial. Several private merchants would have ſupplied the * with arms, if they had been applied

1715-16. " that I am perſuaded, this daring preſumption of our ene-
" mies will heighten your juſt indignation againſt them,
" and beget ſuch further reſolutions, as, with the bleſſing
" of God, will enable me to defeat their attempts.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" The moſt effectual way to put a ſpeedy end to theſe
" troubles, will be to make ſuch a proviſion as may diſ-
" courage any foreign power from aſſiſting the rebels. I
" do therefore hope, that every ſincere proteſtant, and
" true Briton, will look upon the extraordinary expence,
" which a preparation may require, to be the beſt huſban-
" dry; ſince it will, in all human probability, prevent
" that deſolation, and thoſe calamities, which would un-
" avoid-

to by his lordſhip. Neither the * nor the duke of Mar affirm in their letters, that they muſt leave Scotland, though they had all the arms and ammunition of France. The eight thouſand arms, &c. lying at Havre, would have been ſent by a gentleman; who was zealous for the *'s ſucceſs, if he had not been amuſed for ſeveral months, and diverted from applying for an order, by his lordſhip's ſaying, that he would obtain one: and the ten thouſand arms, and the thirty thouſand weight of powder, which he ſays would have been ſent to Scotland, if they had ſtaid a few days longer, were not procured by his lordſhip, but, by a gentleman, who was ſent by the * from Scotland, and who, being convinced of his lordſhip's former neglects, applied for a ſupply of arms elſewhere, and upon his own credit obtained it.

About the ſame time the duke of Ormond procured fifteen thouſand arms with a proportionable quantity of ammunition without the privity or aſſiſtance of the lord Bolingbroke.

Another remarkable circumſtance of his lordſhip's conduct was, the variety of excuſes he made to thoſe gentlemen, who came expreſs from Scotland, for not ſending arms and ammunition. In September and October he ſaid he was providing them. In November, that the ſending them through the channel would indanger the *'s paſſage: in December and January, that the court of France would neither grant arms nor ammunition; and his lordſhip had probably pretences in reſerve for every month of the year. What reaſon then had his majeſty to expect a ſupply of arms after ſo many repeated delays? And with what injuſtice does his lordſhip charge the * and the duke of Mar with precipitation in leaving Scotland, when the neceſſity they were in of coming away

was

" avoidably enſue, if the rebellion ſhould be ſuffered 1715-16.
" to ſpread, and be ſupported by popiſh forces from a-
" broad.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The world muſt be convinced by all you have already
" done, that you have nothing but the honour and inter-
" eſt of your country at heart: and, for my own part, I
" rely intirely upon you, and doubt not but you will take
" ſuch reſolutions at this juncture, as will be moſt for the
" preſent ſafety, and future eaſe of my people."

Both houſes preſented addreſſes to his majeſty, full of expreſſions of duty and affection, and the moſt hearty aſſurances of their aſſiſtance againſt the daring preſumption of the pretender and his adherents.

The

was intirely occaſioned by his neglect?

His lordſhip anſwers the articles of amuſing general Hamilton by calling it a ſimple lie. Whether his lordſhip repreſented the contents of his meſſage, where it was proper, depends upon his own word. 'Tis probable, that the perſon hinted at by his lordſhip would not have ſcrupled to have the ſtate of affairs in Scotland from the mouth of one, who was ſo fully inſtructed in it; and that ſuch an interview would have been attended with a good effect. And it may reaſonably be inferred, that his lordſhip was faulty in that caſe, becauſe he did not communicate the *'s letters, which that gentleman brought to the queen or the duke of Ormond, for ſeveral days after he had received them, though the * had commanded him to ſhew them to her majeſty; and, before he went to Scotland, had given his lordſhip poſitive inſtructions to act in concert with his grace, and to communicate every particular of his affairs to him.

His lordſhip endeavours to refute the charge of his being often denied to thoſe, who came about buſineſs, with a groundleſs and malicious diſtinction; for he was ſeldom to be found by thoſe who were ſent by the duke of Mar to him, by officers of diſtinction, who daily preſſed him to be diſpatched to Scotland, and even by perſons, whom he himſelf employed. And were it proper to mention names, particular inſtances might be given of his conduct in this point.

His lordſhip, in what he falſely calls a general ſtate of things on this ſide the water, has repreſented the duke of Ormond in the blackeſt terms, that malice could deviſe, 'as 'an aſſociate with a neſt of hornets;

1715-16. The impeached lords having on the 16th of January petitioned the houſe of peers for longer time to put in their anſwers to the articles of impeachment; they were allowed time till Thurſday the 19th, upon which day all of them, except the earl of Wintoun (who upon his petition had till the 23d allowed him) were brought from the Tower to the bar of the houſe of peers, where they ſeverally pleaded guilty to the articles of their impeachment, but urged ſome things, by way of anſwer, to extenuate their guilt. The earl of Derwentwater's anſwer was in writing, as were alſo the anſwers of the lord Widdrington, and the earl of Nithiſdale. The anſwers of the earl of Carnwarth and the lord Kenmure were delivered viva voce; and the lord Nairn delivered in a petition to the lords in writing. Having thus pleaded guilty, the 9th of February was appointed for their receiving ſentence. Upon which day they were all brought to the bar of the court erected in Weſt-

The impeached lords plead guilty.

They are condemned, Feb. 9.

'nets; as heading a faction 'compoſed of perſons of the 'vileſt characters, who are de'ſpiſed for their folly, and de'teſted for their immorality'; and he qualifies this heavy charge with a profeſſion of a very particular reſpect for his grace, and by ſaying, 'that his grace was 'drawn indirectly in to do the 'work of the faction here, and 'was far from deſigning any 'ſuch thing.'

With what view this virulent ſlander on his grace was framed, may be eaſily conjectured, and to beat down his graces reputation, if it were poſſible, would be acknowledged by the ——as a conſiderable ſervice to him. His grace's character is too well known in England to ſtand in need of a juſtification, and what lord Bolingbroke intended as a reflection on the duke of Ormond will be acknowledged by every honeſt man here, that his grace obſerved at Paris a quite contrary conduct from his lordſhip. His grace, it is true, opened his doors to every gentleman, who came to wait upon him: he thought it was for the *'s ſervice to receive thoſe perſons with civility, who chearfully offered to imbark in it: that thoſe gentlemen, who were ready to hazard their lives in the ſame cauſe with his grace, ought not to be treated with contempt: and that his lordſhip's conduct was imprudent and unſeemly.

The ſincerity of his lordſhip's profeſſion of reſpect for the duke of Ormond will appear from his behaviour to his grace here; and you are not a ſtranger to the deſign, that was formed by his lordſhip in July 1714, to ſet lord Churchill at the head of the army. His lordſhip laboured upon all occaſions to vilify his grace, and to paint him in the fouleſt colours

to

Weſtminſter-hall, and had ſentence, as in caſe of high-trea- 1715-16.
ſon, pronounced againſt them by the lord chancellor Cowper, lord high-ſteward on that occaſion.

The commons having put the caſe of the rebel lords in a courſe of juſtice, they turned their thoughts to the reſt of the Preſton priſoners, who were brought up to London; and, to prevent the formality of ſending them into Lancaſhire to be tried, they brought in a bill to remove thoſe difficulties, which obſtructed the courſe of juſtice; and, as this was only to be a temporary law, ſo the occaſion was ſpecified in the title, which was, 'An act for 'the more eaſy and ſpeedy trial of ſuch perſons, as have 'levied war againſt his majeſty during the preſent re-'bellion.'

About the ſame time Mr. Lechmere moved for an addreſs to the king, for a proclamation, offering a general pardon to ſuch as were yet in arms in Scotland, who ſhould lay

to his majeſty. Upon his grace's firſt expedition into England, he endeavoured to perſuade a gentleman, who had promiſed to accompany him, not to go; he told him, that the duke of Ormond would certainly be never heard of more; and that it was a raſh and fooliſh enterprize he was going upon: and by the diſcovery of his grace's deſigns at that time, and his lordſhip's conduct ſince, it may be preſumed he had good reaſons to be aſſured, that the attempt would miſcarry.

When the duke had returned from his ſecond voyage to England, and waited on the coaſt of France for another opportunity, lord Bolingbroke wrote to him to come nearer Paris, and promiſed to meet his grace, in order to concert meaſures with him. His grace complied with the propoſal, named a place at twelve leagues diſtance from Paris, and was punctual to the time appointed. Lord Bolingbroke came about ten days after: inſtead of diſcourſing about buſineſs he drank to exceſs, and, early on the ſecond day after his coming, he returned to Paris, without ſaying any thing to the purpoſe. Though his grace had great reaſon to reſent this uſage, he reſolved at that juncture to ſubmit to it, and complied with another propoſal of his lordſhip's to come to Paris, becauſe that he thought, when he was in the ſame place with his lordſhip, he could not eaſily find an opportunity to amuſe him longer. His grace was for four days in Paris, before he had a viſit from his lordſhip, though he ſent repeated meſſages to him. At length he came, when dinner was on the table. Before dinner was half done, he roſe up haſtily, and pretended urgent buſineſs to call him away. For ſome days after his grace could not poſſibly find him out.

Can

1715-16. lay them down within a certain time, with ſuch reſtrictions and limitations as the king ſhould think fit. This motion was ſtrongly oppoſed by Mr. Pulteney, the lord Conningſby, and ſome others, who repreſented the ill effects, which ſuch a proclamation might have both at home and abroad, in the preſent juncture of affairs. What had moſt weight, in this debate, was urged by Mr. Walpole, who contented himſelf with ſaying, he would not inquire into the reaſons of this motion, but he had been offered ſixty thouſand pounds for the life of one ſingle perſon. This gave Mr. Lechmere an occaſion to vindicate his integrity and honeſt intentions; but finding, what he had propoſed was not thought conſiſtent with the king's and the nation's ſervice, he did not inſiſt upon it. The next day, major Stuart, aid-de-camp to the duke of Argyle, and captain Morton, aid-de-camp to general Cadogan, arrived at St. James's, with advice that the rebels had abandoned

Can it be imagined, that ſuch inſolent treatment of his grace could proceed from any perſon who had not a quite different intereſt in view? And, as the * had a juſt ſenſe of his lordſhip's behaviour to the duke of Ormond, it was a ſtronger motive to induce his majeſty to remove him.

I am not ſurprized at the lord Bolingbroke's appealing to the duke of Berwick, and that he is willing to ſtand or fall by his judgment; for I believe that duke will for the ſame reaſons appeal to his lordſhip to clear himſelf. No part of his behaviour is more wonderful than his ſudden intimacy with the duke of Berwick. He formerly mentioned on all occaſions, that duke with diſregard, and would neither allow him capacity for buſineſs, nor credit. But, ſoon after his grace had diſobeyed his ſovereign's commands to go to Scotland, there became a cloſe union betwixt them, which ſtill continues, though the * had commanded his lordſhip not to communicate any part of his buſineſs to him. And it may be obſerved, that his lordſhip did not reſide at St. Germain's, where he owns that he held the cloſet friendſhip, till two months after his grace's refuſal to go to Scotland. If his grace had a hundred times more capacity and credit than the reſt of the *'s ſubjects in France, he has loſt ſome part of his credit by his undutiful behaviour to his royal maſter; and a perſon who refuſes to ſerve in his province at a time when his ſervice is required and wanted, may be reputed 'not to be of 'that court,' as his lordſhip obſerves, though he has lodgings in it; and he ſhould have added, that he had at that time a conſiderable penſion from it. I am perſuaded, his aſſociaſm, as he

doned Perth, and were flying before the king's forces: and therefore the publishing a proclamation for a general pardon, at such a juncture, would have shewed a weakness in the government, and encouraged foreign powers to support the rebels. About this time the pretender sent a letter to the lord-mayor of London, with orders to proclaim him king of Great-Britain; which was communicated to the secretary of State. 1715-16.

Mr. Baron Bury, Mr. Justice Eyre, and Mr. baron Montague, having been appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool, there were a considerable number found guilty; and Richard Shuttleworth of Preston, a papist; Roger Moncaster of Garstang, an attorney; Thomas Cowpe, William Butler, and William Ackworth, were executed at Preston, on the 28th of January; and John Rowbotham, James Blundel, James Burne, James Finch, William Whalley,

he calls it, with the duke of Berwick owes its original to another cause, than the opinion he had of his grace's capacity; and that his grace was the channel of correspondence betwixt his lordship and a certain lord in England. For though his lordship denies his having any correspondence with him, or any of the court of England, there are good reasons to suspect him of it, as the old intimacy between them; his lordship's leaving England upon his advice; and the visit he paid him the evening before he left London; not to mention the sneaking letter he sent from France to Mr. Stanhope: and, even his lordship qualifies the denial of such a correspondence, by saying, that he held none since he engaged in the *'s business, which, by the way, was three months after his coming to France.

This correspondence with a person, who had upon several occasions betrayed the church of England, and sacrificed his own country to a foreign prince, is a pregnant instance of his lordship's resolution to serve the * upon a protestant and English bottom, or not to serve at all.

His lordship's assertion, 'That 'the source of all business, 'and the heads of his best 'friends, were trusted to the 'keeping of a multitude of 'people, some of whom were 'of the vilest characters,' is as groundless as his other calumnies; and it may be easily guessed. for what end this slander was invented. And, though his lordship is pleased to charge others with want of secrecy, I can assure you, that in the midst of his wine he discovered secrets of the greatest importance to some of the very persons, whom he now represents in such black characters, and that they expressed a concern at his imprudence.

1715-16. Whalley, and John Mac Gillivray, were executed at Wigan on the 10th of February; Richard Charley, [illegible] James Drummond, William Black, Donald Macdonald, Rorie Kennedy, and John Ord, executed at Preston on the 9th of February; and Thomas Syddall, William Harris, Stephen Seager, Joſeph Porter, and John Finch, executed at Manchester on the 11th of February.

About one thouſand of the rebel priſoners at Lancaſter, Liverpool, and Cheſter, ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for tranſportation.

Sollicitations in behalf of the condemned lords.

In the mean time, great ſollicitations were made with the court and with the members of both houſes of Parliament, in behalf of the ſix condemned lords, particularly in favour of the earl of Derwentwater. On the 13th of February, the counteſs of Nithiſdale and the lord Nairn's lady, watching an opportunity, when the king went thro' the appartments of the palace at St. James's, behind a window-curtain, without being preſented by the lord of the

I am confident, his lordſhip's deſign to cut off all correſpondence with the *'s ſubjects at home will fail of ſucceſs, when they conſider they are in leſs danger by his removal; and that his majeſty has been pleaſed to chuſe one in his ſtead, who is not only incapable of betraying a truſt, while it ſubſiſts, as his lordſhip ſpeaks, but an inviolable obſerver of a truſt for ever, and of tried prudence and ſecrecy in buſineſs.

His lordſhip, to heighten the charge on the conduct of buſineſs, is here pleaſed to add, that it paſſes through the hands of a whole tribe of jeſuits, though his lordſhip cannot be ignorant, that no perſon of that order was ever employed in buſineſs by the * or queen.

His lordſhip's inſinuation, of the rivetted prejudices of one perſon, has the ſame malicious view; and tho' his lordſhip affirms, that, from the very firſt, he began to combat them with great decency and firmneſs, it is certain he never ſpoke of his having ſuch a deſign, till a few days before the * had fixed his departure for Britain. And it muſt be owned, that ſeveral worthy men, who were then at Paris, thought it an improper time to preſs his majeſty on that head, when he had not leiſure to inquire into it; and that his lordſhip was not the moſt proper perſon to talk of religion.

Another [illegible] in his lordſhip's letter, is that he was 'diſcarded [illegible] all the circumſtances of provocation poſſible, and treated, as far as it lay in the power of ſome whom he ſerved, with all affectation of indignity and contempt; for the * diſmiſſed him by a letter, without aſſigning any reaſon for his pleaſure, and commanded the duke of

the bed-chamber in waiting, as uſual, on a ſudden threw themſelves at the king's feet, begging mercy for their huſbands. This abrupt and irregular application could not but ſurprize the king, and thoſe about him, and therefore proved as ineffectual as thoſe, which had been made in a more becoming and artful manner. For a few days after, a reſolution was taken in council, to cauſe the ſentence paſſed on theſe lords to be executed; for which purpoſe the neceſſary warrants and orders were, on the 18th of February, ſent, both to the lieutenant of the Tower, and to the ſheriffs of the city of London and Middleſex. The next morning the counteſs of Derwentwater, attended by her ſiſter, and accompanied by the ducheſſes of Cleveland and Bolton, and ſeveral other ladies of the firſt rank, was by the dukes of Richmond and St. Albans introduced

1715-16. Warrants for their execution.

of Ormond to carry it. His majeſty, in tenderneſs to his lordſhip, of whom he had once a good opinion, took this courſe; and, beſides, he thought it below his royal dignity to deſcend to a paper quarrel. And, if his lordſhip had followed the advice that was given him, to lie quiet, his character would not ſo ſoon have been expoſed in its true light.

I could give many other inſtances of his lordſhip's neglect of the *'s buſineſs, at a time, when he had the ſole management of it; and to name but one: his lordſhip for ten days neglected to ſend the duke of Mar's new commiſſion to command in Scotland, which was ſo much wanted, upon an idle pretence of ſending a long and trifling memorial in cyphers along with it.

His lordſhip's behaviour to his equals and inferiors was not only contemptuous, but his treatment of the queen was inſolent to the laſt degree. To inſult majeſty in diſtreſs aggravates the crime; and ſuch a carriage to the *'s mother is an evident proof of want of duty to his majeſty. And though his lordſhip's friends induſtriouſly reported, that he was diſmiſſed by her advice, and from thence drew malicious inferences; you may be aſſured, that it was the concurrent opinion of the duke of Ormond, and all the *'s friends here, to diſplace him, and that her majeſty had no hand in his removal.

What the principles were, his lordſhip ſays, he brought out of England with him, I don't know, having never had reaſon to believe, that he gave himſelf much trouble about any. That they were not the principles of the tories, is plain, from his repreſentation of that party to the French court, and his expreſſions in converſation, that he never expected much good from the tories.

His lordſhip concludes, that there are abundance of things more, that he could ſay to clear himſelf, but, by the ſcurrility of

1751-16. duced into the king's bed-chamber, where the humbly implored his clemency for her unfortunate consort; and then withdrew.

It is very probable, the countess of Derwentwater received no favourable answer from the court; for on the 21st of February, she, with the ladies of some other condemned lords, and about twenty more of distinction, went to the lobby of the house of peers to solicit their succession: but the lords did not then think fit to take notice of their petitions. The next morning the ladies in distress, with a still greater attendance than the day before, went to Westminster to petition both houses of parliament, where, by this time, not a few members appeared inclined to mercy. Sir Richard Steele, among the rest, offered one of these petitions, and made a long speech upon that subject, and was seconded by Mr. Farrar, Mr. Shippen, and some others; but they were opposed by all the leading members of the prevailing side; and, though a great many who used to vote with them, went over on this occasion to the other party, yet a motion being made, and the question put for adjourning to the 1st of March, the adjournment was carried by a majority of seven voices only, a hundred and sixty-two, to a hundred and fifty-five.

The ladies of the condemned lords were more successful with the peers than with the commons. The duke of Richmond, a near relation of the earl of Derwentwater, and one of the lords allowed by the house to assist him, could

of his letters, it may be presumed, that he has omitted nothing, in tenderness to any person whatsoever. And the reason given for saying no more, that those on this side, who first began the storm, are sensible of their folly, is notoriously false. And, as his actions are better understood here, than they possibly can be on your side, every honest man in France is thoroughly convinced of his ill conduct, and that his majesty had just and wise reasons to remove him.

This letter has swelled to a greater bulk than at first I imagined. Upon the whole, I leave you to judge, whether the *, the dukes of Ormond and Mar, or his lordship, deserve most to be credited. And, if so many instances of his mismanagements have been proved, it may be concluded, they would appear more clearly, if it were in my power to speak plain upon several of them. I have avoided all unnecessary bitterness of expression against his lordship, and the least imputation of flattery to others; and I shall embrace every opportunity of shewing you, that I am, Sir,

not

not refuſe preſenting a petition in his favour, but at the ſame time he declared he would be againſt it. The earl of Derby, out of pity for the numerous family of the lord Nairn, charged himſelf with a petition in his behalf, as other lords did, upon the like or different motives, with other petitions. The queſtion being put, Whether theſe petitions ſhould be received and read, there aroſe a great debate, in which the lord Townſhend, and ſeveral other lords, who upon all occaſions had given undoubted proofs of their affection to the preſent ſettlement, were againſt it, but, the earl of Nottingham, to their great ſurprize, declaring for it, his weight, as preſident of the council, drew to that ſide ſeveral peers; ſo the queſtion was carried by nine or ten voices. After the reading of the petitions, the next queſtion was, Whether, in the caſe of an impeachment, the king has any power to reprieve? This being alſo carried in the affirmative, the ſame was followed by a motion for an addreſs, to deſire the king to grant a reprieve to the lords, who lay under ſentence of death. This was oppoſed by the firmeſt friends of the government; and even an earl, who was for the two firſt queſtions, repreſented, 'That though clemency was one of 'the brighteſt virtues, that adorn and ſupport a crown; 'yet, in his opinion, the ſame ſhould be exerciſed with 'diſcretion, and only on proper objects:' and therefore moved, 'That they ſhould addreſs the king to reprieve 'ſuch of the condemned lords as ſhould deſerve his mercy.' This, after ſome further debate, was carried. Then the earl of Stampford moved, That the time of reſpite be left to the king, which was readily agreed to; and then the addreſs with theſe amendments was carried by a majority of five voices only. To this addreſs the king anſwered, 'That on this, and all other occaſions, he would 'do what he thought moſt conſiſtent with the dignity of 'his crown, and the ſafety of his people.' 1715-16.

This wiſe and reſolute anſwer proved, the next day, a great mortification to the jacobite and diſcontented party, who were extremely elated by the inclinations to mercy, which appeared in both houſes, and which occaſioned various reflections. Whatever was the ſecret ſpring of theſe inclinations, it is certain, that in the council, held the ſame evening, about the execution of the condemned lords, there was a conteſt between the earl of Nottingham and ſome other lords, and four days after, that earl was removed from being preſident of the council, the earl of Aylesford, his brother, from being chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter; the lord Finch, ſon to the earl of Nottingham, from being

The earls of Nottingham and Aylesford removed.

1715-16. one of the lords of the treaſury; and the lord Glenorchy, his couſin-german, from being maſter of the jewel-office. This change, however ſudden, was not unforeſeen by men of obſervation; and it juſtified Mr. Hampden's obſervation, not many days before, in the houſe of commons, on a motley or mixed miniſtry.

Three lords ordered to be executed, and three reprieved, Feb. 23.

Purſuant to the reſolution taken in the council, orders were diſpatched for executing the next morning the earls of Derwentwater and Nithiſdale, and the lord Kenmure; and for reſpiting the lord Widdrington, the earl of Carnwarth, and the lord Nairn, till the 7th of March. The ſame evening the earl of Nithiſdale found means to make his eſcape out of the Tower in a woman's apparel brought to him by his mother, who came to viſit with ſome relations.

Derwentwater and Kenmure executed, Feb. 24.

The next morning early, three detachments of the guards took their ſeveral poſts round the ſcaffold erected on Tower-hill, and, a little before ten o'clock, the earl of Derwentwater and the lord Kenmure were carried in a hackney coach from the Tower to the Tranſport-office, on Tower-hill, where there was a room hung with black for their reception. From this room to the ſcaffold (which was all covered with black) there was a paſſage or gallery railed in. The earl of Derwentwater was firſt led to the ſcaffold; and it was obſerved, that in his going thither, and aſcending the ſteps, his countenance turned very pale. But, after he had been a few minutes on the ſcaffold, his behaviour appeared reſolute and ſedate. Having ſpent ſome time in prayer with a book, he then addreſſed himſelf to the ſheriff, and deſired, he might have liberty to read a paper which he had drawn up. This requeſt being readily granted, he went to the rails of the ſcaffold and read what follows.

'Being in a few minutes to appear before the tribunal 'of God, where, though moſt unworthy, I hope to find 'mercy, which I have not found from men now in power: 'I have endeavoured to make my peace with the divine 'majeſty, by moſt humbly begging pardon for all the 'ſins of my life: and I doubt not of a merciful forgive'neſs, through the merits of the paſſion and death of my 'Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; for which end I earneſtly deſire 'the prayers of all good chriſtians.

'After this I am to aſk pardon of thoſe, whom I might 'have ſcandalized by pleading guilty at my trial, and 'as were permitted to come to me, told them, that, hav'ing been undeniably in arms, pleading guilty was but 'the conſequence of having ſubmitted to mercy; and many

'arguments were used to prove there was nothing of 1715-16.
'moment in so doing; among others, the universal prac-
'tice of signing leases, whereof the preambles run in the
'name of the person in possession.

'But I am sensible, that in this I have made bold with
'loyalty, having never any other but king James the third
'for my rightful and lawful sovereign. Him I had
'an inclination to serve from my infancy, and was mov-
'ed thereto by a natural love I had to his person, know-
'ing him to be capable of making his people happy. And,
'though he had been of a different religion from mine,
'I should have done for him all that lay in my power,
'as my ancestors have done for his predecessors, being
'thereunto bound by the laws of God and man.

'Wherefore, if in this affair I have acted rashly, it
'ought not to affect the innocent. I intended to wrong
'no body, but to serve my king and country, and that
'without self-interest; hoping, by the example I gave, to
'have induced others to their duty; and God, who sees
'the secrets of my heart, knows I speak truth. Some
'means have been proposed to me for saving my life,
'which I looked upon as inconsistent with honour and
'conscience, and therefore I rejected them; for, with
'God's assistance, I shall prefer any death to the doing a
'base unworthy action. I only wish now, that the lay-
'ing down my life might contribute to the service of my
'king and country, and the re-establishment of the anti-
'ent and fundamental constitution of these kingdoms;
'without which no lasting peace or true happiness can at-
'tend them. Then I should indeed part with my life,
'even with pleasure. As it is, I can only pray, that these
'blessings may be bestowed upon my dear country; and,
'since I can do no more, I beseech God to accept of my
'life as a small sacrifice towards it.

'I die a Roman catholic. I am in perfect charity with
'all the world, I thank God for it, even with those of
'the present government, who are most instrumental in
'my death. I freely forgive such, as ungenerously report-
'ed false things of me; and I hope to be forgiven the tres-
'passes of my youth, by the father of infinite mercy, into
'whose hands I commend my soul.

JA. DERWENTWATER.

P. S. 'If that prince, who now governs, had given me
'my life, I should have thought myself obliged never
'more to have taken up arms against him.'

1715-16. After the reading of this paper, he delivered it to the sheriff, telling him, he might do with it as he pleased; and that he had given a copy of it to [illegible]. Then coming to the block, he viewed it close, and finding on it some place, that might offend his neck, he bid the executioner chip it off; which uncommon presence of mind was observed with admiration by some of the standers by. He prepared himself for the blow, by taking off his coat and waistcoat, he lay down to fit his head to the block, telling the executioner, that the sign he should give him was, 'Lord Jesus receive 'my soul; and, at the third time repeating it, he was to do his office; which he did at one blow. It was reported, that, the night before, the earl of Derwentwater having sent for Mr. Stephen Roome, an undertaker for funerals, and discoursing with him about his own, he told him, he would have a silver plate on his coffin, with an inscription importing, 'That he died a sacrifice for his lawful sovereign;' but, Mr. Roome scrupling to comply with it, he was dismissed. This was the reason, no hearse was provided for him at his execution; so that his head was only taken up by one of his servants, and put into a clean handkerchief, and, the body being wrapped up in black cloth, they were both together carried to the tower.

Soon after the lord Kenmure was brought to the scaffold in the same manner, accompanied by his son, and some friends, and attended by two clergymen of the church of England. He shewed a great resolution and firmness in his gait and countenance, though some nice observers pretended, he was not so calm within as the earl of Derwentwater; which however was contradicted by others. On the scaffold he said, 'He had so little thoughts of dying so soon, 'that he had not provided a black suit, that he might have 'died with the more decency; for which he was sorry.' He appeared very sincere and fervent in his devotions, often lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven; but (contrary to what he had declared in his speech to the lords, when judgment was pronounced against him) he prayed for the pretender, and repented of his having pleaded guilty. He embraced and kissed very tenderly most of the officers and gentlemen on the scaffold, and his son and some friends twice or thrice. He had with him Mr. Roome the undertaker, who was to take care of his body, and a surgeon, who was to direct the executioner in doing his office. Having prepared for the block, he laid down his head upon it, then lifted it up again, still continuing on his knees; gave the executioner some money, and told him, 'He should give him the 'sign, but, when he laid his head down again, he [illegible]

do his work as he saw good.' Then, having lifted up his hands in prayer a short time longer, he laid down his head again, which the executioner severed at two blows. Both the head and body were put into a coffin, and conveyed in a hearse to Mr. Roome's, where they were imbalmed, in order to be sent into Scotland, and buried with his ancestors. He neither made nor delivered any speech on the scaffold; but in a letter found after his execution, which he wrote to the pretender (by the stile of king James, he declared, 'That he died for his faithful services to his majesty, but hoped, the cause he died for would thrive and flourish after his death; and; as he suffered for his service, he hoped his majesty would provide for his wife and children, who were in a miserable condition.' 1715-16.

The earl of Wintoun condemned.

On the 15th of March, the earl of Wintoun's trial came on. The long trouble and delay, he had occasioned by petitions for time, upon the pretence of witnesses being on the road, made people expect, that a considerable defence could be made, and something very particular be urged in his behalf, either by himself or his council; but they were surprized, that when he came to the bar, and the managers of the house of commons had spent two days in opening and inforcing the articles against him, and replying to what was offered, his answers were so weak, and what his council had to offer so trifling, that it could not be called a defence. This gave some confirmation to what had been suggested, that he was a lunatic. However, the lords were unanimous in their judgment, and brought him in guilty; and, on the 19th of March, judgment was pronounced against him by the lord-chancellor Cowper, lord high-steward upon this occasion.

Two days after, the king having received advice of the pretender's flight out of Scotland, came to the house of peers, and, giving his assent to the land-tax bill (h), made the following speech to both houses of parliament.

(h) This bill had like to have raised a dispute between the two houses. The bill being sent up to the lords, a debate arose about the preamble, which was in these words:

'We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great-Britain, in parliament assembled, having hearts filled with the utmost gratitude to your majesty, for the tender concern your majesty, on all occasions, expresses for the extraordinary burden this unnatural rebellion makes necessary to be laid on your faithful subjects, for preserving all their rights, both sacred and civil, and for your majesty's unprecedented goodness in giving up all such estates for the use of the public, and in ease of your people, as shall be forfeited by this rebellion; the raising, or the

1715-16.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I Take this opportunity of acquainting you, that my
"forces have obliged the pretender to fly out of Scotland,
"and he is since, as I am informed, landed from Gravelin.
"But I do not yet know, whether any country in amity with

'the dreadful consequences 'whereof, cannot, by the most 'implacable of your majesty's 'enemies, be ascribed to any 'one act done by your majes'ty, since your happy accession 'to the throne of your ances'tors; but even they will al'low, that all the mischiefs, 'burdens, and calamities, which 'shall attend this horrid rebel'lion, are, in truth, owing to 'the fatal and pernicious coun'sels given by some persons in 'the late male-administration, 'when, under pretence of pro'curing peace abroad, the pre'sent destructive war was pro'jected to be brought into the 'very bowels of our native 'country at home, when a po'pish army (part of which God 'has delivered into your majes'ty's hands) was designed to be 'the protector of our holy re'ligion; and when, under the 'false colour of paying the pub'lic debts, though their true 'design was to deliver us 'bound into the power of the 'antient enemy of these king'doms, the same evil coun'sellors contrived unnecessarily 'to incumber, for a long time 'to come (if not for ever) seve'ral considerable branches of 'the public revenues, which, 'for many years past, had, 'from time to time, been use'ful to support the public ex'pence; which revenues, in 'former administrations, had 'been carefully reserved for 'that purpose, to the end that, 'upon the conclusion of an hap'py peace, which we had then 'reason to expect, the subjects 'of these realms might have 'reaped the fruit of a success'ful, though expensive war. 'And we, your majesty's said 'dutiful and loyal subjects, be'ing fully resolved to maintain 'your majesty's just title to the 'imperial crown of these re'alms, against all enemies and 'traytors whatsoever; and, for 'that end, purposed to raise 'such supplies, as are necessary 'to defray your majesty's pub'lic expences, have chearfully 'and unanimously given and 'granted, &c.'

Some lords being offended at this preamble, the earl of Abingdon moved, that all the peers in town might be summoned to attend the committee; which was done accordingly. And, on Monday, the 13th of February, the lord Harcourt went early to the house of peers, and caused the journals to be diligently searched for precedents of amendments, made by the lords, to a money bill. But few, if any, could be found, at least, since the restoration; from which time the commons would never suffer the lords to make any amendments to bills of that nature. When the grand committee was sat, several lords spoke against the preamble in question, as 'pre judging matters of a very high and important

" with us will give him protection, after having ſo pub- 1715-16.
" licly invaded our kingdom.

" The dangers, to which the nation was expoſed, made " me determine, that neither the extraordinary rigour of " the ſeaſon, nor any fallacious propoſal of the rebels, " ſhould divert me from uſing all poſſible endeavours to- " wards putting a ſpeedy and effectual end to this unna- " tural rebellion."

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I muſt return you my thanks for the great progreſs " you have made in the ſupplies. The neceſſary diſpoſi- " tions are made for raiſing additional forces. But, as I " ſhall always conſult the eaſe of my people, as far as is " conſiſtent with their own ſecurity, I ſhall not make uſe " of the confidence you have placed in me, unleſs the reſt- " leſs malice of our enemies ſhould make it neceſſary to go " on with thoſe levies.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I promiſe myſelf, from the zeal and wiſdom of this " parliament, that the future happineſs and tranquillity of " my ſubjects will be eſtabliſhed on a ſolid foundation; " and ſuch meaſures taken, as may deprive our enemies " at home of the power (ſince that alone can deprive them " of the inclination) again to attempt the diſturbance of " my government. This therefore is what I think my- " ſelf obliged to recommend to you, as a deliberation of " the utmoſt importance to the future ſafety, eaſe, and pro- " ſperity of my people."

From this time to the 9th of April (when the ſeptennial bill was brought in) little elſe was done in both houſes, but preſenting ſuch bills as were ready, and voting for the ſupplies.

' portant nature, the cogniz- ' ance and determination of ' which properly belongs to the ' houſe of peers.'

Upon this, an expedient was propoſed and admitted, that they ſhould enter in their journal a kind of proteſt or declaration, importing in ſubſtance 'That ' though the preamble was de- ' rogatory to the privileges and ' authority of the houſe of ' lords; yet their lordſhips, in ' conſideration of the king's and ' nation's ſervice, in this dan- ' gerous conjuncture, were wil- ' ling to give their concurrence ' to the bill, without amend- ' ments; but that the ſame ' ſhould not be drawn into a ' precedent for the time to come, ' or conſtrued to be any di- ' minution of the judicial au- ' thority of the houſe of lords.' The lord chancellor Cowper and the lord Harcourt were appointed by the lords to draw up the proteſt or declaration, which was entered in the journal of the houſe.

In

1716. In the mean time the new commission for trying the rebels met on the 7th of April, the first day of the court of common-pleas. Sir William Thompson, recorder of London, opened the meeting with a speech to the grand jury, by whom bills of high-treason were found against Forster, brigadier Mackintosh, and twenty others.

Trial of the rebels.

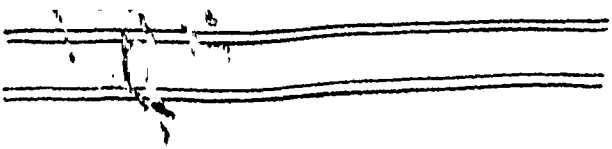
Forster makes his escape.

It was on the 14th of April that Forster was to have been arraigned, in order to his trial; but on the 13th, about midnight, he made his escape out of Newgate, with one servant only. The manner was variously reported; and Mr. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, was not only committed for it, but was afterwards indicted for high-treason, as being wilfully guilty of the escape, and tried for his life at the Old-Baily; but was acquitted. There was a proclamation immediately published, offering a reward of a thousand pounds for the apprehending Mr. Forster; but it appeared afterwards, that his escape was so concerted, and all other things prepared, that, as soon as he got out, he had horses ready; and riding directly to Lee, near Rochford in Essex, he had a vessel laid ready also, which took him on board, and landed him in France the very same day.

However the court sat according to its adjournment, and, Mr. Forster being absent, Mr. Mackintosh, Mr. Gascoigne, Mr. Charles Wogan, and others, being arraigned, pleaded not guilty; and, upon a motion for time, had three weeks given them to prepare for their trials; which favour, on the contrary, some of them made use of to prepare, not for their trial, but for their escape.

(i) WilliamShaftoe,
Robert Talbot,
Henry Oxburgh,
Charles Wogan,
Thomas Hall,
Richard Gascoigne,
Alex. Menzies.
James Menzies,
John Robertson,
James Hugh,
—— Miller,
John Farquarson,
—— Farquarson,
Thomas Douglass,
—— Farquarson,
—— Douglass
—— Scrimsour,
—— Maclean,
—— Skeen,
—— Innis.

END of the SIXTH VOLUME.



ADDENDA

To VOL. II.

OF THE

CONTINUATION.

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THESE rejoicings would have been the more fervent, had it then been publickly known, how narrowly the king had eſcaped, being aſſaſſinated when he landed at Margate. The plot was accidentally diſcovered in the following manner.

A deſign againſt the king's life diſcovered by captain Ricards.

Captain William Ricards, a commander in the navy in the reign of Charles II, having quitted that ſervice, and taken to an employment which obliged him to be near the Thames, lived afterwards in St. Catherines. Here he became acquainted with ſeveral Dutchmen, with whom he uſed to converſe, and particularly with one Bourne. This man having in converſation let fall ſome expreſſions which ſeemed to intimate a knowledge of ſome dangerous deſign, was ſo cloſely preſſed by the captain, that he owned he knew ſomething of a conſpiracy againſt the king. Upon this, Ricards prevailed with him to go along with him to Sir William Trumball ſecretary of State, the 20th of September. Bourne's infor-

mation ſatisfied the ſecretary that there was a ſecret deſign formed; to execute which ſeveral perſons were provided at Margate; and had a veſſel for their ſervice, the owner of which was one Twynam lately dead. Whereupon it was propoſed by the ſecretary and lords of the council to Mr. Ricards, that he ſhould go himſelf to Margate (being a native of that place, and well acquainted with it) and ſee whether any ſuch perſons could be found there. Ricards very readily undertook the office; and the earl of Romney, lordwarden of the Cinque ports gave him a warrant for that purpoſe (*a*).

Ricards with two yachts and a company of ſoldiers from the tower, ſet out for Margate, pretending he was going to ſpend a few days with his friends, whom he had not ſeen for many years. He lodged at the poſt-houſe, which was kept by one Paul Hart, and which however was the moſt ſuſpected place in the town for the conſpirators to be concealed in. Major Gregory, the tower-armourer, was the only perſon that went aſhore with him. At firſt he could make no diſcovery, the conſpirators keeping cloſe all day. But the contrary winds detaining the king a fortnight beyond ſea, in that time captain Ricards found out that there were perſons concealed in the houſe with very ſuſpicious circumſtances. Five lodged in one Room, where was good ſtore of fire-arms, and the room very convenient for any attempt upon landing. He often heard them drink myſterious healths in their midnight revellings. It was evident from their diſcourſe that others were concerned, by whom they expected to be joined, as ſoon as they were ready for it. The wind coming fair for

(*a*) The original warrant, as well as the other papers mentioned in this affair, are in the hands of Mr. Richard Ricards, ſon of captain Ricards, now * living at the glaſs-houſe in the Minories, who remembers ſeveral of the particulars, being then about ten years old. The warrant runs thus:

May 29, 1758.

'To all whom theſe preſents 'may concern;

'Know ye, that the bearer 'hereof, captain William Ricards, by command from me, 'is commiſſioned hereby to ſeize 'and apprehend ſeveral dangerous perſons; of whom you 'ſhall receive notice by him. 'I therefore hereby require and 'command all officers, both military and civil, to be aiding 'and aſſiſting to the ſaid captain William Ricards in effecting the ſame. Given under 'my hand and ſeal this 25th day 'of September, 1695.

Romney.

the

the king, Ricards ordered the officers of the yachts to land, and invited ſuch friends of the town as he could truſt, to an entertainment, pretending he was going to London next day. About midnight, he faſtened the door, and told the company the buſineſs he was come for, and what had been done in it; that he had diſcovered ſeveral ſuſpicious perſons who lay concealed in the houſe, and then ſhewed the neceſſity of ſecuring them before the king landed. He called in Paul Hart the innkeeper, and preſenting a piſtol to his breaſt, threatened to ſhoot him, if he did not diſcover who were the perſons concealed in ſuch a room in his houſe. Paul Hart immediately owned their being in that room, but that he knew nothing more of them, than that they ordered him to keep it ſecret; and that as ſoon as the king's convoy appeared in ſight, he was to knock at their door, and cry *Twynam is come.* Ricards inſtantly forced Hart to go with him and his friends to the room, and bid him knock at the door and ſay, *Twynam is come.* Upon which, the door was opened by an Iriſhman, who ſeemed to be their head; he had a piſtol in his hand, which Ricards ſeized, and obliged him to drop it; and the company breaking in ſecured the reſt in their beds. He found a great many fire-arms, as Bourne had informed him, which were all loaded, and lay on the table. The king landed in a few hours after, and captain Ricards brought away the five ruffians to London, where they were committed to Newgate. As Bourne's evidence was ſingle, and not ſufficient to convict them of treaſon, they were kept priſoners for life, and excepted out of every act of grace by king William, queen Anne, and king George. It is not long ſince the laſt of the five died in Newgate.

Captain Ricards with a warrant from ſecretary Trumbull (*b*) was ſent to Portſmouth in ſearch of the reſt of the gang; but as it could not be managed ſo ſecretly, but the conſpirators had intimation of it, they made their eſcape before the captain reached Portſmouth. In their hurry they left ſome papers behind them, containing treaſonable matters (*c*).

In

(*b*) The original is in the hands of Mr. Rich. Ricards.

(*c*) In one of theſe papers was the copy of the following letter; and in another, a cypher annexed to it. The letter ſhews the writer was not an idle ſpectator of what paſſed.

In about three weeks after captain Ricards returned from Portsmouth, the invasion and assassination-plot [illegible], as will hereafter be seen.

S. R. C. to Mr. E.

By the proceedings of our parliament you know what you are to expect next year: four million they have given to maintain the war, and the difficulties they have to raise the money, makes us think they will not find ways to pay the arrear of the army and fleet, and clear the revenue, which cannot be done without three millions more, and besides the million part of the four millions, and the four hundred thousand pounds to be raised, the first upon Irish forfeited Estates, and the other upon the East India trade, I believe will fall short. I look upon this as the last effort, and if the king of France is sure to break the confederacy this winter, and resolves to defend Ireland the next year, I think we can support this government no longer. My uncle is lately grown very great with Mrs. G. and is now the most altered man in the world; till now he protested he would expect no more liberty for himself, than he would allow to all mankind, and thought it a most unchristian thing, that any man's religion should incapacitate him for any employ: but now he is utterly against the catholics being in military or civil employment, excepting grooms of the bedchamber and such like about the king's person. And in truth, the king is so represented by some persons, that they say, so long as there is an Irish footman to be employed, no protestants shall have any thing: and though these people [illegible] very [illegible] for the king, yet they are [illegible] industrious to persuade all his protestant friends that there is a necessity to tye up his hands: and I am confident he will find as great difficulties to humour those friend, as to subdue his enemies. I know the design carrying on, to invite the king to come with a small force to Scotland, for they say a greater force will give jealousy, and his complying with the country will make the English receive him willingly; the true meaning is, if they can get him in their power, with a force that is not able to do his work of itself, they will either manage him as they please, or leave him. As I know, the king will not promise any thing which he will not perform, so I hope he will be very cautious of his promises; for these people are not to be wrought upon to any duty but by force. And when the king is landed at the head of a good army, a declaration that he will pardon all those that shall submit to him, and leave to the mercy of his soldiers all that shall oppose him, I believe will be more efficacious than any other can be drawn. If the king ventures upon this island with less than 30,000 men, he will be in a very dangerous case; and then too, if we think the king of France is not in a condition to double that number, if there be occasion. Here is a party

party will venture all for the king, and he to is the party also will do the same for the prince of Orange but the much greater party are for their own interest; and will either sit still or join that party which is like to be conqueror. But if the king comes with 30,000 men, we shall presume, he may have what more he pleases; for all believe, if the king of France sends him an army, he will go through with it; but I can scarce meet with one man will believe the king of France is the king's friend, any otherwise than in subserviency to his own design, which they say is to subdue England. I confess his actions last summer at sea, I understand not, for after his victory he might have ended the war with great ease immediately. 'Tis said, the prince of Orange will go for Holland the latter end of next month in order to keep the confederacy; if he goes, and you are ready, you will have a good opportunity; and I believe you need not doubt of success, for we have a very few forces, and these new taxes will be so heavy upon us that we shall be very glad to be prevented paying them; and for this very reason, you will have a great many well wishers. I would have wrote more, but that I have had few hours notice of this opportunity; I forbore writing to you by the post, because my privacy seldom lets me know any thing, till it be stale, and whatsoever I think worthy of your knowing I impart constantly to my cousin. I wrote to you by my aunt, who I hope is well. If I may do any manner of service by coming to you and giving you a history of what I have observed, the least notice from you shall bring me. You may direct as heretofore to Tom's coffee-house. I beg my most humble duty to my mother and mistress.

Yours,

The same Man.

B. Lok. is informed by Forwell in Newgate, that the same person going on errands, is lately gone by the way of Rome, upon a very perilous design: and Forwell is certain, that 8,550 l. per annum is paid for intelligence from the French court; that lately in five days they had intelligence from France of a very good design of the king of France; that they have intelligence from Brest upon all occasions.

By the post.

A don Fran. Porcio
que dios en cata del
consul de Espana
Londres.

The cypher found with the foregoing letter.

King James { Mr. Grace. Mr. Good. Mr. Beauty.
The queen — — Mrs. Patience.
Prince of Wales — Mr. Cupid.
Duke of Berwick — Mr. Duty.
Lord Tyrconnel — Mr. Sturdy.

Lord

Lord Powis —	Mr. Nimble.
Marq. d'Abbeville —	Mr. Gunner.
Mr. Skelton —	Mr. [illegible]
Bishop Ellis —	Mr. Bisho[illegible]
Dr. Fenwick —	Mr. Boye[illegible]
Father Ennys —	Mr. Carrier.
Lord Brudenel —	Mr. Brown.
George Porter —	Mr Grace.
John Caffe —	Mr. Quick.
Mr. Goodman —	Mr. Goodenough.
Lady Powis —	Mrs. Sentiment.
Lady Tyrconnel —	Mrs. Busy.
Lady Waldgrave —	Mrs. Cordelia.
Prince of Orange	Mr. Hooke. Mr. Crooke. Mr. Strumbo.
Duke of Leeds —	Mr. Hoher.
Earl of Nottingham —	Justice Fagg.
Lord Churchill —	The Jew.
Lord Godolphin —	The Monkey.
Duke of Shrewsbury —	Mr. Pride.
Marquis of Halifax —	Mr. Doubtful.
Marquis of Winchester —	Mr. Wildman.
Duke of Devonshire —	Mr. Railer.
Earl of Dorset —	Mr. Slow.
Lord Delamere —	Mr. Forward.
Lord Feversham —	Mincher.
Lord Weymouth —	Mr. Green.
Sir Edward Seymour —	Mr. Actor.
Sir Thomas Clarges —	Mr. Poser.
Mr. Sackvil —	Mr. Spruce.
Earl of Ailesbury —	Mr. Perlous.
Sir John Fenwick —	Mr. Jolly, &c. &c.

This *cypher*, (as may be seen by the original in the hands of the forementioned Mr. Richard Rickards) is of a much greater length, consisting chiefly of the names for *church, dissenters, parliament, clergy, army, fleet, Portsmouth, Tower, taxes, soldiers, arms*, &c. In the cypher are some names which give room to believe that these conspirators were also in the plot for the invasion and assassination which was discovered soon after, as lord Ailesbury, Sir John Fenwick, Goodman, Porter and Castle, in whose house *Friend* was found. It was supposed Bourne knew more than he confessed, and that the persons seized might have been convicted, and probably the knot had then been broke. However Bourne, as ill as he deserved it, had a pension of 100l a year settled upon him, whilst captain Rickards for his trouble and charge had no other reward than an offer of knighthood and the command of a man of war, both which he refused.

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